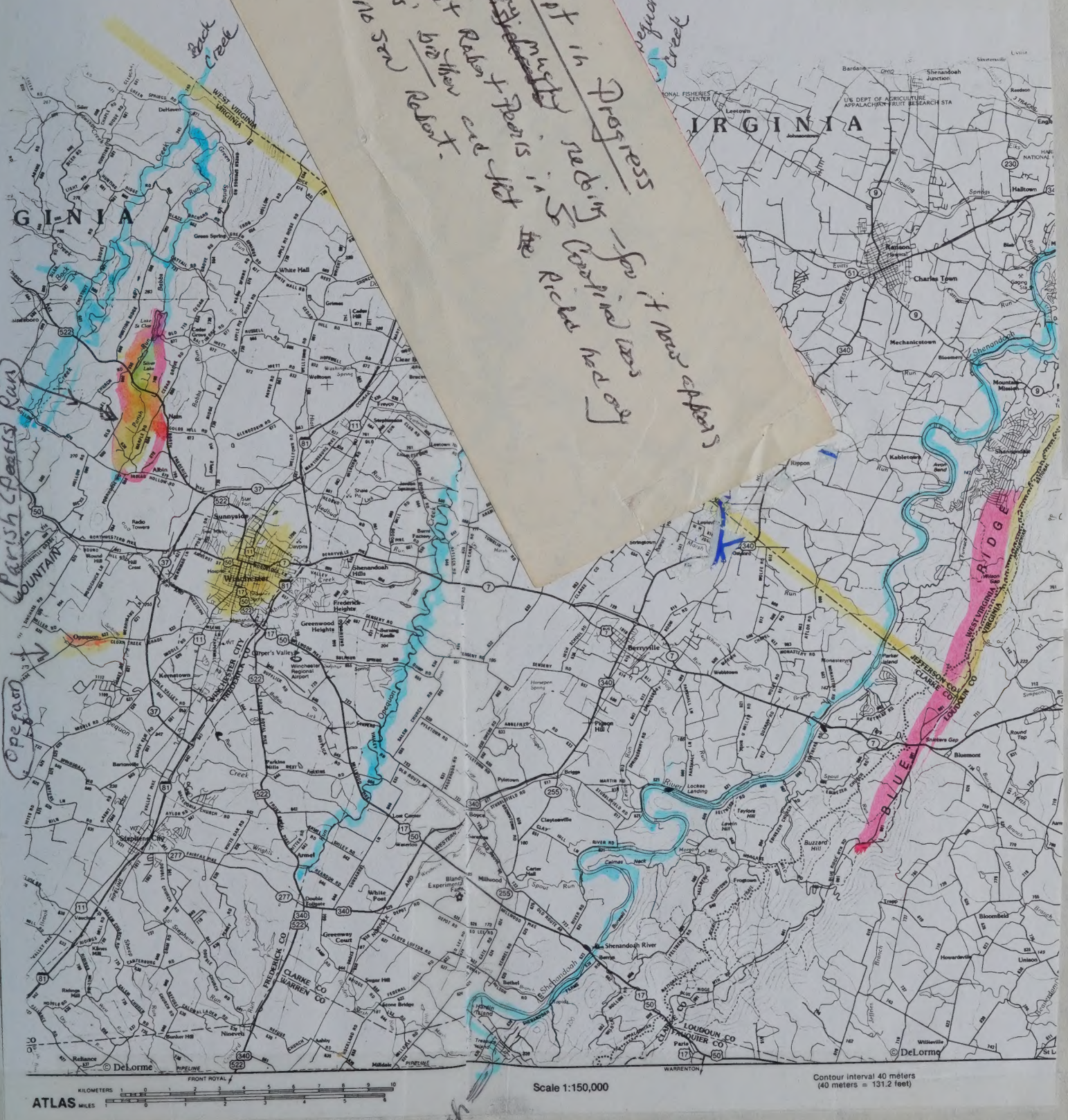
PEARIS

Locatio... ead (upper left) shows clearly
in a mod... ah River and Blue Ridge
mountains

15 Manuscript in Progress
Need Map showing Parish Pearis area
Lojant Capt Robert Pearis and his brother
Richard Pearis, both Revolutionary War Officers
2 sons — no son Robert.



Though there is not very much about the Pearis parents in the record, we can tell a lot about them by his will. He and his wife, Sarah ( ) whose maiden name we do not know, but who was the mother of all the children, were born probably in the early 1690's. George and Sarah were an old-fashioned couple who lived well, with fine saddle horses and expensive, imported clothing. Son Richard, who inherited his clothing, must have been about his size. Though conscientious about providing well for all of his children, George betrayed his belief in the ancient but then outdated law of primogeniture by his bequests to the grandchildren. Though there were grand daughters and at least one younger grandson who were not mentioned in their grandfather's will, the two oldest grandsons, John Neally (daughter Christine's son) and George Pearis III. received bequests. (George Jr.'s youngest son, little Robert named for his uncle--or possibly Grandfather Robert Pepper, was not mentioned.

It appears that George and Sarah were what today would be considered quite young at death (unless, as mentioned, they had had older children who died). They must have been about 60 years old or less.

Frederick County Virginia Will Book 2, pages 64, 65, & 66, (abstracted) Dated 15 Nov 1749, admitted to record (probate) 1 Sep 1752: Will of George Pearis, Senior:

Debts to be paid.
One daughter, Christian Nealy, one English Crown--has received child's part already.
Eldest son, George Pearis, one English Crown.
Second son, Richard Pearis, tract of land I bought of Peter Helton, in which he now dwells, my best riding horse, and my wearing apparrel.
Third and youngest son, Robert Pearis, that tract of land which I bought from William Hoge, whereupon I now dwell.
I give and bequest to my loving wife, Sarah, one end of my dwelling house everwhich end she thinks best, to choose during her lifetime or widowhood; and also I do order and allow her 20 bu. wheat, 20 bu. Indian corn, to be paid to her year by year by my said son, Robert Pearis, during her lifetime, etc., together with 1/3 part of all my moveable estate.
One tract of land bought of Richard Morgan in care of son Robert for seven years, sold and principal and interest to be paid to my grandson, George Pearis's oldest son, at 21. If he doesn't live to be 21 years, that tract to my second son, Richard.
John Nealy, 75 pounds current money at 21 years, and discharged to him in horses and mares by my son, Robert Pearis.

Executrix--wife, Sarah. Executor--Robert Pearis.

Frederick County Will Book 2, page 89.

Estate of Sara Pearis: dated May 1753.
George Pearis, administrator of his mother.

FAMILY GROUP:

Father: George Pearis, Sr. was born perhaps around 1690, probably in Ireland. He died at his home on "Parish" Run of Hoge's Creek, a tributary of Back Creek, Frederick County, Virginia between 15 Nov 1749, the date of his will, and September 1752, court approved probate. Religion: Evidently Presbyterian.

Married: About 1715 or so - in Ireland?

Mother: Sarah ( ) maiden name not found, born perhaps around 1695 in Ireland? She died not long after her husband, between September 1752 and May 1753 when her estate settlement was approved with oldest son, George, as executor, though she had been living at the family homestead with youngest son Robert. Religion: Evidently Presbyterian.

Children, all said to have been born in Ireland:

1. Christian Pearis (ca 1716?-living 1752 and probably much longer) married perhaps in Ireland (William?) Neally or Neilly. The couple lived in Frederick County and had children.
2. George Pearis, Jr. (ca 1720?-ca 1787?) married about 1744 possibly in Lancaster Co. PA Sarah Pepper (1725-before 1768). With her brothers' families they moved in March 1753 to a new frontier settlement on the North Fork of the Roanoke just west of Pearis Mountain, named for him, and just east of Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre three years later. They attempted to rear at least three children in this hazardous place.
3. Richard Pearis (ca 1724/5-1794) may have had a first wife who lied leaving behind two daughters, unless they belonged to Rhoda, his Cherokee wife with whom he had three more children. He was a fur trader with the Overhill Cherokees in East Tennessee, and led both Indians and white troops during the French and Indian War, first to reach Fort Pitt. Afterward appointed Indian Agent there, in 1768 moved to Cherokee territory in South Carolina to be closer to his charges. After being double-crossed by Charleston "patriots" he became a British Lt. Colonel during the Revolution.
4. Robert Pearis (ca 1726-living 1764, probably much longer) married ca early 1750's Elizabeth Lemon (17 - living 1764) It appears they raised a family. He also was a Captain during the French & Indian War, and moved by 1764 to Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina where he was a merchant of some sort.

Note: It is possible there were older children who died in Ireland, but no evidence to suggest so. If so, George Sr. and Sarah may have been a little older than suggested above.

CHAPTER TWO - SISTER CHRISTIAN (PEARIS) NEALY

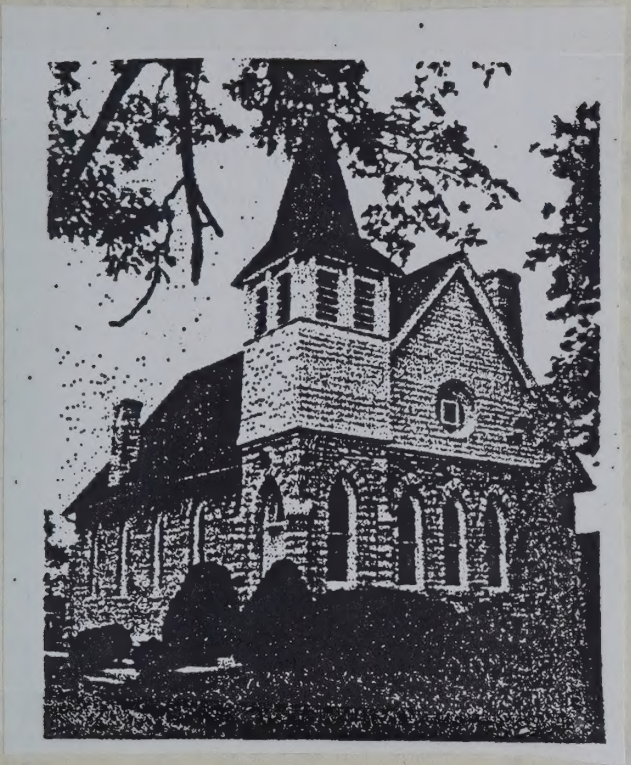
Because our descent is through the second son, Richard Pearis, we will report on the other three children first, then tell about our Richard. Chapter two will be about the shortest you ever saw, for so far not much has been learned about Christian's life or that of her family, though there are clues. If more is learned later, it will then be inserted as pages 7a, 7b, etc.

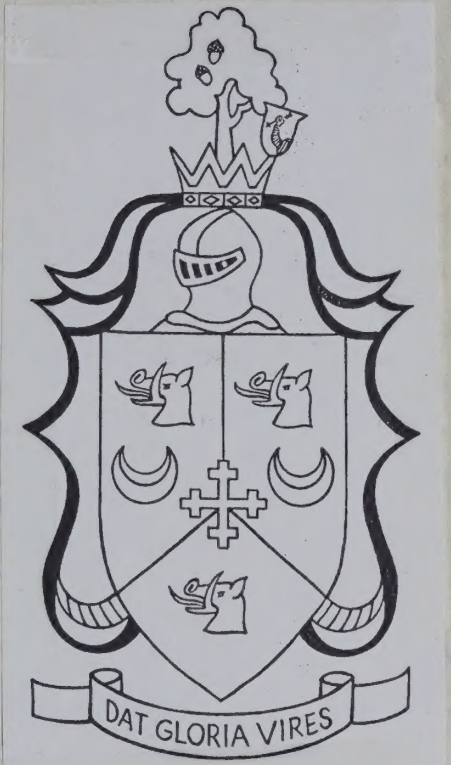
Christian Pearis, born perhaps about 1717/8, was the oldest. Her first name is an old-fashioned version of Christine. One reason we haven't learned more is that in that time and area, her married name with all the variant spellings of Neeley, Neally, Neilly and so on occurs with such frequency in old records throughout the valley, it is quite difficult to decipher who was who. Had she been our ancestress instead of many-great aunt, we would have tried harder, but this would have taken years we cannot spare. Many of the name later lived on the Forks of the Roanoke near her brother George Pearis, Jr., and I suspect but cannot prove some of them were her kin. These or others were associated with her brothers Robert and Richard. A William Nealy acquired business Lot #6 on the south side of the downtown square of Salisbury, North Carolina, from her brother Robert on 10 July 1766 but sold it two years later. He may have had other property there. A Christopher Nealy and a George Neally were both Loyalist Lt. Colonels from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina during the Revolutionary War; along with Captain Richard Pearis of the same place. It is very tempting to believe those were her sons, Christopher (male version of Christian) for her, and George for her father.

The will of George Pearis, Sr., Christian's father, shows that her oldest son, John Nealy, received a bequest, but it does not reveal the given name of her husband. I think it was William, for a "Willm " Nealy witnessed her father's purchase of land from William Hoge in November 1750, also a sale by her brother Richard in May 1763 (see deed records elsewhere in book). Richard witnessed a sale or transfer of property from John Nielly to George Nielly in 1764--her sons?

Judging from her brothers' adventures, and by her father's will, one may assume she had a strong character and that she married well. Her brothers were exceptionally well educated, and only the upper crust in so poor a country as Ireland could then afford such a luxury. (Usually this would have been under some auspice provided by Presbyterians, even though forbidden by the English.) Apparently similar standards or higher applied to the Nealys, whom her father obviously held in high esteem.

It seems probable that Christian and William married in Ireland before emigrating, and that regardless of whether Jacob Hite talked the clan there, she, her husband, and her brothers urged her parents to sail for America, fabled land of opportunity. Perhaps other Nealys came along, for there were so many wherever they lived later on. We regret not knowing when she and William died or more of their lives, but from the little we can tell, it appears as though they reared several very fine children.





Left - 1987 photo of the Presbyterian church donated by the Hoges.

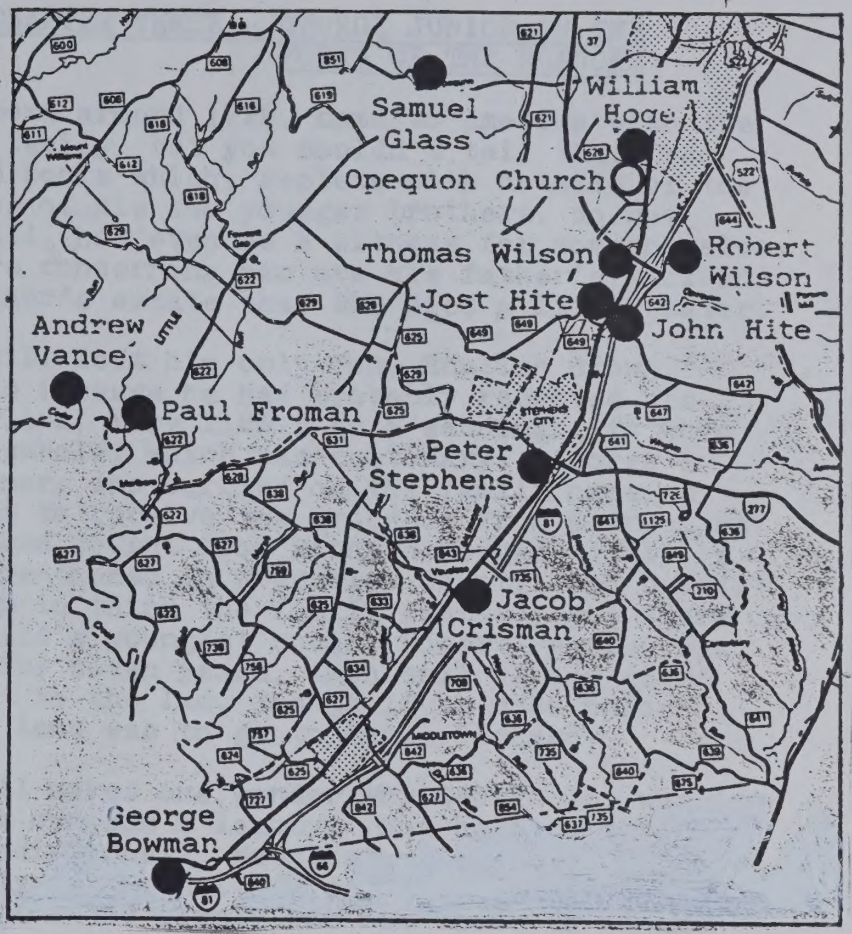
Right - Hoge family coat of arms. The blue boars have red tongues. The crescents & cross suggest an early ancestor was in the Crusades--probably a Norman who fought Saracens.

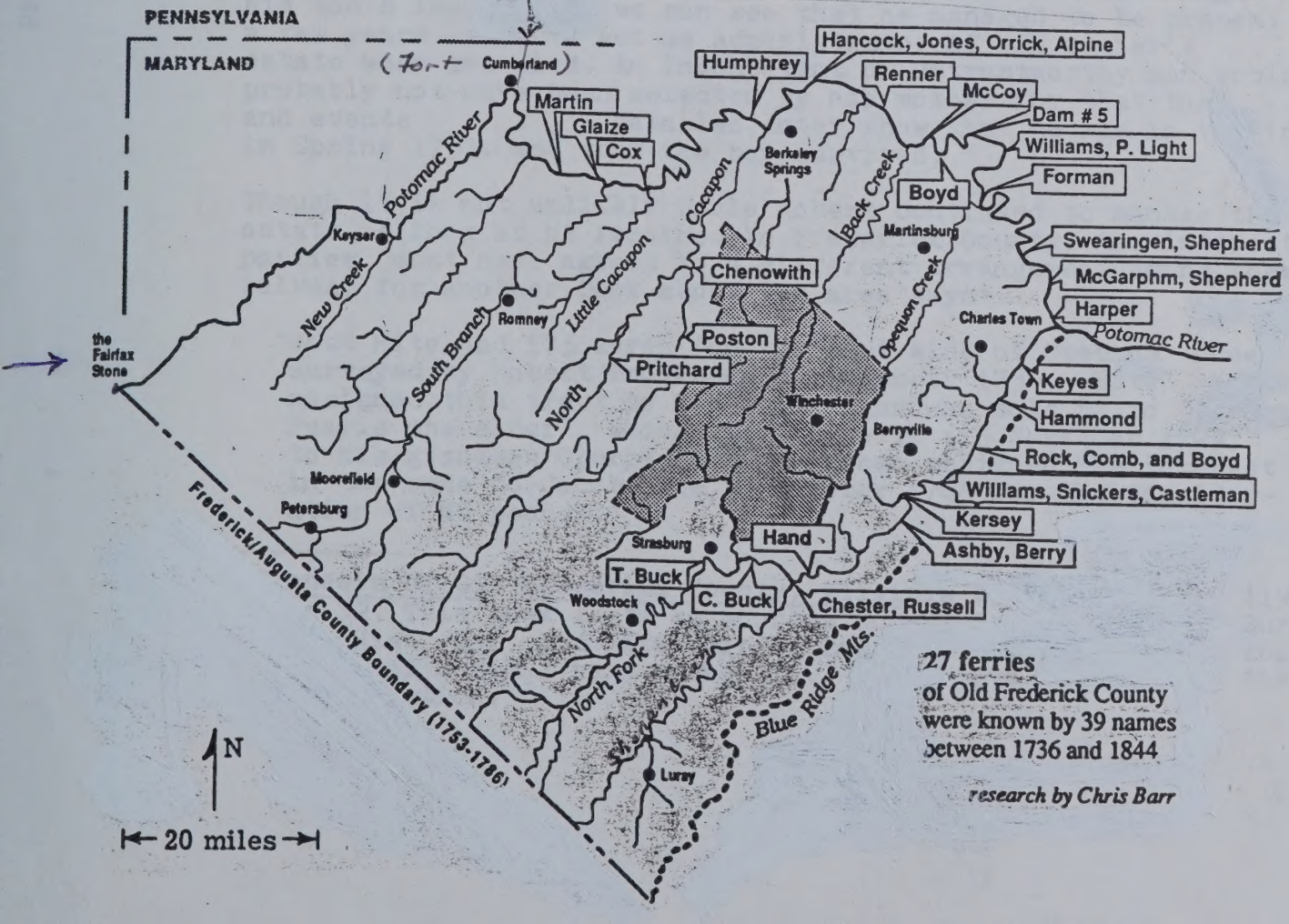
George Pearis, Sr., purchased his homestead from the estate of William Hoge, Sr. The whole community owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hoge, son of Sir James Hoge of Musselboro, Scotland. At age 20 he emigrated for religious freedom aboard the ship Caledonia, where he met the Hume family. Her parents fell sick and died, leaving him to care for young Barbara, age 10. He left her with relatives but later married her and they raised a large family. In old age the elderly couple and their progeny moved to Jost Hite's settlement. In 1736 he had a large church built which he donated to the community with the proviso that all faiths be allowed to worship there and especially any itinerant minister who should come along to visit the new settlement. The couple and many descendants are among those buried in the churchyard. His grandson, Rev. John Hite, was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1755 and became pastor there. Our Pearises and Teters worshiped there, as did George Washington and many others. The church was damaged in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars and a 1873 fire. This is how it looks now after many remodelings.

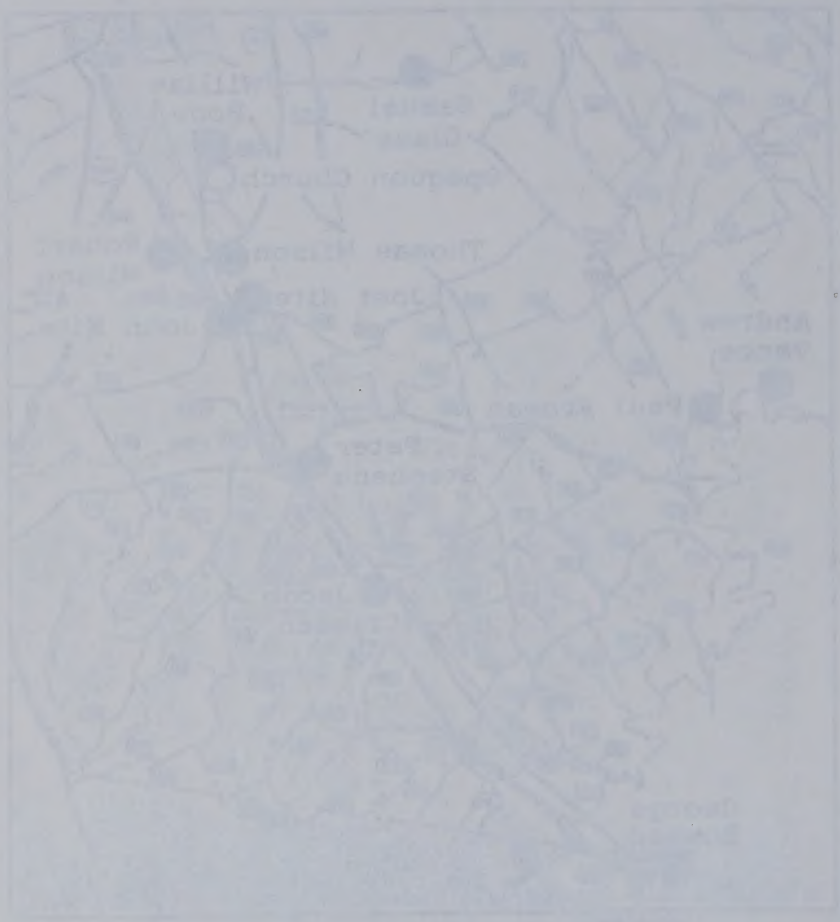
Information from a genealogy, Hoge, Hogue and Hogg by Lola Gentry Hoge et al (1987)

PEARIS FAMILY

Illustrations from:
The Story of Frederick County
a collection of essays by various local writers. This was copied at Family History Library, Salt Lake City Utah US/CAN 975.5991 H25
Right - Homesteads of some of the very earliest settlers. Bowman, Froman & Chrisman were Hite sons-in-law. Pearises were very involved with the Hoges & Hites.
Below - Ferry locations, some early, some much later, also show many of the rivers. As early as 1738, Jeorg Dieter, whose son married Sarah Pearis, was among the petitioners for a road from Jost Hite's mill to the Ashby's bend ferry located on the Shenandoah. In 1761 Richard Pearis and Lewis Peirs or Pearce/Pearis owned a mill on the Opequon.
Capt. Pearis & Teter brothers stationed at Fort Cumberland.







CHAPTER THREE - GEORGE JUNIOR ON THE FORKS OF THE ROANOKE

George Pearis, Jr., born around 1720, came to America with the rest of his parents' family, but you couldn't tell that from Frederick County deed books which, replete with details of the many land transactions of his two younger brothers, do not mention his name at all, not even as a witness for someone else. The only records there concerning him are his father's will and the filing of his mother's estate when she died a little later.

Though his father's will left him only "one English crown," we may assume that was because he had probably received his "child's portion" earlier, very likely as a wedding gift when he set up his own household, which was customary. George's oldest son, then a minor, who carried on the family name as George Pearis III, was to receive the proceeds from a tract of land his grandfather had bought from Richard Morgan. (This is another purchase not mentioned in Frederick County deed books, and yet another reason to think the family probably got there before 1743!) The child's youngest uncle, Robert Pearis, was to care for the land for seven years, then sell it and give principal and interest to the lad, though if he died before reaching maturity the land was to go to Uncle Richard.

The wording of the will makes one wonder why George Jr. was not selected to manage his own son's legacy. Was he incompetent to manage the estate, or dishonest? Was that why he received no land himself? Probably he was neither of those things; a more likely explanation is that he simply was not there to manage his son's legacy, for we can see that he managed to be present a few years later to act as administrator of his mother's estate when she died. An incompetent or untrustworthy man would probably not have been selected by his mother for that task, and events detailed later show that he was in Virginia in Spring 1753, and that the boy survived.

Though it is not unlikely Uncle Robert continued to manage the estate as long as he remained in Frederick County, the interested parties must have agreed to a different arrangement among themselves, for another book about the area says*:

> "Jost Hite had 175 acres 'on the east side of Opeckon' Creek surveyed by Robert Brooks on 23 December 1734. Hite assigned this tract to Richard Morgan who sold it to 'George Pearis the elder' who devised by will (15 November 1749) to his grandson George Pearis who has assigned his interest in the same to Jacob Hite 10 October 1765 for the consideration of 80 pounds."

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*Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia by Cecil O'Dell (1995) page 82. This book lists as sources Robert Brook's Book of Surveys at VA Hist. Soc. and Hite/Fairfax Lawsuit, British copy pp 162-3, neither of which I have access to. There is a map showing the tract location.

CHAPTER THREE - GEORGE JUNIOR ON THE ROAD TO THE ROANOKE

PEPPER FAMILY SKETCH

Dr. Robert Pepper (ca 1690-17__) a surgeon, married Sarah Patterson in Ireland. They came to old Lancaster Co. PA about 1730. One son stayed in the east, but the others migrated to Pepper's Run, North Fork of the Roanoke (No. of present Blacksburg VA). His death date is not known, but Sarah lived to be about 100 years old, last living with son Samuel at Peppers Ferry near where, around 1800, she wandered into the woods, became disoriented, and died. Their children were:

1. Joshua Pepper (18 Jan 1720/1-28 Dec 1808) m. Elizabeth McCauley and last lived on a farm near Georgetown, Delaware (Delmarva Penninsula) having been in Hampshire Co. VA in 1784. 3 children.
2. William Pepper (ca 1722/3- ?) m._____and received a land patent from Col. James Patton in March 1753 where he lived near sister Sarah and brother-in-law George Pearis, Jr. on No. Fk. Roanoke. On 25 June 1756 he was taken captive by Indians & never heard from again. (Some speculate that he was eventually released in Ohio where he raised a new family--unproven. The Indians killed Col. Patton.) His daughter Sophia later married a cousin.
3. Robert Pepper, Jr. (ca 1724-7 Oct 1780) though wounded that day was not captured. He and a son Elisha were killed at the famous Battle of Kings Mountain-Revolutionary War. Son John lived in Guilford Co. NC. Catherine, his widow, on 5 Apr 1787 was living in Burke Co. NC when the census was taken by Capt. William Neil. Jonas Griffith, believed to have been our ancestor, was listed as a neighbor, and both families migrated to old Madison Co. KY the next year. (New River area tithes show a Jonas Griffith there in 1772 only, but long enough to get to know the Peppers and Pearises.) This data is highly important to us, for it suggests that the Pearises and Griffiths knew each other before going to Kentucky. They MAY have even been related. Was Catherine Pepper a Griffith? Or more likely, was Mrs. Griffith a Pepper? Or were both families related to a third, unknown family? I think they must have been more than just neighbors.
4. Sarah Pepper (25 April 1725- ca 1768?) married George Pearis, Jr., and they tried hard to raise three children in that very dangerous place. It appears they were plagued with disasters--see text.
5. Ruth Pepper (ca 1730?-) m. John Carson & lived in NC.
6. Samuel Pepper (20 Mar 1734-26 Oct 1804) b. Lancaster Co. PA, established Peppers Ferry across New River (present Radford VA). He was named in lawsuits involving his brother-in-law George Pearis. (Author Johnston said he married Malinda Pearis, daughter of Robert, probably a fallacy, for later Peppers can find no evidence this is so.) He did marry Naomi "Ami" Burke b. 1 Feb 1746, dau. of James Burke b. Limerick, Ireland, and Polly Bane. (Mr. Burke was discoverer of "Burke's Gardens, presently in Tazewell Co. VA and stepfather of Morris Griffith[2] (Methusalem[1]).

Data on the Peppers for this sketch was extracted from: History of the Pepper Family in America and Allied Families by Florence Pepper Raya (1974) pages 13-14.

On 9 Oct 1754 Joseph McDonald acquired Erich Bright's 207 acres for £54, corner George Pearis, thus becoming the new neighbor between him and William Pepper. On 29 January 1755 George Pearis had 35 acres next to his patent land surveyed, raising his acreage to 306.

In 1755, the year of Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, life suddenly changed for the worse. Our people lived on the most perilous of all frontiers, the westernmost edge of white civilization. French-led or inspired northern Indians immediately started infiltrating all the creek valleys and mountain passes.* On 5 July several people were killed on nearby New River. The famous Draper's Meadow Massacre followed on 8 July 1755, in which their community leader, Colonel James Patton was killed, as were Casper Barrier, Mrs. Draper and one child. Mrs. Ingles and two children, Mrs. Draper Jr., and Henry Leonard were taken prisoner. James Cuill was wounded. On 12 August Morris Griffith** was taken prisoner but escaped, afterwards becoming an extremely bitter Indian fighter. Nine people were murdered in February and March.

As you will notice on the map, Drapers Meadows was just west of our George and his neighbors, in easy walking distance and connected by a narrow road which gave the savages easy access to their cabins. Being in so much peril, inhabitants started taking refuge at Fort Vause, which was not at first really a fort but an extra-strong dwelling built by Ephraim Vause as his own home. (Later on this was rebuilt and strengthened by Captain Peter Hogg and his men.) Proving its vulnerability, Ephraim Vause's house was attacked on 25 June 1756 by more than a hundred Indians and about 25 French Canadians led by Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. The defenders, no more than 25 men led by Capt. John Smith, were soon forced to surrender, and the place burned to the ground.***

Captain Smith, Peter Looney & William Bratton were taken prisoner but eventually got away. Those taken prisoner who did not escape were Joseph Smith; William Pepper; Mrs. Vause herself with two daughters, a negro, two young Indians and a servant man; Ivan Medley & 2 daughters; James Bell; Christopher Hicks; ____Cole, ____Graham; Benjamin Davies; and Mrs. Mary Ingles. Killed were Lt. John Smith, John Tracey, John Ingles & John Robinson. Wounded were William, Thomas & Samuel Robinson and Robert Pepper. (Robt. Pepper lived to fight again at Kings Mountain during the Revolution, but in that battle he and a son were killed.) Vause was away at the time.

Soon all kinds of bad things started happening to George Pearis, but the cause is a mystery. It appears as though he and most of his family must have contracted some serious illness, from which some of them died, including his wife Sarah and at least one child, a daughter. We really cannot read between the lines, but Augusta County Court Records 3 March 1759 indicate the case of Yuille (Cuill?) vs. Parrish drug on & on--Thos. Yuille testified on 22 Feb 1762. (signed Wade Netherland, Cumberland County--see if he can be got at Bedford.) This is too hard to interpret, and sounds as

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*History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers, pages 56-60

**Morris Griffith is mentioned in Pepper Family sketch on pg 12 and on page 63 as an "Associator."

***The Papers of George Washington Vol 3:260-1 also report on the exciting escape of Peter Looney and rescue of Captain John Smith.

next page - p1 - line 3/a part of then inmate Agosta Butty which he
line 4 - Richard consulted with an associate,

though George were trying to evade judgment.) George cannot have been that hard to find, for Augusta County Deed Book 9, page 497 shows that he had moved to a safer and more crowded place. On 9 June 1761 he purchased 220 acres on Glade Creek of the Roanoke from John McFall for L39. This was in a cross-roads thickly-settled community in comparison to the other place, which he still owned, and less exposed to danger, though by that time the war was winding down. The land had first been patented in 1756 to John Boen (Bowen?).

He witnessed a deed for a neighbor on nearby Buffalow Creek on 17 May 1762. Borden's Executors to James Davis, husbandman, for L165, 436 acres corner to patent line & William Todd, Robert Young's & patent line, Buffalow Creek, Low Todd's line, corner to Peter Wallace. Witnesses: George Pearis, John Neily, Joseph Gray. (Question--could this John Neily have been his nephew?) Some Neeleys were large landowners in that area.

But we wish the Augusta Court Order Books were more explicit--they mostly just provide captions. 5 July 1763. Samuel Pepper vs. George Pearis. (His brother-in-law is suing him and it gets tangled up in other cases) 27 March 1764. Boyd's Estate vs. George Pearis, at Bedford Store. (Boyd, who lived near Fort Lewis ran a huge trading post, and George must have run up a bill which the heirs are trying to collect.) 22 June 1764 County Court Proceedings show a long list of people who cannot be found, among them George Pearis. The economy has gone sour after the war, some residents have lost their shirts, and many people have left their lands and their debts behind and gone to North and South Carolina where there are still cheap fertile lands awaiting settlement. It could be that George has really left, but I doubt it, though by now his brother Robert was a merchant in Salisbury, North Carolina--he could have taken refuge for a while.*

I wish someone could explain this next one. The Boyds are still trying to collect old debts, and it is apparent George is not the only one who owes money. 10 March 1764. Garnishment vs. John Henderson, in behalf of Alexander Boyd vs. Samuel Pepper. John Henderson swears that he bought two tracts of land, through Robert McGee, from George Pearis, North Fork of Roanoke, alias Goose Creek, in 1766.

Kegley, page 616, helps us understand the sale. He says that according to Henderson's testimany, he bought the land in 1766, but received the deed for the 271 acres (this does not include that extra 35 acres surveyed later) in 1774, from George Pearis, Jr., acting as attorney for his father. (NOTE: This proves that George Jr. now called Senior because his father has been long dead and he has a son George III, did have such a son, the little grandson in the Frederick County will.)

*But see page 36, item 86 which shows that his brother Robert transferred lots to a George Pearis in October 1768. I took that to be Robert's son.

Originally I had not thought George Pearis Jr. went to North Carolina, where so many others had fled to, for his two sons, George III and Robert, were later in this same part of VA, or a little to the West. Now I'm not so sure. The following Surry County, NC Will Abstracts seem to hint a Pearis/Pepper/Burke/Griffith connection. Is it ours??

Book I;22. 16 Aug 1774. Bill of Sale from MartinArmstrong to George Parris lot #2 in SW sq. of Richmond where Parris now lives for 3 proc. Wit: Jno Armstrong. Rec. Feb. Ct. 1775.

I:26. 8 Aug 1774. Bill of Sale from John (J) Burke to Abraham Creson for L20 NC money an improvement of land & grist mill, livestock, personalty. Wit: David Enyart, Henry Speer. Rec. Aug. Ct . 1774.

I:55 27 Aug 1773. Peter Meiar & Mary (X) Meiar to Lanier & Williams for L30, land on Treces Crk where Jno Lowe now lives. Wit: Isaac Mabry, George Paris. Rec. Aug. Ct. 1775.

I:61a. 25 Mar 1775. William Shepperd has writ of fieri facias (execution) from Johnston Co NC to sell goods of James Obryant to satisfy suit by Isam Safold, sold 2 lotts in Richmond to John Snead as highest bidder. Wit: Jno. Armstrong. Bill of sale made over to George Paris by Snead.

I:132. Appraisement of est. of Isaac Garrison decd by Samuel Waggenor & Barne Farr totalling L122:18:0. Rec. May Ct 1779.

I:132a. 7 Aug. 1779. Inv. of est. of John Griffith decd. valued at L173:11 by Wm. Hall, Elijah Smallwood & James Mathews. Rec. Aug. Ct 1779. (Note: He was an Ensign in the 1774 Surry Co. militia. His name appears on the 1772 Surry Co. tax list and on the 1774 Surry Co. tax lists of Martin Armstrong. ....)*

I:179. 16 Nov 1784. Robert Poage of Montgomery Co. VA to Joseph Cloud of the same place, power of attorney. Wit: Jo. Williams, Wm Colvard, Rebekah Williams. Prvd. by Williams. (Note: the 1785 Surry Co. tax list of Capt. Gains shows Isaac Cloud with 267½ A in Surry & 1960 A in Green Co. 1786 tax list shows Jos. Cloud with 360A & 1 wp.....etc.)(I think this is Joseph Cloyd who was Capt. George Pearis III's Major--see later pages this book. NZ)

2:1. Will of James (IB) Burke, 4 Nov 1782, Wife, Lucretia. children: Mary Murphew, Sarah Wilson. Joseph Burke, Neomi Pepper. Wife's dau: Lucretia Wilson. Grandson Thomas Burke gets negro girl Hannah when he is 21. granddau Honora Burke gets negro boy when she is 16. Son-in-law William Brookshire gets L10. Dau-in-law Mary Burke, and her living children, Josiah Burke, Samuel Burk, Elizabeth Burk, John Burk & Benjamin Burke get L5. Eldest son, James Burke - "I have just cause to deny him or his heirs any part." Granddau: Sally Oleman. Exr: Samuel Pepper of Botetourt Co., VA & Moses Baker of Surry. Wit: Andrew Speer, John Thos. Longino. Prvd by witnesses & rec Feb Ct. 1783 . (Note: Surry Co. Min. of the Court of P&QS 11 Feb. 1783 show the will was prvd by oath of Andrew Speer; on 13 May 1783 Samuel Pepper qualified as executor. On the 1774 Surry tax list, James Burke has 1 poll. 1782 tax list shows him with 220 A. The 1785 & 1786 tax lists of Capt. Carson show Lucretia Burk with 200 A & 1 wp.)(LucretiaBurke's first husband was Methusalem Griffith! See map on Page 13, Right half, for his residence. As of September 1998 I have not found those Griffith's connection to ours, but it appears more & more that there must be one!)

*Cousin Sylvan Griffith identifies this John Griffith as his ancestor, also Garrisons. NC Records generally drop the "e" in Pearis. Richmond, once Surry County seat, burned down & was never rebuilt.

Augusta Court Judgments (B) August 1768. George Pearis, debtor to Archibald Fresher, for sundries and labor. To cooking and washing for six months for him and his daughter, at 6/. Credit by one wagon body at 6/.

This one is very sad. We can see that George paid the debt, though he had to give up his wagon body to do so. His wife Sarah must have been dead, his sons grown and gone. He was probably sick himself and trying to care for a sick daughter. Neither one was able to cook and do laundry. How old was this child? Was she the mysterious Malinda Pearis? Though of course she could not have been her own Uncle Samuel Pepper's non-existent first wife! Was there really any Malinda? Did they have advanced tuberculosis or malaria? He was not in Carolina in 1768, despite the fact that both his brothers were, though Richard still owned property to the north. George's brothers did not help him. They may not even have known of his troubles, though you would think his niece Sarah (Pearis) Teter, living on Crab Creek, would have. Apparently he managed to hang on to the land on Glade Creek. It seems as though his sons must have come to his rescue. Maybe he got better.

Kegley, page 551, says - "200 acres patented to John McFall 1753, sold to George Pearis 1761, and (sold) to John Howard in 1787 by Robert Pearis, son of George." So evidently George was dead in 1787. This proves he had a son Robert as well as a son George. Probably the daughter had passed away by now.

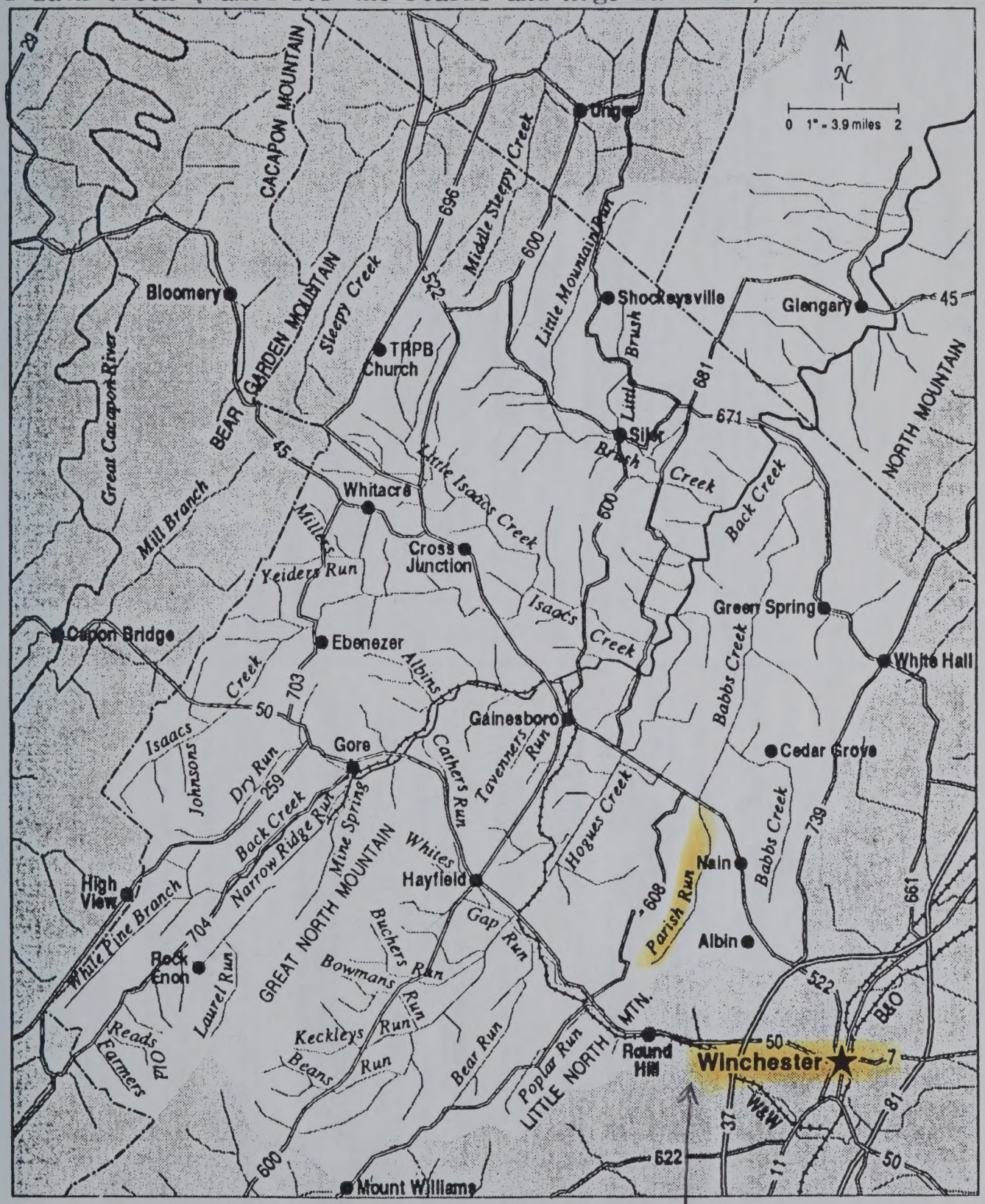
We know from other sources that George III and this Robert, as well as their Uncle Samuel Pepper, were now living on New River, and that Samuel Pepper was running his famous ferry. As a matter of fact, George III had one too, farther north, but we will get to that later. And Robert moved to Kentucky (he may have been living there already- some sources say the winter of 1779/80, with his first cousin, Sarah (Pearis) Teter, Uncle Richard's daughter. Others say "about 1790.") Either way, he could have sold his father's homestead.

It was not part of my original objective to tell about the children of Many-great Granduncle George, but if I don't there might be those who claim this whole story is wrong. It is no fun to criticize a prominent historian whose popular book, written in 1906, is still being sold (1998 reprint, Heritage Books) My knowledge of New River Valley history is miniscule compared to his, and there are probably lots of mistakes in my story though I try hard, but this is a subject that simply must not go unchallenged! (See my critique on next page, proving Mr. Johnston's theory was impossible.) He said George's sons George III and Robert were sons of Robert Alexander Parris, Jr. who was actually a couple of years younger than they were, and descended from a famous South Carolina Huguenot.

It would be great fun to be descended from that great man, but we just plain are not.

PEARIS FAMILY

George Pearis, Sr., resided at "Parish" Run of "Hogues" Creek branch of Back Creek (named for the Pearis and Hoge families).



From: Settlement and some First Families of Back Creek Valley

Back Creek and Its Tributaries

Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions
Rowan County, North Carolina 1762-1774 (Vol II) Jo White Linn (1970)
(& III) Excerpts-njhz 5/1998

Book page-vol.#-pg.#-date SPELLINGS ORIGINAL

24- II:519 13 Apr 1764. Lease & release from Francis Quine to Robert Paris for ¼ lot in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 prvd by Wm Cabeen (5:465). Same from Francis Quine to Robert Pearis for lots #27, 28 in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 (5:466).

28- II:536 14 July 1764. On motion of Mr. Dunn order that Robert Pearis have a license to keep an ordinary at Shallow Ford on Yadkin River. Sec. John Dunn & Francis Lock. Granted.

30- II:541 9 Oct 1764. On motion William Harrison Esqr Orderd that Henry Baker, in right of his wife have Letters of Adms. of all & Singlur the goods & Chattles rights & Credits of Barnaby Bower Deced Securities. Robert Pearis & Wm Nassery in the sum of £ Pro. money & Quallified according to Law &c. Court adj. to tomorrow.

30- II:543 11 Oct 1764. Orderd that Wm Nassery have a Licence to keep an ordinary at his Now Dwelling House & Complying with an Act of Assembly in Such Case & Provided & security Andrew Allison, George Magoune, Richd Pearis.

31- II:547 12 Oct 1764. Deed from Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis for lots #21,22,29,30 in N Sq of Salisbury (5:562).

35- II:562 9 Jan 1765. Deed from Foster & Carter to Robert Pearis for lots #5, 6, 13, 14 in Salisbury 6 Jan 1765 (6:40), also lots #21, 22 on 6 Mar 1765 (6:41), and lots #7, 15, in Sq. 6 Jan 1765 (6:42).

36- II:564 9 Jan 1765. Over Seers of the Roads appointed for 1765: (long list includes) Moses Pearis from Grants Creek to South Yadkin at James Andrews.

53- II:637 10 July 1766. Lease & Release from Robert Pearus & wf to Wm. Nealey for lot #6 in S. Sq of Salisbury 10 July 1766 (6:274).

53- II:638 11 July 1766. (Jury trial--jury includes) David Black, Jas Erwin, Wm Morgan, Martin Armstrong, Moses Pearus, et al

54- II:639 11 July 1766. Pearus Ass of Pearus vs Andrew Pitts (Tay)
II:642 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Joshua Husband, Evidence: Will Steel, Wm McConnell, John Dunn. Deft. did not assume.
II:643 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Peter Johnston. Same jury. £8.12.2.

56-II:649 15 Oct 1766. Robert Pearis vs Jacob Arrant on an Ex. Peter Phagley the Security. Surrenders the Principall in Custody & disch.

57- II:653 16 July 1766. Robert Pearis vs Saml Ridgway. same jury.

64- II:686 14 April 1767. Robert Peares & wife Elizabeth to John Boone Jr. for ½ lot in N. Sq. formerly granted by Francis Quinn to Parris.

67- II:700 18 April 1767. John Mitchell Ass vs Robert Peares
II:701 18 April 1767. Robert Pearis sits on essentially the same jury on another case (Midnight vs McClover?)

69- II:711 15 July 1767. Moses Peares Appointed Over Sear of the Road in Roome of Thomas Carson.
II:714 16 July 1767. Robt Tellson vs Robt Peares (July trial) £14.13.8 & Costs.

71- II:718 17 July 1767. Thomas Cook charged in Custody as the Suites of Robert Pearin, Wm Nassey & Others Petition the Court to be Admited To the Benefit of Act of Assembly he having made a Skedual of all his Personal Estate which Petition was Granted & he the sd Thomas Cook Took the Oath by Law , (etc)

80- III:24 21 Apr 1768. The King vs John Bone & wife Petty Larceny. Evidence for King: Rob. Pearis, Eliz, Pearis, Hem. Horah; for plaintiff: Cath Foley, Fred Long, Hen Page, John L. Beard, John Holand.

82- III:36 21 July 1768. John Mitchell vs Robert Pearis, Trespass. Evidences: Hen Horah, Dan Little, Ann Bashford. Jury.

83- III:43 22 July 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Jacob Guyer for lot #99 in E. Sq. Salisbury 14 June 1768.

84- III:50 18 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Henry Sloan for lots #67, 68, 75, 76 in N Square of Salisbury 21 July 1768 prvd by Wm Martin (7:24).

85- III:52 21? Oct 1768. Robert Pearis vs Peter Johnson. Evidence: Francis Lock.

86- III:59 22 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to George Pearis for ¼ lot #5 in N Sq., lots 5,13,6,14,7,15 and personalty 20 Apr 1767 prvd by Wm Temple Cole (7:19).

87- III:67 15 Jan 1769. Alexander Jarvis vs Robert Peariss Case #2 (july, same as first jury)

90- III:84 17 Jan 1769. Frances Palmer vs George Peares Case #6. Evidenc e: Moses Reffel, James Baxter, Will McConnell Jr&Sr.Jury.

94- III:105 13 May 1769. Robert Pearis & Wm McConnell vs Joseph Robinson Evidence: Wm Temple Coles. Jury
III:108 13 May 1769. Deed from Wm Neely to Hugh Magoune Minor for lot #7 in W Sq Salisbury 22 Apr 1769., prvd by Wm Temple Cole Esq (7:110). Deed from George Peares to Alexr Martin Esq. for ½ lot #7 in S Sq 14 Sept 1768p rvd by Geo Magoune (7:111). Another13 Sept 1768 for lots #21, 22 (7:110).

96- III:124 9 Aug 1769. cases incl. Robert Peares vs Wm. Taylor

99- III:136 12 Aug 1769. Deed from George Pearis & Robert Pearis to Daniel Little & John Lewis Beard for lots #14,15 in S Sq of Salisbury & ½ of lot #7 Apr 3, 1769 prvd by George Felton (7:153). Power of attorney from George Pearis to Robert Pearis 16 Sept 1768. (7:152).

101- III:145 15 Nov 1769. Deed from Hugh Foster to Robert Pearis for 4 lots in N sq of Salisbury, #67, 68, 75, 76. 25 Apr 1768 (7:168)

121- III:261 (1770?) Stock marks registered for 10 people including Moses Pearis.

Though these Rowan County NC records are short on detail, it is obvious that Robert Pearis was one of the movers and shakers of the trading town of Salisbury. He speculated in and/or rented out commercial property & kept an Inn, likely with hired help or slaves. Nealy entries were not extracted but William was undoubtedly his sister Christian's relative. Probably this George Pearis was a son? No obvious connection with Moses Pearis, though it cannot be ruled out yet.

In February 1764 Robert Pearis of Salisbury, North Carolina, sold 1195 acres of land to his brother Richard for a thousand pounds. Except for 200 acres inherited from his parents, he had bought the rest from Lord Fairfax. In October Richard, acting on his behalf, sold the 7-acre lot in Winchester to Christopher Aldred, a "baker." Except for quaint court records shown on the preceding page, North Carolina records have not been thoroughly searched for information about Robert or his family which, as you can see, leave much to be desired. Discrepancies appear immediately when one tries to recap the transfers of lot numbers. (Though not so stated, the bracketed numbers following each transaction are probably deed book number and page. If found, deed books might straighten some of this out, and perhaps mention relationships.)

Anyone wishing to search further should keep in mind that most of the next generation seems to have simplified the spelling to "Paris." For instance, his nephew Robert Paris (George's son) and niece Sarah (Richard's daughter) did so. She named her youngest son Paris Teter. Both of those mentioned were Kentucky pioneers, and it is entirely possible some of Robert and Elizabeth's children went there, too. Many from their area did. The 1795 Kentucky census index shows many Parises and Parrishs, including four Roberts. One Robert Paris migrated to Madison County at the same time as Sarah (Pearis) Teter, in the record-breaking cold winter of 1779/80. Could that have been Robert's son rather than George's?

pearis

CHAPTER FIVE - RICHARD PEARIS, CHEROKEE TRADER

Most of this book is about our ancestor, Richard Pearis, second son, third child of George Sr. and Sarah Pearis, born ca. 1725 in Northern Ireland, whose family came to America when he was about ten years old. Before long they were living on the frontier in the Opequon River settlement of Virginia's northern neck, northwest of what is today Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia.

Records found so far do not tell us when the father first purchased land there, but it was certainly before 1743, when that county's deed books commence. Some of it was bought from Peter Helton, some from Richard Morgan, and some of it - part of the land on Pearis Run - must have been purchased from one of the original Virginia Colony proprietors Hite or Ross before 1736 or Lord Fairfax after April of that year,* and would in that case be reflected in manor rolls rather than deed books. Proof of this is that streams were customarily named for the first owners of sizeable tracts thereon. This shows that they were already neighbors of the elderly gentleman, William Hoge, Sr., before George purchased adjoining acres from the heir, William Hoge Jr. on 12 Nov. 1750. (Otherwise there would be a discrepancy in George's will of 19 Nov 1749, predating the purchase, which willed land purchased from Hoge to the youngest son, Robert Pearis, with the proviso that the mother, Sarah, live with him.) The earliest record there of Richard himself is his signature as one of four witnesses to a land transfer between Grub family menbers on 11 Feb 1747/8, at which time he would have been a young married man of about 23, with a family including two daughters.

Hopefully this review is not too tedious, for we need to determine as accurately as possible when young Richard started living there, and when he started wandering down the long trail to start trading with the friendly Cherokees who, in 1743 before encroachment of the white race, would have been hunting as far north as Pearis Mountain on the Forks of the Roanoke. By the way, did HE tell his older brother George of the place? Could that be how it got its name?

As a young Scotch-Irishman with a taste for adventure, Richard set out early to make his fortune. He was obviously from a very good background, prosperous but not wealthy enough to speculate in land at first, or any such expensive venture, though his father had provided his sons with a better education than most people on the frontier then received. There was a lot of money to be made in the fur-trading business, if one could only get in on the ground floor, and he was young and ambitious. On that all parties agree--but because he had a penchant for making up his own mind and acting accordingly, this ancestor of ours is one of the more controversial figures in the early history of our country. Though he won high praise in high circles, his detractors were even more voluble because he did not play by their rules. Unfortunately, they are better recorded in history!

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* See last paragraph, page 35

You may as well know that this ancestor of ours was, and is, one of the more controversial figures in the early history of our country. His efforts earned him much high praise from leaders in high places. On the other hand, his detractors were even more voluble

To engage in this chosen field it was necessary to have a source of Indian goods where one could then market furs and leather once they were acquired. There may have been others, but the most obvious seems to have been Fort Cumberland, constructed and run by Christopher Gist, the Ohio Company's explorer and Indian representative. That company, in which even the Washingtons were stockholders, had English markets for its products and received in return manufactured goods much desired by Indians, such as blankets, guns, cheap clothing, fabric, and metal pots. Richard was later heavily indebted to Gist, so he formed an uneasy partnership with the son Nathaniel Gist, but in the beginning he formed many alliances, including wealthy Jacob Hite. Whether or not he was in someone else's employ during his teens and early twenties, Richard was on the Forks of the Holston in 1751 as a partner of Thomas Price* trading with the Cherokees and speaking their language fluently, with much influence. And if he had not done so many years before, he fell in love with a lovely Indian maiden.

As you read this, please be on your guard against your author's wishful thinking! Maybe my yen to have Cherokee ancestry is affecting my objectivity, for it is also possible that there was a teenaged bride who died early, leaving behind two tiny daughters, Sarah and Margaret. Sarah, the oldest, born about 1744/5, was our ancestress. That's pretty early. Was she half Cherokee? We don't know for sure.

And now we need to describe the Cherokees as a people, for there is much misconception. All tribes were not alike, and these were among the very must civilized. As one book says,

> "even before the coming of the white man they were to begin with an agricultural people** growing much corn, squash, and many vegetables. They had known better homes, food, and clothing than many of their contemporaries in Europe in certain areas. Indeed, they were better fed than some of the hill people who now occupy some of their old homes. Before 1750 they had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some tribesmen now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used his tools and weapons and often wore his clothing. Some top leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and there were many half-breeds."
>
> As to their women, "Many of the Indian women dressed in the manner of white women, but no sunbonnets or housecaps, and usually bare feet or moccasins (in their own country). Wives and mistresses of the traders would have been resplendent in silks and satins of the latest fashion; beautiful, for according to most who saw them, all of the Cherokee women had features formed with perfect symmetry

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*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel Cole Williams (1937) page 149

**Seedtime on the Cumberland, Harriette Simpson Arnow (1960) pages 302 & 184-5

"and countenances cheerful and friendly, and were tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame, moving with grace and dignity." It was also written, "The Cherokee women are elegantly formed, have sprightly eyes, accompanied with modesty and chastity, which renders them far from uninteresting subjects." One of the problems of the race was that the Indians were less fertile than the whites. Warfare and white men's diseases against which they had no natural immunity were decimating their population. Indian women had far fewer children than had the wives of southern settlers. Generally the settlers' wives could move with little grace for they were constantly pregnant, except for those with suckling children and toddlers clinging to their skirts; and their men did not treat them as equals. Indian women occasionally took long sight-seeing or hunting trips with their husbands, a luxury denied to most frontier wives, and had decision-making powers within the tribe.

A very early missionary wrote of staying overnight in a Cherokee home. Before he left in the morning, the Indian wife served him a breakfast of corn cakes, syrup, eggs, and venison steak--hardly Stone Age fare. (And this is a generation later, but it is told that Cherokees temporarily kidnapped Mrs. Bean, a pioneer East Tennessee housewife, telling her they were taking her to their town to teach their women how to make such delicious cheese as she did, Mrs. Bean probably did not care for the idea, but in a way it was a compliment to both races, showing both had sophisticated tastes.)

Notwithstanding all of the above, the cultures certainly were dissimilar. The Cherokees were fierce warriors, not only sometimes against whites, but against certain other neighboring tribes, which we wont go into here. They were relatives of the equally fierce Iroquois tribes of New York, with whom they retained close ties regardless of the distance between them, having some of the same enemies such as the Shawnees. Some scientists think that early in time they had migrated southward. They disclaimed any knowledge of the ruins of prehistoric Indian ruins in Tennessee, claiming those were already there when they came.

Nevertheless, there is a conflicting tradition that will not go away* of prehistoric Welshmen who married into the tribe, having come up from the Alabama coast. Legends say their leader was Prince Madoc who founded a colony about 1170 AD. Early explorers (Spaniards) reported seeing blue-eyed Indians who used elements of the Welsh tongue. Modern historians give little credence to such tales, but those pervasive stories will not go away. Even if they are not true any thinking person will recognize that it is not impossible other ships in more modern times than that could have been off course, shipwrecked on the Atlantic or Gulf coast, and the occupants assimilated with the natives before migration began. Whether all this happened before the Cherokees moved South is a moot point, but even Daniel Boone, in his early East Tennessee peregrinations (later than

*Early Times in the Cumberland Valley, James A. Crutchfield (1976) page 36

Richard's) said that he ran across a group of blue-eyed Indians he felt was "of the same kith and kin as the Welsh, though I have no means of assessing their language." One might argue that by the 1760's there had been enough mixing of the races, whether or not sired by Welshmen, that the blue-eyed Indians could have been half-breeds. There are still other tales of the lost English colony on Roanoke Island planted by Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580's, alleged to have mixed with the Croatan Indians; and also the mysterious Mellungeons. But that is getting too far off our topic. We are interested only in Richard Pearis, his wife Rhoda, and their associates.

In the years Richard was trading there, he thought Long Island was in Augusta County, Virginia; in fact for the next score of years everybody thought that was Virginia. A more modern map of Sullivan Co. Tennessee, presented here, shows it really isn't all that far from the border. The Colonists all got there down the Indian trail between forks of the Holston River, not over the mountains from Carolina, though it is very possible the Indians crossed the mountains, for they lived in them and on both sides of them. Another author, who did not much care for Cherokees because of later events, wrote another version.*

"The Cherokee tribe of Indians, at the time of the settlement of Southwest Virginia, inhabited one of the most attractive sections of the American Continent, occupying the banks of the Catawba, Savannah, Yadkin and Tennessee rivers on the east and south and several of the feeders of the Tennessee on the west. There were no fortresses to be found among them. Their settlements were rude huts scattered irregularly along some waterway convenient to good pasture land and hunting and fishing grounds. They usually had small clearings which were cultivated by the women and children in Indian corn and beans.

"But little of the history of the Cherokees can be gathered from their traditions. The existence of this tribe of Indians was noted by the historian of the expedition of DeSoto when traveling in the South, and it is said that they came originally from east of the Alleghany mountains. Their principal town or capital city was Choto, located about five miles from the ruins of Fort Loudon, in Tennessee. They were the mountain people of America and loved their homes and their liberties.

"They frequently aided the early settlers of this portion of America in their wars with the French and English, a company of Indians from this tribe having participated in the siege of Fort Du Quesne under Captain Pearis, but much oftener did they carry death into the homes of the early settlers of the Carolinas and Virginia.

"The tribe, previous to 1769, were numerous and exceedingly quarrelsome and arrogant. At this time they quarreled with the Chickasaw Indians and undertook an invasion of their country, but were

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*History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers pages 31-2

"overwhelmed by the Chickasaws after a great battle at the Chickasaw old fields...there can be no doubt that this occurrence contributed much to the rapid settlement of this (SW) settlement of Virginia. For thirty years following the advent of the first settlers into this country the Cherokees killed and scalped the Inhabitants at every opportunity.

"The population in 1735 was considerable. Adair says that they had sixty-four populous towns, and their fighting men numbered above six thousand. In the year 1776 the number of warriors pertaining to this tribe was two thousand four hundred and ninety-one." The underlining is mine. So much for the beneficial effects of the "civilized" white man on the Cherokee Tribe!!

As of 1750 there was much rivalry among the American colonies, instead of cooperation, with Virginia and South Carolina competing for the same fur trade. That year the Overhills used violence on some Carolina traders guilty of gross cheating. Instead of enforcing stricter regulations, their Governor Glen sought to punish the Indians by curtailing all trade with them. In desperation, Cherokee leader Attakullakulla (the Little Carpenter) led a group to Williamsburg, the Virginia capitol, to ask Acting Governor Lee for an active trade agreement. Lee received them "with open arms and carressed some of the Cherokees" who had given offense to the South. However, the salutary effect of the meeting was partially negated when some rowdy borderers manhandled the Little Carpenter on the way homeward.

Glen, very angry at Lee, protested to Lee that there should be no meddling by Virginia with South Carolina's wards, that the delegation had made false claims, and that "among them there were no people of eminence or dignity." To placate him, Lee inserted a notice in the Virginia Gazette of 16 Aug 1751 that "the inhabitants of this Colony may be Cautious in their communications with the Overhills." "Such a qualified admonition meant nothing to the bold traders on the upper reaches of the Holston such as Richard Pearis, Samuel Stalnacker, and Erwin Patterson. If they ever heard of the notice in the Gazette they continued in trade."

No wonder, for they had no need of such advice. By then Richard knew the Indians personally. He was already speaking to them in their own language. He understood the way they thought and was not taken in by any attempts at guile. Though firm in business dealings, he had acquired a certain sympathy for them, perhaps partly due to Rhoda's influence. There was much to sympathize with, for even then they were weakening in manpower, not only from intertribal wars, but from rum sold them by traders and white mens diseases.

Their principal towns at this time were given as Great Tellico, Chatuga, Tenase, Chota, Toqua, Settiquo and Talassee. Indian languages consisted of gutteral sounds difficult for the Colonials to grasp--they might spell a word in as many ways as there were listeners, but one can see the towns listed above at upper left on the map presented here.

In 1751, when Richard Pearis and Thomas Price were trading on the Forks of Holston, the area all around was filled with intrigue. North Carolina, as yet underdeveloped with most of the population along the eastern sector but with no very good seaport, was "a modest colony between two proud ones," and limited finances, so did not actively compete for Cherokee trade even though some of them were living there, but South Carolina considered them her private property to be exploited and warned Virginia to keep hands off. There was no market for furs in warm sunny Spain, owner of Florida and all the land along the Gulf coast. The Spanish derived most of their profit from possessions farther south; nevertheless, they disliked all English so hindered their trade whenever convenient.

The French were actively hostile, primarily through Fort Toulouse and the New Orleans headquarters, but also Detroit and other western outposts, they used all means possible to effect an alliance with Cherokees and other tribes against the English. They won over two powerful Cherokee chiefs. Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) had lived--happily it seems--for seven years as a captive of a Detroit River Ottawa tribe allied with the French who won him over despite the fact of his having visited England as a teenager and and having signed a pledge of friendship with them. Old Hop, the other, had gone so far as to harbor a friendly captive, French John, in his own household, who took advantage of the situation for much intrigue.

On the other hand, several influential leaders like Osteneco at Tomatly and Long John's Brother at Tenase sided with the Carolinians and eventually won ascendancy through the use of force. During a brawl Little Carpenter was set upon and beaten so badly that his life was despaired of. He capitulated, acknowledging that he HAD given his word and would honor it. Upon caving in, Old Hop took some gunpowder and wandered off intending to commit suicide before his frantic family caught up and dissuaded him. Governor Glen had labored long and hard to win over these allies for the English. At this point he did not consider the domination to be entirely secure. It is no wonder he was not anxious to share them. South Carolina colonial records of this period do not have anything flattering to say of any Virginians. Richard Pearis was a Virginian.

Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie, keenly aware of his own lack of experience in dealing with Indians, sought advice on this subject and was told that the most effective way to deter the red enemy on the Forks of Ohio was to "fight Indians with Indians" and that the Shawnees were afraid of Cherokees. Ignoring Glen, he sent Abraham Smith, an interpreter, to Chota late in 1753, urging the tribe to assist next spring in expelling the French at Fort Duquesne. As a rebuff, the emissary was haughtily informed that they possessed no ammunition for such a venture.

Our Richard, being the adventurous opportunist that he was, perceived a way to take advantage of the situation to help both Virginia and himself. Historians are vague about how he became involved, but it

is known that he had a mistress at Toquo.* (This is on the trading path, a little west of Chota--see map. Was this lady, referred to in various books as his "common-law Indian wife," Rhoda or an earlier wife? She was most likely the mother of his oldest son, George Pearis--whether she was also mother of our Sarah and little Margaret is unknown, but it makes good sense that he would have taken her out of harm's way to Virginia later on.) At any rate, with his expertise in the Cherokee tongue it did not take him long to hear of Dinwiddie's ambitions; perhaps he even witnessed the gathering with Smith. The Governor did not realize it, but the emissary he had chosen was already unpopular with some of the tribe. Richard knew how to get along with them and decided to contact Dinwiddie. Some of the correspondence between them has been preserved. It shows that, though both were patriotic, each tried to use the other to his own ends. Unfortunately, Richard's debt to Christopher Gist proved to be an impediment, for when the Gists got wind of what was transpiring, they tried to steal the scheme. And Glen, hearing rumors, tried to nip the whole idea in the bud.

Early in 1754 Richard Pearis showed up in Chota with several pack horses laden with trading goods and a message from the Virginia governor, in which he promised to meet all of their demands.

> "The Chota headmen received Pearis kindly, took advantage of the generous terms on which he traded, and listened to Dinwiddie's talk; but mindful of Glen's opposition and willing to create a bargaining situation, they demanded that the Virginia governor produce tangibles. Pearis worked hard to change their minds. He refused to write out their reply...until they should accompany him to Stalnaker's halfway to the Potomac, where he hoped to find rum and presents. But the headmen would not move. Pearis finally prevailed upon the Little Carpenter to entrust him with a message to Dinwiddie stating that Glen had restrained the Cherokees from going to Virginia. Pearis and Smith, each accompanied by half a dozen unofficial Cherokees, arrived at Williamsburg too late for the the Washington expedition. Primarily the Virginia failure in the 1754 negotiations was...Dinwiddie's fault."

Because he had insisted on unilateral negotiations instead of recognizing Carolina sovereignty and acting through Glen, who would then have cooperated--the quote was written from a Carolina viewpoint, but there is much truth in it. Dinwiddie then became miffed unfairly at Pearis because he couldn't deliver. For his next emissary he chose Nathaniel Gist, Christopher's son, to offer a gift of "great and everlasting trade" in return for warriors, as well as a message from Indian Supt. Sir William Johnson that the Six Nations of the North would join them in defeating the French. The message created much enthusiasm at first, until they began to hear conflicting reports about northern Indians. Meanwhile Glen, hearing that the Crown

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*The Cherokee Frontier - Conflict and Survival 1740-62 by David H. Corkran, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman OK. The last four pages of this chapter borrow heavily from the 4th chapt. of that book, pages 50-65.

had allocated money to Virginia for a Cherokee fort, sent Richard Smith, Abraham's brother, with a message demanding a meeting before they should take any action. Smith arrived very late, having become snowbound in winter storms in the mountains, and arrived late in February after Gist.

"With propositions of two Colonial governors before them, the Chota bargaining position...had never been better. Headmen would meet in March to decide...The interlude was lightened by the drama of Richard Pearis who, unwanted and unauthorized, now again projected himself into the Cherokee scene where he was to be an important factor for several years to come. Pearis having failed in his 1754 mission, Dinwiddie had refused to see him on his return..he then relayed the Little Carpenter's pipe and message to Dinwiddie along with a proposal that he and Nathaniel Gist be licensed to open a trading post for the Cherokees at Great Island of the Holston. This location being in Virginia, Carolina could not complain...apparently believing the Gists approved the project, he relented toward Pearis and sent him a letter approving the Great Island project.

"But by then Christopher Gist had seen fit to drop his support of Pearis and sued him forthe money lent him. The project collapsed and Pearis ceased for thetime being to have any connection with Dinwiddie. Pearis was an adventurer ambitious for wealth and position. Since he had been dropped by Gist, the large sum Pearis had advanced in credit to the Overhills became his own liability and he decided his future lay with the Cherokees. Though bankrupt, he gathered together a few sacks of trade goods and some kegs of whisky and dispatched them to Chota under the care of a packhorseman, to whom he announced he would soon come to the nation as Dinwiddie's agent.

"Young Gist appears to have had some idea of what Pearis intended, for when Pearis' man was but three days from Chota, a gang set upon him and took nothing but the letter to Old Hop. In Chota town house, Gist had the letter translated to theFire King while he mimicked Pearis and ridiculed him. When a few days later Pearis...passed Chota on the other side of the river, word got around that he had gone directly to his Indian mistress at Toquo. Old Hop summoned him to Chota where, amid raucous Indian laughter the Fire King asked how long the Governor of Virginia had been corresponding with Cherokee wenches. Pearis turned angrily upon Gist and accused him of treachery. Old Hop..sternly ordered...him to leave and confine himself to trade. Nevertheless, Pearis eventually achieved more for Virginia among the Overhills than did Nathaniel Gist."

Under Gist's spell they resolved to send a large group of warriors when, all of a sudden, forty Shawnees and Mingos from Logstown arrived on behalf of the commander at Fort Duquesne and the message that the Six Nations had declared neutrality. Gripped in fear, they refused to budge. Gist took back to Virginia a false tale that Pearis had used liquor to defeat theVirginia project, and Dinwiddie, after Braddock's defeat, wildly blamed both Glen and Pearis for the Cherokee failure to support the British expedition. (Actually, Braddock's distaste for Indians was so great he would have alienated them himself, as he did the Delawares.)

Glen called the headmen to a large conference at Saluda, during which, in exchange for an immense cessation of land, he guaranteed greatly expanded trade plus a large fort for their protection, manned by white soldiers, on the Little Tennessee near Chota. Frightened as they still were of French/Shawnee attack, the proposal was gratefully accepted. After this Oconostota dispatched war parties against French Indians on the Wabash and Illinois, but they did not send warriors to Virginia, still waiting for the "great and constant trade" promised by Gist. They were yet reluctant to break the recent agreement with the Shawnees.

"Shortly, however, due to the efforts of none other than Richard Pearis, the Cherokee mood toward Virginia softened. Late in July, having satisfied Gist and regained Dinwiddie's confidence, Pearis returned to Chota. He bore a message from Dinwiddie, penned before Braddock's defeat, urging Cherokees to send help to the British general. Greeted coldly at first, for Carolina traders had circulated a rumor he had come to collect $2,500 owed him by Indians, he endeared himself to the Overhills by publicly burning his accounts and ledgers. They could not then ignore his mission...but they sent Old Hop's adopted son Cappy to Williamsburg..with a proposition..If Dinwiddie would build a fort on the Great Island, they would send warriors to protect lands and properties deserted by inhabitants of Virginia's SW frontier and go against Shawnees. Pearis had achieved a major coup in winning Cherokees to his program. So high did they esteem him that they asked Dinwiddie to use him as Virginia's agent in all future communications to them. But their contribution in 1755 was meager as pessimism set in when Glen was slow to implement his Saluda promises and the French threat moved closer to home."

In Chapter Three we read how the time of Braddock's disaster coincided with a massacre at Draper's Meadows not far from the home of Richard's brother, George Pearis Jr. On 8 July 1755 Northern Indians killed Col. James Patton and several others. They stole his stores of ammunition and took several prisoners, among them the pregnant Mrs. William Ingles and two little sons whom they carried to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto across the Ohio. Ingles andDraper did all they could to secure their return, including a trip to Williamsburg to seek help. In another raid, Cherokee trader Samuel Stalnaker was captured and his wife and son Adam killed and scalped. Though not recorded in history, we may be sure many messages passed back and forth between the Pearis brothers.

That winter, to show their sincerity, 130 Overhills led by Ostenaco and the Yellow Bird with Richard Pearis as interpreter departed for the Virginia frontier where, based at David Robertson's fort on New River, they stood that winter between SW Virginia and the Shawnees.

In December, Ostenaco, ambitious for Virginia favor and bored with the confinement ofdefense along the quiet frontier, suggested a bold plan which he urged Richard to place before the Governor. The outcome is described in next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT

While the Overhills of the Chota region were so greatly upset over the debacle following the Great Sandy Expedition, residents of the Lower Towns sensed an opportunity to contest their domination. Thus twenty braves under Seroweh "the Mankiller" of Estatoe left with Richard Pearis to fight the French on the Monongahela. That only ten additional joined Major Lewis was probably partly due to opposition from a trader named Beamer who objected to their going off during hunting season owing him debts; and partly because many more accompanied Wauhatchee (or Wahachy--much more about him later) on a journey to meet new Governor Lyttelton in Charles Town where they were entertained enthusiastically and received lavish gifts. Unlike Glen, Lyttelton asked that warriors be sent to Virginia. Wauhatchee sanctimoniously stated that he had already sent a group with Seroweh, and used the occasion to badmouth the Overhills. But perhaps even he did not realize the full extent of intrigues of French John with Old Hop, or that an Overhill mission had been sent to Detroit. (Old Hop died only three months later.)

Though evidently Richard still maintained a trading house in "Augusta County" (Long Island?) his home was still at Winchester, and he would have been delighted to visit the plantation and see his relatives. It must have been during this time (early Spring 1756) that the following incident, described by George Washington, occurred. Because of the reference to Cacapehon River (see map page 3 upper left) I assumed at first that he was speaking of Richard's brother Robert, but Robert was not a local captain until that fall, and he also mentions the Big Sandy tragedy. Pearis's group fell upon a small party of Shawnees commanded by French officer Monsieur Douville whom they killed and scalped. Here are the letters. You be the judge. From - Writings of Washington by Ford, pages 300-4 and 309.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Honble. Sir; I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express (notwithstanding I hear two or three are already sent down) to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs on this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed several murders not far from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger, that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do

not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thick settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations.[14]

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawanese Town. It was an expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.[15]

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honour will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains. I am your Honor's, &c.

Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,[16] who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.[17]

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their Instructions; where Orders are given to burn, if possible, our Magazine at Conogochieg, a place that is in the midst of a thick settled Country.

I have Ordered the party there, to be made as strong as time, and our present circumstances will afford,[7] for fear they should attempt to execute the Orders of Dumas. I have also ordered up an Officer and twenty Recruits to assist Joseph Edwards and the people on those waters.[8] The people of this Town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack; and all the Roads between this and Fort Cumberland, are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draught men, I hope care will be taken that none are chosen but active, resolute men—men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen. I also hope, that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our Numbers to what the Assembly design to establish; as many of those we have got are really, in a manner unfit for Duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are Draughted, should be only taken for a time: by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us.

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS

Winchester, April 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I had scarce reached Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French and Indians advancing within our settlements, and doing incredible mischief to the inhabitants, which oblig'd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everything in deep confusion, and the poor distressed inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I cou'd immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as t'was judged most likely to meet with the Enemy; one of which, under the command of Mr. Pearis, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small fort on the No. River of Cacapehon, whom they engaged, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander, Mons. Douville (killed), and three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur has, I believe, dispersd his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, tho' we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoverys.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfind are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the colonys continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

NOTES: A similar, more detailed book, Papers of George Washington by Abbott (1983) Vol 2 pp 334-7, includes Dumas' instructions to Douville, written in French with no translation. Dumas, who had participated in the ambush of Gen. Braddock, came from France in 1750 and was at that time commandant at Fort DuQuesne.

Joseph Edwards, whom Washington ordered troops to assist, lived in the Cacapon River area.

Abbott is ambivalent about the identity of the American captain, saying likely it was Richard, who had come home to Winchester with Andrew Lewis about that time, but that the Maryland Gazette article about the incident identified him as Capt. Robert Paris. Ford, compiler of Writings, identified him as "Richard Pearis, who had a trading house on the Holston, later a captain."

Richard Pearis, fluent in the Cherokee tongue and a favorite with the Indians but concerned about his relatives and all the others on the Virginia frontier was, for those very reasons, commissioned for a specific purpose - to lead the southern Indians against the northern Indians who were their traditional enemies. He had not taken the position for private gain--he lost money on the deal. The one hundred pounds reimbursement from the Virginia House of Burgesses did not even make up the loss of 2586 pounds of Deer leather due him from Indian hunters which he had waived by "burning his books" if the warriors would join him on the Big Sandy Expedition. And the shooting of the warriors by the frontiersmen over horses, resented just as much by him as by the braves, would nevertheless have turned some of them against all of the white race, including himself.

The Cherokees had for many years been pleading for a fort, garrisoned with soldiers near their capitol town of Chota, "to protect our wives and children if we should go to war." To regain their friendship, as well as to get Cherokees to serve in Col. Washington's army, the Virginia Assembly decided to appropriate two thousand pounds which, when added to part of the money the King had sent to the Governor for defense of the Colony, should be enough to erect such a fort. In April Major Lewis was selected to oversee the construction with Capt. Overton second in command. That Captain Pearis, under Major Lewis and of much service partly because he could translate, was also part of the group who went, is obvious from the content of Lewis's reports to Governor Dinwiddie.

Williams' Dawn of Tennessee, noticed before, pp. 174-183 contains an interesting summary of what went on, photocopy shown below:

To meet the expenses of the construction of the fort the Virginia assembly committed itself to pay two thousand pounds "in excess of the eight thousand pounds to be furnished by the Governour from the ten thousand pounds formerly sent by the King for the defense of the colony."

April 14th instructions issued to Lewis from the governor:

> I empower you to enlist 60 men for said service; many Tradesmen that can use the Saw and Ax, . . . and you are to give them such Pay as You may think proper, taking great care to be as frugal as possible. I have now given you £700 to purchase 100 Beeves to drive along with you for your support, and also to purchase what Horses you may see necessary for carrying your Provisions, Tools, etc. I have ordered all necessary Tools for the Service and Provisions necessary to be sent to Roanoke . . . You are to march with all possible Expedition to Chottee [Chota] in the Cherokee Country. When you come to Chottee You are to desire a council of the Governor, Sachems, etc. . . . You are to advise with them the proper Plan for erecting the said Fort, and that they will assist You with their Young Men in constructing the same. It's probable you will meet with a number of Men from So. Carolina sent by their governor to assist in building a Fort. You are to take care to live in great Harmony with them and consult together the most eligible and expeditious Method of finishing this necessary Business.

As seen, the Virginians expected the co-operation of South Carolinians in erecting the fort; and it was expected that it would on completion be garrisoned by Carolina troops.[7]

Lewis and Overton in June met with a cordial reception at Chota from Old Hop and Attakullakulla. Their comrade in arms, Ostenaco (Outacity or Judd's Friend), paved "the way for introducing to those people in a handsome manner." Lewis in his first communication to the governor indicated that one hundred or more Cherokees would march at once to the Valley of Virginia, and provision was made for their equipment and maintenance en route. Dinwiddie was "glad they [those Cherokees] want to see Colo. Washington."[8]

PEARIS FAMILY

CHAPTER SEVEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS, VIRGINIA REGIMENT

Richard, fluent in the Cherokee

Major Lewis reported to Dinwiddie, July 23rd:

I immediately set about the Work and have carried it on with great Expedition. The Fort will be extraordinary good, the Indians are highly pleased with it and it is much stronger than any they have ever saw; the Wall is four feet thick, will be nine foot high, with Stockade fixed on the Top of the Wall seven feet high; if we meet with no obstructions, I shall have it finished in twelve or fifteen days . . . I told them [the Indians] it was expected the Carolina people would Garrison it, but they would not hear of it; they said if the Carolina people built them a Fort, they might Garrison it, but should not suffer them to have Possession of the Virginia Fort . . . Enclosed Your Hon'r has a list of the Workmen and of what men Capt. [Richard] Pearis has; some of the best workmen have two Shillings per day, some others one shilling and six pence, thirty four at one shilling and three pence. . . . The Carolina People [expected to aid in building the Fort] are not yet arrived, it is my opinion will not before this Fort is finished.[9]

Elsewhere we learn that the fort was about one hundred and five feet square[10] and that it stood on the north side of the Little Tennessee about opposite and a mile from the town of Chota, the capital and city of refuge of the Overhill Cherokees.[11]

Thus we have preserved a description, in fair detail, of the first structure by men of the English-speaking race in the Tennessee country, homes of early traders excepted.

Major Lewis' experiences among the mercurial but not uncunning redmen is best told by himself in the report he made to the governor of Virginia.[12]

On my arrival at Chota, I met with the most kindest Usage from old hop, the Little Carpenter, and all the Indians in general, and expressed themselves to be very willing to comply with the late Treaty held by them with Col. Byrd and Col. Randolph. They continued in this friendly Disposition till I had almost finished the Fort, but when I demanded them to fulfill their promise of sending their Warriors with me to the assistance of Virginia, they then made use of all possible Equivocating Arguments to avoid sending any. The French as well as the Savanahs [Shawnees] have a constant correspondence with them more especially the great Town of Tellies [Tellico] and I am convinced that there is some scheme on foot between them and the French to distress us, and that they are greater Friends to French than to the English. During the time of my stay at Chota there was a Message sent from the Nuntewes to the Little Carpenter, and also another from the Savannahs, and also from the French at Alaboma Fort. Ever since these Messages have arrived, there has been the greatest change imaginable, and the Contents of their Messages have been kept a secret from me notwithstanding their many promises to acquaint me with everything they heard or knew. . . .

the artisans left the Overhills in August hopeful that a good number of their warriors would be sent to Colonel Washington, Lewis remaining to lead them. But when the latter arrived at Williamsburg he had only seven warriors and three women to show for his efforts.[13] A strong counter-propaganda was operating from the French at New Orleans, through Fort Toulouse in the Alabama country, the chief medium being young Chevalier Lantagnac, whose actions are to be reviewed later on.

Governor Dinwiddie had appealed to Governor Dobbs of North Carolina for financial aid in the erection of the fort which would be within the limits of North Carolina, but without avail,

The garrisoning of the fort was a problem that Dinwiddie thought South Carolina should solve, but when he learned that the southern province had determined to build its own fort near the Overhill towns, he turned to the formulation of other plans. He issued orders to Major Lewis to send in twenty-five men for that service, on the Major's return to Virginia.

The Virginia assembly appropriated two thousand pounds for the support of such a garrison.[16] When, however, the governor interviewed Lewis about the policy of sending men he witheld action until the tangled web could be straightened out.

The fort was never named or manned.[17] Standing empty it was a menace to the Cherokees themselves, since the Northward Indians might at any time seize and occupy it and from that vantage point give trouble to those for whose benefit it had been erected. It was soon destroyed by the Cherokees,[18] and at the present time no vestige of it remains. Even its story well-nigh passed into oblivion.

In November parties of the Cherokees, resisting the French influence, arrived in the Valley of Virginia, joining Washington at Winchester. Those from the Upper Cherokee region were led by Captain Richard Pearis and by Chief Ostenco[19] whose "strong attachment and faithful regard for the English," Governor Dinwiddie recognized.[20]

PEARIS FAMILY

CHAPTER SIX - THE BIG SANDY EXPEDITION

"Ingles and Draper, brooding in their sorrow at Dunkard's Fort* had no opportunity to organize a search for their missing families. An ominous silence hung over the hostile Shawnee country. At last the men made a trip to the friendly Cherokee on the Tennessee and conferred with Virginia traders there, particularly Richard Pearis, a favorite among the Overhill Indians, as the settlers called the Cherokee. They also laid their troubles before Chief Attakullakulla, the Little Carpenter, who was always well disposed toward the English when other chiefs had been noncommittal or hostile. The distraught white men offered to employ Cherokee emissaries to go to the Shawnee nation to ransom their wives and children."

It was at this time that Dinwiddie (in spite of Washington's misgivings that the scheme might backfire) conceived the notion of sending an expedition including Cherokee warriors down the Sandy River (presently part of the boundary with Kentucky) to attack the Shawnees on the Scioto River, on the opposite bank of the Ohio.

The plan looked fine on paper. The actual distance to be covered was just about what he estimated, but because it had not been fully explored they failed to consider the rugged terrain and untouched wildness of the river with its steep banks--indeed mountainous in certain stretches they didn't know about--treacherous sandbars, fallen timber, and inaccessibility of game to be hunted in case of food shortage. The men were inadequately provisioned for such a difficult journey, and, worst of all, they set out in late February 1756 when the river was swollen from the late winter thaw and current swift and uncontrollable.

"Because of his knowledge of the mountainous country north of the settlements through which the raiders had come, Ingles was selected as a scout for the expedition, which Major Andrew Lewis organized." A company of rangers commanded by Captain William Preston, who had avowed to avenge the death of his uncle, Col. James Patton, was designated as advance troops for the march. On their first night out, they stayed at the farm of Francis Cyphers, a close neighbor of George Pearis. "The frontiersmen gathered 340 strong at a fort just west of present Salem, Virginia...(at Dunkard's Fort) a hundred Cherokee warriors joined them under the leadership of Chief Ostenaco (Outacity or Judd's Friend) and Captain Richard Pearis, the Virginia trader.

"The expedition left the Fort on 19 Feb 1756 for the long, hard march through the mountainous country penetrated by the Big Sandy River and its tributaries. Known in pioneer history as the "Big Sandy Voyage," it proved a disastrous failure."

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*The Wilderness Road, Kinkead, pp. 57-62, Also for this and following page see Kegley's Virginia Frontier F. B. Kegley, Chapter 6

Are You A Pomeranian?

If you are German, Lutheran, and live in Wisconsin, your ancestors very likely came from an area near the Baltic Sea that was once known as Pomerania.

Pomerania was a province in North Central Germany whose low, rolling landscape was very similar to Wisconsin's. Over a third of its 2.3 million people were engaged in farming. Stettin was the capital city and main seaport.

By the 19th century, it was increasingly difficult for the land to support its growing population. Legal emigration began in the late 1820's and peaked in 1882. Some emigrants left for religious reasons; others hoped for better economic conditions or sought to escape conscription into the Kaiser's army.

Most of the Pomeranians who emigrated to the United States settled in the Upper Midwest.

Pomerania came to an end in 1945. After the war, the Germans were forced to leave. Pomerania was divided between East Germany and Poland when the map of Eastern Europe was redrawn. The name of Pomerania disappeared from the map and the Pomeranian people were dispersed.

With the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, land areas west of the Oder River were redefined. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern became one of the new provinces, so that the name can once again be found on the map, but it does not indicate the scope and breadth of the area once known as Pomerania.

The home of the Trapp family in Gristow, Pomerania.

The Germans used the post-and-beam type of construction extensively in Pomerania. The Pomeranians who settled in Freistadt, Wisconsin, in 1839 also built their homes, barns, and church in this manner.

DATES IN POMERANIAN HISTORY

From the 2nd century B.C. until the 4th century A.D. Germanic tribes like the Goths and Burgandy lived in Pomerania. When these tribes moved south in the 4th to 6th century, Slavic tribes like the Pomerani and Kashubi moved in. To the south of them the Polani or Poles moved in.

1128 Bishop Otto von Bamberg Christianizes Pomerania.

1181 Duke Bogislaw I of Pomerania joins the German Empire for protection from his enemies. German settlers are now invited into this Slavic land.

1534 Under the leadership of Dr. John Bugenhagen, Pomerania accepts the Reformation and becomes Lutheran.

1637 Duke Bogislav XIV dies without heir, and Pomerania goes to the Duke of Brandenburg. Brandenburg is later known as Prussia.

1871 Pomerania, as a part of Prussia, becomes part of the new nation of Deutschland, or Germany.

1946 Hinterpommern goes to Poland and the Germans are expelled.

Come, celebrate your Pomeranian Heritage!

The Pommerscher Verein Freistadt is a non-profit educational organization open to any person. All meetings are held at 7:30 p.m. the second Friday of each month at Lindenwood School, 111 W. 12351 N. Granville Rd., Mequon, WI, unless otherwise noted.

Membership benefits include the club newsletter, **Rundschreiben,** published quarterly. This newsletter contains information on Pomerania. Discounts are also available on the sale of maps and booklets. Voting members have access to our library of historical and genealogical materials.

To Pommerscher Verein Freistadt
P.O. Box 204
Germantown, WI 53022

Web Site: http://~~www.~~my.execpc.com/~pommern/
E-Mail: Pommern@execpc.com

I desire the following membership:
Individual ( ) $15/yr. Family ( ) $20/yr. Assoc. Non-Voting ( ) $10/yr.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ email _____

I would also like the following information:

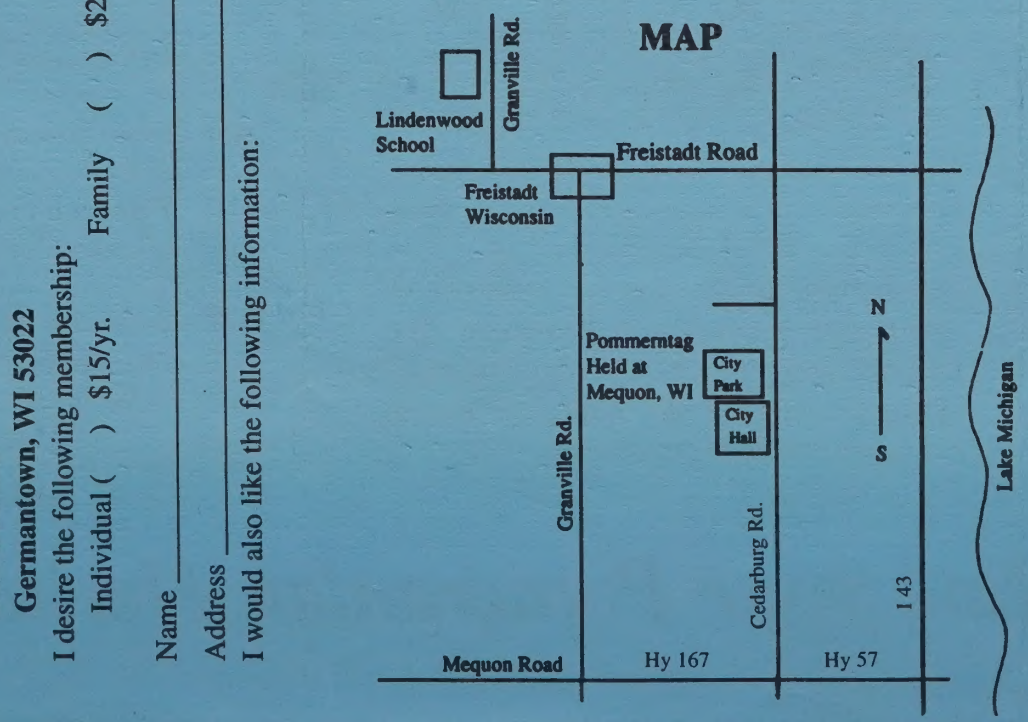
POMMERNTAG
(Pomeranian Day)

Join us for our annual ethnic celebration held the last Sunday in June at Mequon City Park. Enjoy delicious German food; authentic folk dances by the Pommersche Tanzdeel, Luetten Pommersche Tanzdeel, and Backfische; music by the Alte Kameraden Band and Trinity Male Chorus.

Festivities begin at noon, with the raising of the American and Pomeranian flags at 2:00 p.m. Browse through the cultural and genealogy displays. GENERAL PUBLIC WELCOME!

Free Admission
Continuous Entertainment

MAP



Pommern

Pommerscher Verein Freistadt

The purpose of the Pommerscher Verein Freistadt is to promote and contribute to the growth of Pomeranian culture through the study of Pomeranian history, music, customs, food, language, and dance, and through genealogical research.

(Griffith Ancestors) 6

Family Record

Family No. Pearis (1) Surname

Father — George PEARIS, Sr.

Event	Day	Month	Year	Town	County	State	Notes	Source No.
Birth		ca	1698?		~~Ag.~~ Ireland			
Death	will is proved	Nov	1749		Frederick	Virginia Colony	"Parish" Run of Back Creek	
Buried		Sep.	1752				NW of present Winchester	
Married		ca	1716?					

Occupation Planter Military Church ~~Presbyterian~~?

Places Lived

Other Wives

His Father's Name Pearis

His Mother's Maiden Name

Mother — Sarah

Event	Day	Month	Year	Town	County	State	Notes	Source No.
Birth		ca	1695?		Northern Ireland			
Death		May	1753				Pearis Run of Back Creek	
Buried								

Occupation Military Church ~~Presbyterian~~

Places Lived

Other Husbands

Her Father's Name

Her Mother's Maiden Name

Children (all presumably born in ~~Northern~~ Ireland? birthdates estimated unless exact)

Sex	Full Given Name	Event	Day	Month	Year	Town	County	State	Source No.
	1. Christian (Christine?) Pearis (son John Neeley)	Birth		ca	1720?			Ireland?	
	Spouse - William? Neeley	Death	living		1771	in Camden Co.		SC	
		Married			17	~~moved from Lunenburg Co. to Granville Co. by July 1771~~			
	2. George Pearis	Birth		ca	1722?			Ireland?	
	Spouse - Sarah Pepper (dau Sir Robert?) (1725-)	Death	before		17	lived 1753 No. Fork Roanoke - Pearis Mth (Mouth) Co.			
		Married		ca	1742?	To Mecklenburg & Mt by April 1764. Lancaster		PA?	
	3. (Capt) Richard Pearis (Fr/Indian & Rev War)	Birth			1725			Ireland?	
	Spouse - Rhoda Hatton (½ Cherokee)	Death (72y)	11	Nov	1794	Abaco Island Bahamas		British East Florida	
		Married		ca	1743	Cherokee Indian Village	Togwe	near the Appalachian	NC
	4. (Capt) Robert Pearis (Fr/Indian War) (to NC 1764)	Birth		ca	1726?			Ireland?	
	Spouse - Elizabeth Lenon (dau James)	Death	living	Nov	1769	in Salisbury	Rocan	North Carolina	
		Married			175	Davis Mustang	Fedrick	~~Stark~~ VA	
	5.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							
	6.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							
	7.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							
	8.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							
	9.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							
	10.	Birth							
	Spouse -	Death							
		Married							

In the circles, identify by number your sources of information — then list each on the reverse side.

☐ Additional children listed on the reverse side.

CHAPTER TWELVE - A FREDERICK COUNTY GENTLEMAN

With his old critics gone from Winchester and the war winding down in that area, Richard was glad to be back home for a well deserved rest. The children were growing fast. By then there were probably at least four, two boys as well as Sarah and Margaret. George, the oldest son, was probably born soon after his father's death, and this boy was very definitely half Cherokee, all the records are clear on that, though the books differ about whether Rhoda and the others were. Frederick County deeds prove Rhoda was his wife by May 1762 when she signed deed releases with him, and presumably before that. We assume but are not sure she was our foremother. It could also be that George, Sarah, and Margaret were from a Cherokee mother who died, after which he married Rhoda. All kinds of alternatives are possible; we can only wonder. More about that later.

His activities in 1760 and in early 1761 have not come to light, but he was an active man with ambition and a fertile mind. One imagines he was soon exploring some of his old haunts along the Valley, especially if the rumor about his being an Indian agent were true, but one wonders how,if they were at war with the whites. It is also a mystery how our Sarah came to be courted by Sgt. George Teter, then a soldier under Captain Nathaniel Gist, Richard's old partner. Troops were busily occupied in Southwest Virginia. Though George also came from near Winchester, the circumstances of his family were more modest. How George and his brother Samuel had happened to be, as was Richard, Virginians fighting as Maryland troops* is also unexplained except that Fort Cumberland had originally been a Virginia fort on Maryland soil, Braddock's Road led there. If Sarah really was half Cherokee, that might explain her marrying into a more humble German family; but George was also a go-getter. He may simply have impressed her family as a desirable suitor. They were married about March 1762, when he was discharged from the service, and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. He became an ensign during the Revolution, but migrated to Kentucky in 1779/80 where he received military bounty land for his prior service. One suspects an additional motive for going there was to avoid having to fight the Tories in the Carolinas. Heaven knows there was enough to do fighting the Shawnees in Kentucky, as Richard's oldest grandchildren (her sons) wound up doing.

Frederick County deeds show that he and Lewis Pearce (or Pearis or Pares or Peirs) Junior and Senior bought some acreage situated on Opequon Creek as a mill site from the Strode (or Stroud) family for what seems like an amazingly low price, of which he later became sole owner. Perhaps there is a simple explanation for this seeming bargain, but it makes one wonder whether either he or Rhoda were related to the Strodes or the Pearces. Superficial probing does not reveal any such connection. A couple of books say Pearis was a corruption of the surname Pearce, but I remain unconvinced--the usual mis-spelling was Paris, adopted by some descendants, not his so far as I know. The old deed book entries sound quaint, but different laws applied than now, and this was a hangover from the old English law, involving quitrents, etc.

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*See page 115

CHAPTER TWELVE - THE FREDERICK COUNTY CONTINGENT

With his old critics gone from Winchester and the war winding down in that area, Richard was glad to be back home for a well deserved rest. The children were growing fast. By then there were probably at least four, two boys and a girl: Sarah and Margaret. George, the oldest son, was probably born soon after his father's death, and this boy was very definitely half Cherokee, all the records are clear on that, though the books differ about whether Rhoda and the others were. Frederick County deeds prove Rhoda was mixed by May 1762 when she signed deed releases, and presumably sometime before that. We assume but are not sure she was our Cherokee. It could also be that George, Sarah, and Margaret were from a Cherokee mother who died, after which he married Rhoda. All kinds of alternatives are possible; we can only wonder. More about that later.

His activities in 1760 and in early 1761 have not come to light, but he was an active man with ambition and a fertile mind. One imagines he was soon exploring some of his old haunts along the Valley, especially if the rumor about his being an Indian agent were true, but one wonders how if they were at war with the whites. It is also a mystery how our Sarah came to be courted by and married to Captain Nathaniel Chew, Richard's old partner, then a soldier under Captain Bernhard Otey, Richard's old partner, for they were busily occupied in Southwest Virginia. Though George also came from near Winchester, the circumstances of his family were more modest. How George and Elsbrother Samuel had happened to be, as was Richard, Virginians fighting as Maryland troops is also unexplained except that Fort Cumberland had originally been a Virginia fort on Maryland soil, Braddock's road had been. It turns really was half Cherokee, that might explain her marrying into a more humble German family; but George was also a go-getter. He may simply have impressed her family as a desirable suitor. They were married about March 1762, when he was discharged from the service, and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. He became an ensign during the Revolution, but migrated to Kentucky in 1779/80 where he received military bounty land for his prior service. One suspects an additional motive for going there was to avoid having to go fighting the Shawnees in Kentucky, as Richard's oldest grandchildren (her sons) wound up doing.

Frederick County deeds show that he and Sarah (or Rhoda or Sarah or both) junior and senior bought some acreage situated on Opequon Creek as a mill site from the Strode (or Stroud) family for what seems like an amazingly low price, of which he later became sole owner. Perhaps there is a simple explanation for this seeming bargain, but it makes one wonder whether he or Rhoda were related to the Strodes or the Pearsons. Superficial probing does not reveal any such connection. A couple of books say Rhoda was a connection of the surname Pearse, but I remain unconvinced--the usual mis-spelling was Peris, adopted by some descendants, not his so far as I know. The odd deed book entries sound quaint, but different laws applied then now, and this was a hangover from the old English law, involving quitrents, etc.

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*See page 129

(See other cards)

Frederick County Deed Books, Volume 6*

page 439 29 Nov 1761. (Lease) Between Edward Stroud of Co of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co...consideration of five shillings, parcel of Land Containing one Acre lying & being on Opechon Creek..part of greater tract of 360 acres..rent of one pepper corn on Lady Day next.*(signed) Edward Strode, Elioner (E) Strode Wit: Basil Magruder, John White, Mary (+) White. Recorded 2 Dec 1761

pg 440, 1 Dec 1761 (Release) between Edward Stroud & Elener his wife of County of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co., for and in consideration of Forty Shillings..One Acre (same as above). Wit: same as above /s/ Edward Strode, Eleaner (E) Strode. 2 Dec 1761

pg 518, 14 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Sen. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County...consideration of Five Shillings..150 Acres..(same as above) Wit: same as above.
/s/ Lewis (L) Pearce Sen Rec. 2 March 1762 (Lease part not shown)

pg 520, 27 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County..Consideration of Five Shillings...One Acre of Land belonging & being part of a Certain Tract Containing 360 Acres lying & being on Opechon Creek (in possession of Edward Strode) Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said Term../s/Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares. Wit: Jas. Blair, Holloway Poor, John Hardin

pg 522, 27 Jan 1762 Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said county, consideration of Five Shillings, acre of land as above. /s/ Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares
Wit: same as above, Rec. 2 Mar 1762.

NOTE: In those days throughout Virginia, men were better educated than women, who mostly learned the domestic arts, though there were exceptions. You will notice Eleanor Strode signed (E), Mary White signed (+) and Mary "Peares" signed (X). Lewis Pearce, Senior, signed (L)and his son signed Lewis Peairs. As you may have noticed before, Richard always abbreviated his name "Richd Pearis." Rhoda must have been pretty well educated, for she always signed her name, "Rhoda Pearis." Would a Cherokee have done this? Most, even chiefs, were illiterate and pretended not to understand English though they really did, as a ruse. (Chiefs, that is.) That makes it appear that Rhoda was from a very literate white family, but it is possible that a much-loved Cherokee lady could be taught.

Most of the deeds will not be repeated in the text. The above is just something to mull over on the outside chance that it might be significant. The acre on Opequon Creek was utilized as a Saw Mill, probably a very good investment.

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*In colonial Virginia, Lady Day, celebrated each March 25th, was the traditional day for settling accounts and paying yearly rents. This had been a custom in Southwest England since Medieval times. See Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America by David Hackett Fischer (1989-Oxford Univ Press) page 370.

opposite an Island; corner Imanuel Eberling. (Note: Emanuel Eckerling or Eckerlin was a Dunker physician who migrated further north when the Shawnees started their hostilities, winding up in Duncard Creek in Pennsylvania of all places. Somewhere along the line he visited Williamsburg, and is mentioned in Washington Papers. More about him is told in the Teter Family story. The Dunkers, or Dunkards, were a German pacifist sect, vegetarians who never shaved, even if their beards should grow so long they touched the ground, and observed the 7th day Sabbath. Our George's father came to America with a group of them. Though deed books show a 1753 patent date, they had come there much earlier, and were well established on New River before 1750 when the explorer--later Richard's business associate and before that official provisioner for Virginia during the late hostilities--the omnipresent Dr. Thomas Walker, visited them there on 1750 on his way to acquire land in Kentucky for the Loyal Land Company. The Dunkers, already on the site, secured title to the land by the accommodating services of Col. James Patton, later one of the first victims and special target of Shawnees led by French-Canadian Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. They captured Captain John Smith who was later ransomed. I do not know whether he was the man mentioned in next paragraph. The reason the patent was issued so late as 1753 is that papers could not be made out until surveys were completed, which often took many years to accomplish.)

pg 18. (month not shown) 1762. ½ amount not shown. John Smith to Alex Sayers, one half of a tract held jointly by John (Smith) and Richard Pearis, containing 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn, 20th June 1753 (Either this is wrong or 1754 shown in the previous entry is) and conveyed to us by John Miller 18th May 1762, described as in above conveyance. Sent to Col. Preston by his order Oct 1773. (I don't know what this has to do with it, but Col. Preston was Col. Patton's nephew. Preston was one of the officers in the Big Sandy Expedition.)

pg. 87. 16 November 1762. Richard Pearis and Rhoda, of Frederick County, to Alexander Boyd of the Virginia Regiment, ½ amount not shown, one half of a tract containing (blank) acres in upper part of Dunger (sic) Bottom, conveyed by John Miller to said Richard Pearis and a certain John Smith, August 1762. Delivered: Alex Love, November 1763.

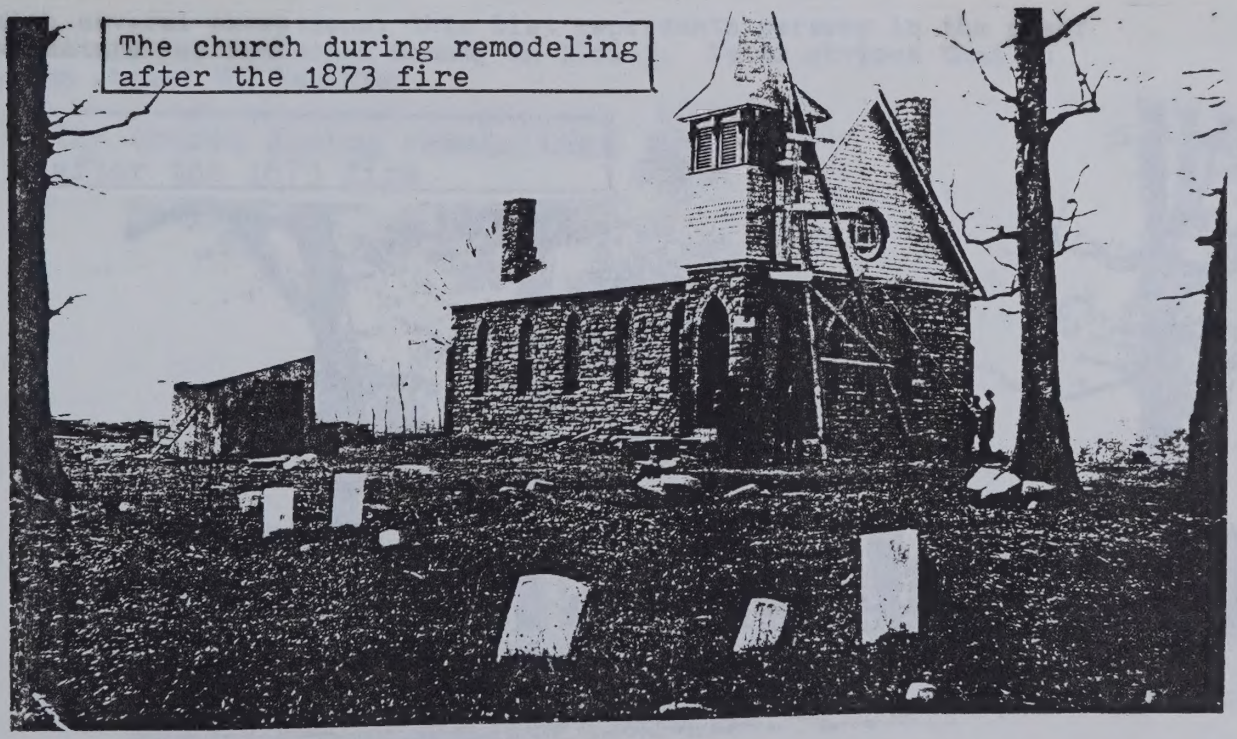
Richard's motives in acquiring the land at Dunker Bottom are unclear. It would have been an ideal site for development, had he decided to do that, and Sarah and George later bought some land not far away, but he sold the land to Alexander Boyd "of the VA Regiment." This is the same family who owned the trading post (or store) at Fort Lewis, to whom his brother George became so deeply indebted. George's brother-in-law Samuel Pepper, living nearby, also was indebted, but he was a prosperous man owning much land and later established the famous ferry at present Radford VA. He remained on cordial terms with George's sons later in life.

Evidence that our Pearis family attended church regularly is shown in the following record. Rules were then such that usually only members were permitted to participate in communion services, which were held only a few times a year. To become a member, one had to convince church elders that they were pious and well informed in doctrine.

Old Frederick County Parish Record (From Kerns, cited pg 28)

Two pages from a Frederick County Parish record show signatures of parishioners who participated in the communion (Eucharist) during 1761-1763. The register was found in an original book among miscellaneous Frederick County records in the Virginia State Library, Archives Division. At the top of the register is the statement, "I do declare that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person Whatsoever." This was one way of saying that the communion table was for Protestants only.

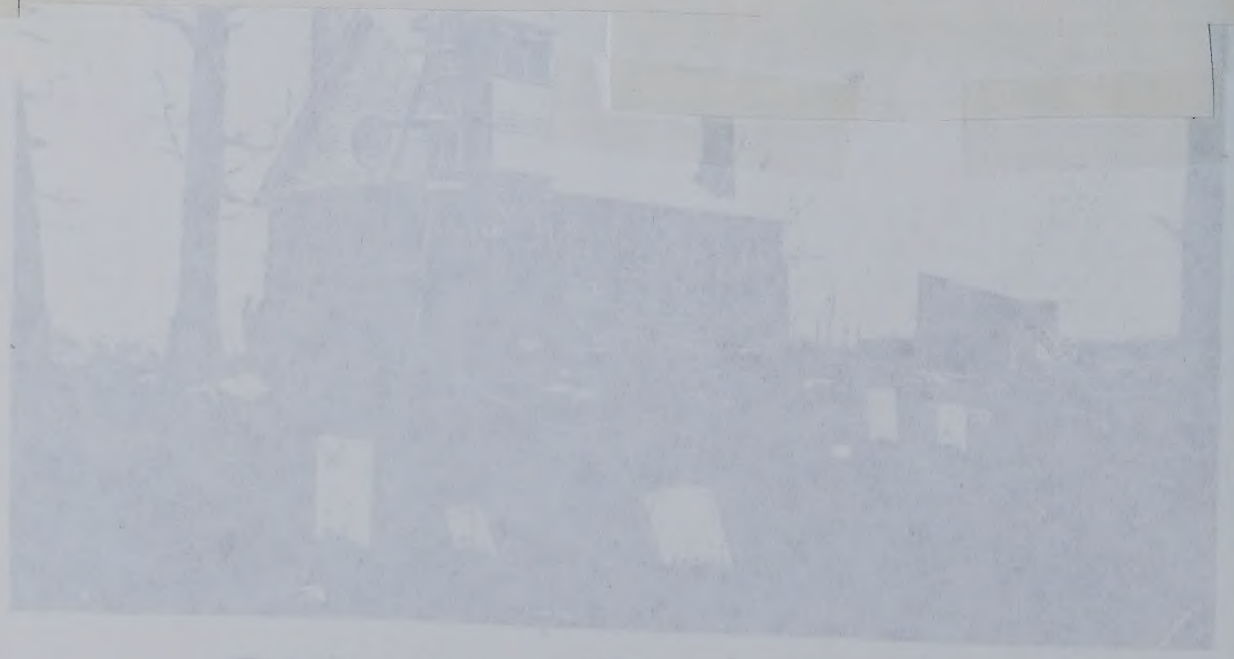
Some persons who signed the register were: Nicholas M._____(German). John Hite, Jacob Morgan, Thomas Caton, ____Mandley, James Clark, James Ireson, John Neaville, John McKensie, John Christopher Heintz?, James Keith, Thomas Speake, Lewis Moore, Cornelius Vansdell, Peter Hog (on June 1, 1762), Joseph Longacre (German sig.), Joseph Glass, John Lindsey, Thomas Bryan Martin, John Sheen, Richard Pearis, ✓ John Watson, John Taylor, Edward Robinson, David Shepherd, Jeremiah Odell, John Shealy (his X Mark--the only person who could not sign his own name), Charles Smith, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Rutherford, Thomas Whitson, William Overall, Thomas Wadlington, Archibald Wagner, Humphrey Wells, Isaac Russell, Thomas Lowe, John Kennedy, Joseph A (illegible), Elijah Isaacs, John Linsey, Daniel Bush, John Edwards, Edward Rogers Jr., Morgan Morgan, Walter Moffett, John Waton(German), Van Swearington, John Wager, Wastley Whit, John Dark, Alex Lemen, John Jenkins, Martin____(German), Richard Jackman, Adam Stephen, Burr Harrison, Angus McDonald, Thomas Helm, and Henry Netherton



The church during remodeling after the 1873 fire

~~Also see page 8.~~ Another view of the church shown in Chapter Two.

1737



PEARIS FAMILY

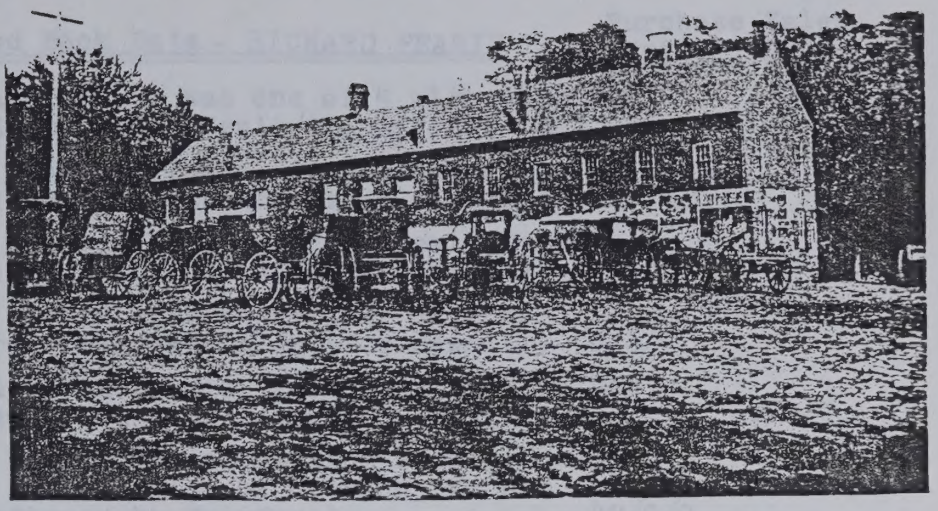
Our family had been gone for a century when these photos were taken during the late 19th century, but they were familiar with all these places.

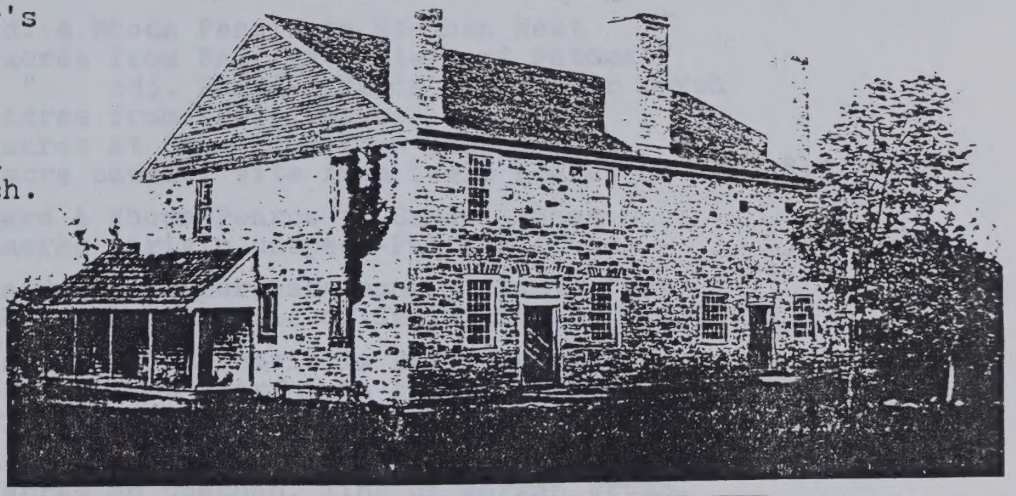
Right-very old market at Winchester

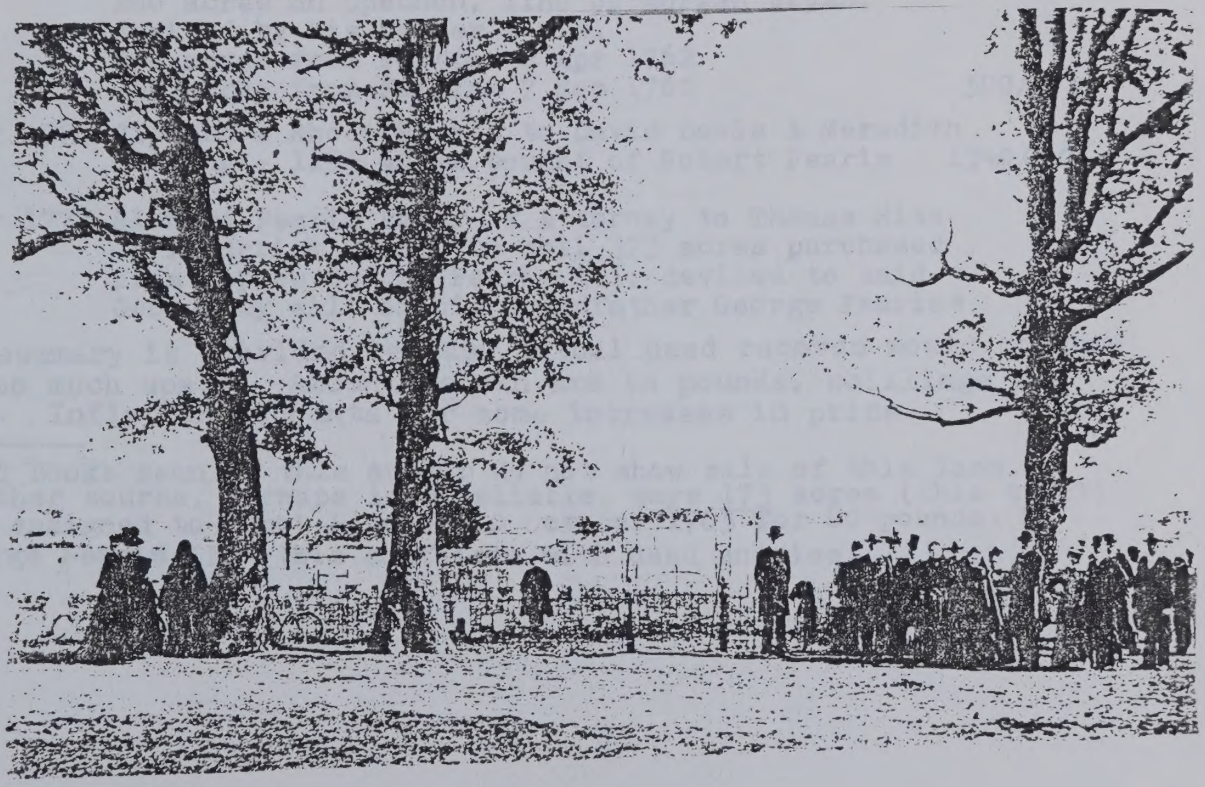
Center-Old meeting-house of the Hopewell Quakers, located a couple of miles north of George Pearis, Sr's homestead.

Below-group of mourners at Cpeckon graveyard next to the church.

Taken from: Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants by T. K. Cartmell







Frederick County Deed Book Data - RICHARD PEARIS	Purchase Price	Sales Price
11 Feb 1747/8 Richard Pearis was one of 4 witnesses for the Grubb Family sale/transfer of land		
12 Nov 1761 Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis/Pearce Sr. purch. 1 acre on Opechon Creek of Strodes	0/40/0	
14 Jan 1762 Richard Pearis 150 acres from Lewis Pearce Sr. adjoining the above(former Strode)	0/5/0	
27 Jan 1762 Richard P. 1/2 acre(other half of acre above from LewisPearce Jr.(for sawmill)	0/5/0	
8 May 1762 Richd, & Rhoda Pearis, 210 acres to Strother Jones (acquired from Fairfax 7 Sep 1761)		20/0/0
8 Sep 1762 Richard Pearis 180 acres from Stephensons at Swan Pond, drains of Opechon (He had this confirmed by Fairfax.)	47/0/0	
2 May 1763 Richd. & Rhoda Pearis to Stephen West 400 acres from Fairfax "waters of Potomac" 810 " adj. Fairfax Manor & Vanmeter march 150 acres from Lewis Pearce 180 acres at Swan Pond from Stephensons 1 acre sawmill site from Lewis Pearce Jr.		819/17/05
28 Dec 1763 Richard & Rhoda Pearce to Samuel Jones 573 acres (origin unspec.-Fairfax?)		375/10/0
3 Feb 1763 Richard Pearis purchase sundry tracts from brother Robert Pearis of Salisbury NC	1000/0/0	
25 Oct 1766 Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Hunter 536 acres from Fairfax on road to Watkins Ferry,Tuscaroah Branch near Poison Field		740/0/0
25 Feb 1768 Richard & Rhoda Pearis to Cornelious Thompson 260 acres on Opechon, line of Morgan Bryan, devised by his father's will 290 acres from Fairfax 2 Apr 1762 57 acres from Fairfax 7 Sep 1762		500/0/0
16 Mar 1770 Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Davis & Meredith Darling - 1195 acres bought of Robert Pearis	1340/0/0	
23 Mar 1770 Richard Pearis Power of Attorney to Thomas Hite of Frederick County to sell 373 acres purchased from nephew George Pearis III, devised to said George by will of his Grandfather George Pearis*		

This summary is provided because actual deed records would consume way too much space. Amounts shown are in pounds, shillings and pence. Inflation accounts for some increases in price.

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* Deed Books seen by this author do not show sale of this land. Another source, perhaps less reliable, says 175 acres (this tract) was assigned to Jacob Hite on 10 October 1765 for 80 pounds. by George Pearis III--this conflicts with deed entries.

Frederick County Deed Book Data - RICHARD FEARIS

				Purchase Sales Price
11 Feb 1749/50	Richard Fearis was one of 4 witnesses for the Crosh Family sale/transfer of land			
12 Nov 1751	Richard Fearis & Lewis Fearis/Pearce Sr. purch. 1 acre on Opecon Creek of Strode		0/0/0	
14 Jan 1752	Richard Fearis 150 acres from Lewis Pearce Sr. adjoining the aforementioned Strode)		0/5/0	
27 Jan 1752	Richard F. 1/2 acre(other half of acre above from Lewis/Pearce Sr.(for sawmill)		0/5/0	
8 May 1752	Richd. & Rhoda Fearis, 300 acres to Stephenson Jones (acquired from Fairfax ? Sep 1751)		10/0/0	
8 Sep 1752	Richard Fearis 180 acres from Stephenson at Swan Pond, drains of Opecon (He had this confirmed by Fairfax.)		47/0/0	
1 May 1753	Richd. & Rhoda Fearis to Stephen West 600 acres from Fairfax "waters of Potomac" 810 " adj. Fairfax Manor & Warner Washington 150 acres from Lewis Pearce 100 acres at Swan Pond from Stephenson 1 acre sawmill site from Lewis Pearce Jr.		819/17/04	
28 Dec 1753	Richard & Rhoda Fearis to Samuel Jones 373 acres (origin unspec.-Fairfax?)		375/10/0	
3 Feb 1753	Richard Fearis purchase sundry tracts from brother Robert Fearis of Salisbury NC		1000/0/0	
25 Oct 1756	Richard & Rhoda Fearis to David Potter 336 acres from Fairfax on road to Watkins Ferry,Tuscarora branch near Golden Field		340/0/0	
25 Feb 1758	Richard & Rhoda Fearis to Cornelius Thompson 260 acres on Opecon, line of Morgan Bryan, devised by his father's will 290 acres from Fairfax 2 Apr 1758 57 acres from Pairfax 7 Sep 1758		300/0/0	
16 Mar 1759	Richard & Rhoda Fearis to David Davis & Meredith Darling - 1193 acres bought of Robert Fearis		1790/0/0	
25 Mar 1770	Richard Fearis lower of Attorney to Thomas Rite of Frederick County to sell 373 acres purchased from nephew George Fearis III, devised to said George by will of his Grandfather George Fearis*			

This summary is provided because actual deed records would consume way too much space. Amounts shown are in pounds, shillings and pence. Inflation accounts for some increases in price.

* Deed books mean by this author do not show sale of this land. Another source, perhaps less reliable, says 373 acres (this tract) was assigned to Jacob Hite on 10 October 1757 for 80 pounds. Ty - George Fearis III--this conflicts with deed entries.

The foregoing Frederick County deed book data demonstrates that throughout most of the 1760's Richard was busy acquiring and improving land, mostly from Lord Fairfax, and selling some at a profit while he operated large plantations and the sawmill with hired and slave labor. He was meanwhile expanding his horizons, partly due to contact with Jacob Hite, his old mentor during his late-teen trading days, his wartime associate Major Andrew Lewis, and Loyal Land Company executive and part-owner, Dr, Thomas Walker of Albemarle County. I regret not having details about how he became involved with Lewis and Walker and assume Hite may have had something to do with it, but that it did happen is amply proven in old Colonial South Carolina court and Indian records, many of which are adverse. Richard Pearis did have a talent for stepping on exactly the wrong toes!

This is all very complicated, again involving history, so before getting into it loose ends of what we have discovered of his Virginia involvements need tying up; as evidenced in the following, he must have had many dealings we don't know about in southern Virginia. Pittsylvania Co. 1767 tithes show his overseer William Lowry and five slaves.

Land acreage was usually listed because it was taxable. Perhaps he had none, but certain military and government officials were exempt from these. Was he, or had he no land there? We don't know.

(MPL-R929.3 V816)

TITHABLES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, 1767.

(Contributed by Mrs. N. E. Clement, Chatham, Va.)

	Tithes	Land
Swinfield Hill		150
Austin Shot	1	
Thomas Shoat	1	
John Vanbibber	1	400
Henson McDonal	1	
Francis McGuier	1	
John McGuier	1	
Thomas Carter	1	
John McGuier Jr	1	
Merry McGuier	1	
Paul Henson	1	
John Henson	1	
William Henson	1	
James Standeford	1	
William Murphy	1	113
Miller Dogget	1	
Richard Hough	1	
Joshua Barton	1	107
David Barton	1	
Isaac Barton	1	
William Ferguson	1	
Thomas Miller & William Sumers	2	
Francis Bird	1	240
Andrew Ferguson	1	
Joseph Rentfro		280
Robert Jones, Thomas Jones & Henry Jones	3	520
John Jones	1	400

Virginia Tax Records -(Geneal.Publ. Co.)

Robert Jones Jr.	1	220
Philip Smith	1	150
William Cook	1	610
John Fushon	1	225
James Rentfro jr.	1	
James Rentfro Sen, Joseph Rentfro & Peter Rentfro	3	600
Veath Dilingham & negro Jeany	2	100
Peter Vanbibber, jr.	1	200
Isaac Vanbibber	1	
Mack Foster Sen	1	
Richard Pearis's tithes are, William Lowry, negroes: Jack, Harry, Jeany, Hannah & Silviah	6	
Anthony Litle	1	170
Christopher Lackenair	1	
John Meadly	1	200
John Dilingham	1	
James Lamb	1	
William Webb	1	
John Ramsey	1	230
Joshua Weaver & Isaac Weaver	2	
Holden McGee	1	
Edward Richards	1	140
William Dilingham & Joshua Dilingham	2	93
Amos Richardson & negro Moll	2	150
Benj. Jenkins	1	300
Robert Tormet	1	
John Hall	1	200
Francis Farley	1	
Wm. Heard, George Heard & Wm. Beans	3	400
Thomas Bird	1	
Richard Shoat	1	
Jeremiah Muray	1	526
John Stevenson	1	
John Callaway, negroes Flemen, Asher, Nan & Nell	5	500
Abraham Motley & negro Peter	2	

Change & following pages 141-4 relocated

I recognize the names of most of these Pittsylvania County people as having lived in what is now Franklin County in the area between Blackwater River and Snow Creek, having learned of them through search in another ancestral line, that of Michael Dunn, not related to the Pearises, who lived on Snow Creek when the Revolution broke out. This was very broken country--with many rolling hills which must have soon become depleted, probably by attempts at raising tobacco, in short order. Michael stayed only a few years, as did others. Most of the Rentfros became very early Tennessee pioneers. Some went to the Red River, a tributary of the Cumberland River, with Colonel John Donelson, prominent Pittsylvania citizen who ran the survey line for the Treaty of Lochaber shown on an upcoming map, which much distressed Hite, Lewis, Pearis, and Walker. Other Rentfros settled in Daniel Boone's old Nolichucky hunting grounds in Green Co. TN. Some of the others on the list, like Callaways, were prominent in the initial migration to Kentucky. It was a highly mobile society.

Our Sarah (Pearis) and George Teter were also among those who were rather early ~~to Kentucky~~. They seem not to have lived in Frederick County long if at all, but in the Valley. Their oldest son, Samuel Teter, in Revolutionary War pension papers filed when he was an old man, said he was born in Botetourt Co. VA on 27 February 1763 (probably about 11 months after the wedding). ~~There was no~~ Botetourt County ~~till~~ 1769, ~~when the county seat was and is Fincastle, but~~ then covered ~~such~~ a large territory ~~that they could have been south of that~~, near Uncle George and the cousins. The first land they purchased of which records have been found, was at the mouth of Crab Creek on New River, which would have been in ~~Montgomery County, not Botetourt~~ that same body

including the part of Montgomery Co.

Augusta County Deed Book 15

pg 81. February 1768. Frederick Starn to George Teetar, ~~L~~(Chalkey does not specify amount but it was ten pounds) 85 acres by patent 22 August 1753, on Crab Creek, a branch of New River. Teste: W. Ingles, William Davis, John Taylor, John and William Buchanan. Sent to George Teeter by his order April 1769.

Frederick Stern, the original patentee, a sheriff, was moving further west to North Fork of the Holston River area, where our Teters also went a few years later. Most of those witnesses were Pearis Family associates of long standing. Uncle George had witnessed a Glade Creek deed for James Davis, relative of William; William Ingles, whose family was victimized during the Drapers Meadows massacre, had participated in the Big Sandy Expedition as a guide. The Buchanans, who later moved on, were of the same clan which produced a later US president. Ingles, by the way, later sold the tract of land on New River higher up, to cousin Captain George Pearis III where he established his own ferry and the present town of Pearisburg, VA.

Perhaps it is a bit premature, but upon consideration it seems that the Virginia Hite Family material should be included here. Some of the following is at variance with recorded history, and Richard Pearis is refered to as a rival named Parrish. The writer must have been both negrophobic and Indianophobic (I don't know the scientific word) so please take those details into consideration.

CHAPTER ~~THIRTEEN~~ TWELVE - LAND HUNGER

Details of just how and when Jacob Hite and/or Richard Pearis became involved with Doctor Thomas Walker and Major Andrew Lewis in their quest for land is lost to history. Like today's insider trading, some things never became public. In that era the path to riches was filled with intrigue, though land speculation was nothing new. Virginia Colony had long made huge grants of frontier land as a way to counteract French expansion, though the class-conscious burgesses were careful to deny any petition for such to any man of the "inconsequential sort." That is how Frederick County was settled--by a grant to Jacob's father. Such grants were made all up the Valley, some of the acreage going to Dr. Walker's own Loyal Land Company

But no sooner was the ink dry on the treaty of peace signed in Paris in 1763 than the British Government dumbfounded the colonies with a Proclamation declaring a moratorium on all settlement beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The purpose was laudable, to prevent Indians from attacking whites over land encroachment. Most members of the Board of Trade and Parliament knew almost nothing about American geography and cared less. Even the more informed failed to realize the extent of settlement already in the forbidden area. Settlers there were ordered to evacuate. There was still much vacant land in New York, which they insisted should be filled up first. That was true, but it was because it was all tied up in huge Manors and the lords of the manors would not sell but insisted on renting and treating the renters as serfs in the Medieval style, already obsolete in the mother country. Most Americans were too independent-minded for anything like that.

Most Americans were outraged. They had also felt the sting of being considered lowly provincials by the British Army, and felt they had won the country by fighting for it. George Washington, one of the more active land speculators, opined that he could never see that proclamation as "anything but a temporary expedient." Soon other issues, like the 1765 Stamp Tax to force the colonies to pay part of the cost of the late war, became so irksome that a spirit of civil disobedience was fostered. Certain it is that many of the Scotch-Irish beyond the Line, some of them squatters, never did move. Much effort had already gone into the development of the Fort Pitt area, for instance. People like Christopher Gist had long lived in far Western Maryland and would not budge. Many Virginians now lived around Redstone Old Fort (Burd) and so on. Thomas Walker owned 4500 acres at Burke's Gardens, another large tract at Wolf Hills (now Abingdon VA) and many others beyond the Line. Andrew Lewis also had holdings at Burke's Gardens and elsewhere.

Other more skilful manipulators than these men were after much more extensive claims, some overlapping theirs, like Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, on intimate terms with men like Sir William Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, to whom he gave enough slices of the pie to keep them interested. Wharton's Company was Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Captain William Trent, one of the associates, used his influence on Sir William Johnson, powerful Supt. of Indians in the North, to organize a conference which resulted in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, signed 5 November 1768.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN - LAND FRAUDS

Fort Stanwix & Hard Labor

Negotiations of the Treaty, as described in The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,(1959) by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Vol II pp 68-71

There was an immense crowd gathered for the Treaty, with an estimated 3400 Indians. Both colonial representatives and Indians realized that one of the most important treaties ever made in the forests of America was about to be consumated, and they both had hopes that it would result in a long peace between the two peoples. Sir William Johnson opened the meeting with the solemn and figurative language usually employed in addressing the natives. He recalled that in 1765 he had laid before them the plan of a boundary line to which they had agreed and told them that now the time had come to run the same. Great emphasis was laid on the fact that the king was prepared, in return for a grant of land, to give the large and handsome present which was conspicuously arranged before the eyes of the assembly.

Without doubt this array of gifts had its effect on the savage mind; there was at first great opposition to granting all that Sir William demanded, particularly in the colony of New York; but by dwelling on the subject of the presents and by means of private gifts, this objection was partially over come. The boundary line, however, was not extended to the lake at the north.

When the question of the southern end of the boundary line came to an issue, Sir William found difficulties of another kind. The Indians made certain conditions before they would make any cessions. The first conditions were undoubtedly the fruit of the conferences with the Whartons held before the assembly met at Fort Stanwix. Secret meetings with the same persons during the period of the congress further strengthened the Indians in their purpose, and there is even considerable evidence that Sir William lent his influence to gain the same end. At any rate he was not surprised when the Indians demanded that they be permitted to give a tract of land to the traders who had suffered at the hands of the Shawnee and Delawares in 1763. This tract was a very large one, situated in what is now the state of West Virginia; it was later christened "Indiana." The Indians further demanded that George Croghan, who had previously bought from them many acres of land, which now proved to lie within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, should receive another cession in compensation. Both of these grants were dated two days before the other stipulations of the treaty.

These cessions to the traders and Croghan were within the territorial claims of Virginia, and were therefore not looked upon with favor by her delegate. (This was Dr. Thomas Walker, who was now alone, Lewis having returned to Virginia in the meantime.) In later years Walker made a declaration upon which the following charge of dishonesty was based:

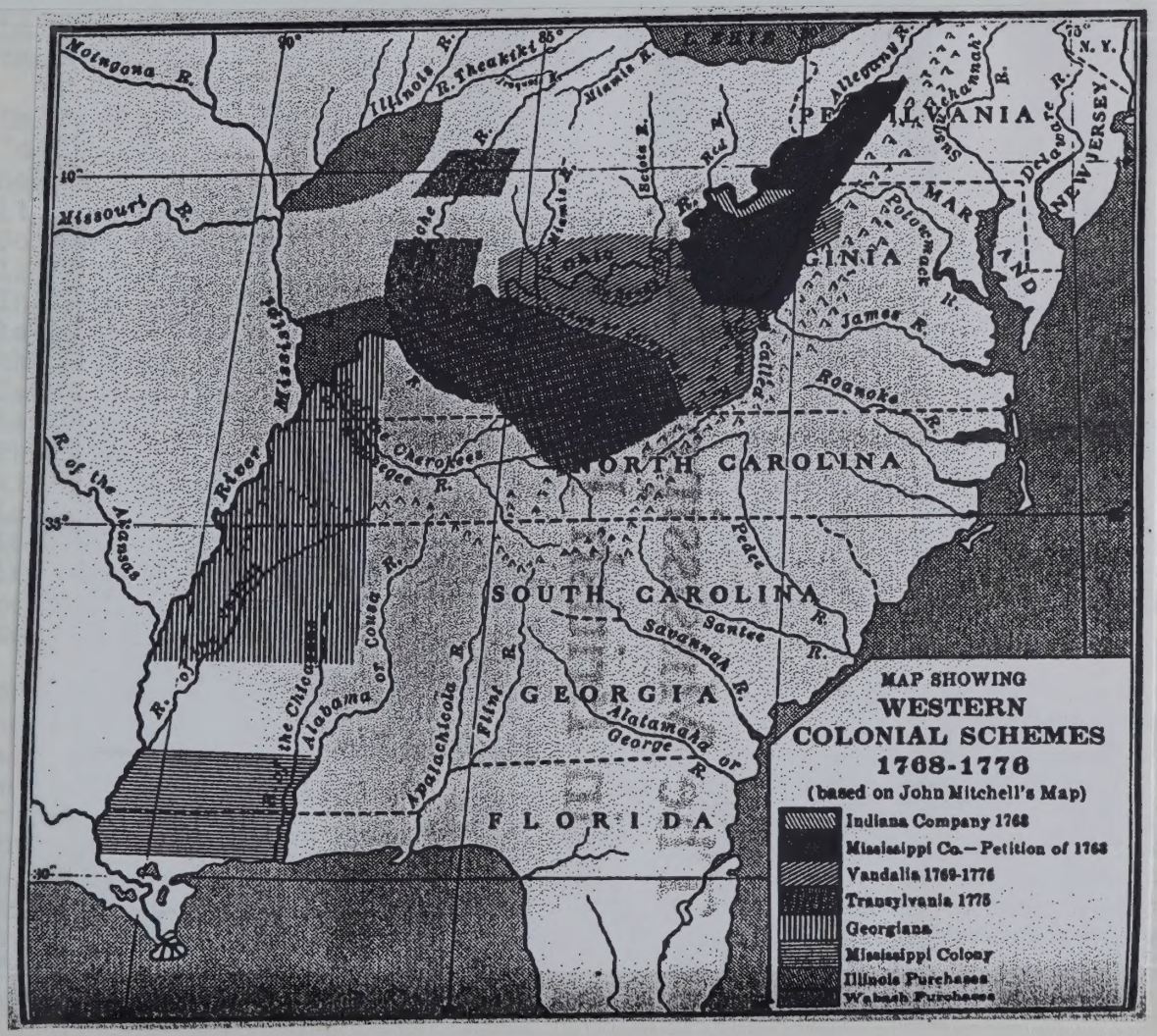
> The whole transaction wore the face of mystery and knavery; for though Dr. Walker was there as a public commissioner for Virginia, he was refused access to the conferences, the caution was used to conceal from him what they were about, and everything until the business was finished, was conducted privately with the Indian chiefs by Sir William Johnston (sic) and the traders.

Though Doctor Walker was unable to protect the territories of Virginia from encroachments, he was successful in accomplishing the object of his mission, the cession of the Iroquois claim on the western frontier of Virginia. Johnson's mind was also prepared for this act on the part of the Indians by being shown a deed "for a great part of these lands which they (the Virginia commissioners) assured (him) had formerly met with encouragement from His late Majesty and the then ministry." He was also assured that the Virginians intended to settle the region and that no power could prevent them. What methods were employed to persuade the Indians to part with a title to such a large extent of territory is matter of some doubt, since the story of the secret negotiations was carefully guarded. There are, however, indications of the means that were used.

A few years later Colonel William Preston, who was in a position to know, informed Lord Dunmore that Walker and Lewis made a purchase of the territory from the Indians. Of course no such a purchase is to be found in the public minutes of the congress, nor is there contemporary proof of it. Still, if Preston was correct, the whole affair has a sinister aspect. At least some contemporaries, having their opinion on information no longer accessible, believed inducements to make the cession were given to the Indians. Superintendent John Stuart received, shortly after the congress, information concerning the methods employed by the Virginia commissioners that aroused his suspicions of the whole transaction.

Howsoever they may have been induced to do so, the Iroquois affixed a third condition to their cession in the south, a condition which was to prove most momentous in the development of the West. They insisted that their claim to the land south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee River was just and that the Cherokee had no rights to it; and the means they took of proving that right was the presentation of this large territory to the king. Sir William always asserted that in order to consummate the treaty he felt constrained to this departure from his instructions.

The line as finally established started in northern New York near the east end of Lake Ontario, ran in a southerly direction to the Delaware River, ther westerly until it touched the Alleghany River, then down that river to the Ohio and westerly along the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee. The boundary line was now completed; it extended as an unbroken line from near the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River in northern West Florida; it closed the far West to colonization but opened up for immediate settlement land in New York, a large part of western Pennsylvania, and the territory back of Virginia as far west as the Great Kanawha.



The land hunger of those days has been likened to the gold fever of the mid-1850's that fueled a rush to California. Alvord's book used the map above, showing that the scheme just described, which produced the Indiana and Mississippi Companies, was only the first of a long series of schemes.

This and other Wharton endeavors helped sly old Ben Franklin and his son grow wealthy much faster than they ever could saving pennies a la Poor Richard's Almanac. If you really dig deep, you will soon discern that every one of the Founding Fathers of America was involved in land schemes. Thomas Jefferson's father before him, Peter Jefferson and his partner Fry were Loyal Land Company partners; when Peter died, Dr. Walker became his guardian. As late as the 1820's, Alexander Hamilton's son grew wealthy operating lead mines in Southwest Wisconsin while it was still Illinois Territory. (Richard's great grandson, our own John W, Griffith was there at the same time.) And on and on. Those gentlemen did whatever they could get away with of that nature, and the only thing that made it wrong was being on the losing side, in which case your enemy's epithets stuck and history called you evil.

The Treaty of Hard Labor takes us to 1768, the year Richard Pearis moved to Indian Territory beyond the South Carolina boundary, to be near the Cherokees. He built his home and a grist mill smack in the center of what is now downtown Greenville, South Carolina, where his image has become a local icon, sort of an anti-hero. He is known as the Old Tory who once dwelt there.

The histories say he was an Indian agent, ordered south where he "could be more centrically located" near his Cherokee charges. I have not been so fortunate as to discover what they meant by that. If true, it must have been a Virginia appointment of some kind. Sir William Johnson was superintendent of Northern Indians. He did have helpers, like Croghan, but not our Richard. The Superintendent of Southern Indians was his enemy, though Wars make strange bedfellows and they later collaborated; but not in land matters. John Stuart, rescued by the Little Carpenter from Fort Loudoun when most of the other South Carolinians were massacred, had every reason to hate them, but instead he became their staunchest defender--whether they wanted it or not. The British ministry appointed him Superintendent, with great powers Atkin never had. He was just the opposite of Sir William, an ally of Lord Hillsborough in England, nominal boss of both of them, who insisted on strict adherence to the Proclamation Line of 1763 limiting all white settlement to the area east of the mountains. Though posing as lenient to northern negotiators, Stuart also was determined to enforce that rule.

Though the Cherokees really did sell Richard Pearis land, the hard-nosed Stuart persuaded them to lie and deny it before the negotiators at the Treaty of Lochaber, and say they thought the paper they signed was an application for trade. (A case of epithets of one's enemy repeated in history) Richard knew he had bought the land, and it took more than Stuart to budge him. But Walker and Lewis were after more than a big plantation. Even when they got Governor Botetourt to back them, they got no where with Stuart. Their tale has been started, in case it involved our Richard, and needs, therefore, to be finished briefly. It is important history if nothing else, and did have at least an indirect effect on our family.

Now we will tell about the Treaty of Lochaber.

Here is how boundaries were fixed in the south by the Treaty of Hard Labor: (History of Southwest Virginia. Lewis P. Summers, pp 90-1)

John Stuart, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the South, concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, the results of which he communicated in a letter of 17 October 1768, from Hard Labor, to the Governor of Virginia. In it he defined the resultant boundary line as

"From the place called Towahilie, on the Northern Branch of the Savannah River, North 50 degrees East course in a straight line, to a place called Dewisses corner, or yellow water, from Dewisses, or yellow water, a North 50 degrees East course in a straight line to the south bank of Reedy River, at a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, where the line behind Carolina terminates. From a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, to the South Bank of Reedy River, a course in a straight line to a mountain called Tagon Mountain where the great ridge of the mountains becomes impervious.* In a straight line to Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway River, to a N.B.E. course, and from Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway in a straight line in a North course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway to the Ohio."

Back to Alvord, page 78 et seq:

The colony most immediately interested in the "imperial line," as it was called, was Virginia. Her citizens had already made settlements beyond the mountains, and some of them had marked out claims and built homes a considerable distance beyond the limits established at the treaty of Hard Labour. In the territory of the upper branches of the Tennessee River there were several such settlements situated on the extensive land claims of Walker and Lewis who had been the representatives of Virginia at Fort Stanwix; but the speculators had ambitions that went far beyond the securing of these Holston River settlements. Their success in securing the cession of all the land south of the Ohio from the Iroquois and their allies paved the way for enterprises throughout this region, and they made preparations to utilize this opportunity to the utmost.

The claim of the Cherokee to Kentucky, regarded in Virginia as particularly shadowy, alone stood in the way of a westward movement of population. Immediately after their return from Fort Stanwix, Lewis and Walker were sent by Governor Botetourt to lay before the superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern Department the reasons why the boundary line with the Cherokee should be fixed farther to the West.[122] In his letter to Stuart the governor wrote:

> Our commissioners Colonel Lewis and Dr. Walker having informed me, that the line you have marked out in your several letters as a boundary betwixt the Cherokees and Virginia will determine a large tract of land to be their [Cherokees'] property, which Sir William Johnson has purchased of the Northern Indians at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix; I have by advice of the Council directed these gentlemen personally to confer with you upon that subject, that you may if possible agree together upon a fresh plan which may satisfy the Indians and observe [*sic*] to this colony the lands lately purchased as well as those which were settled before the late war.[123]

In spite of his well-based suspicions of the two commissioners, Stuart made no objection to the proposition of Virginia, provided the change were not too extensive; and in his answer he assured the governor that he would "resume a negotiation for a new line when his Majesty shall please to signify his pleasure," and in the meanwhile he would prepare the minds of the Indians for such an alteration in their agreement.[124] The new boundary to which Stuart agreed was not to include all the territory recently purchased from the Six Nations, but only to stretch over a sufficient area to include the Virginia settlements on the Holston River. In his later negotiations with the Cherokee, Stuart discovered that the Indians were willing to sell more of their lands provided the price was satisfactory.[125]

The Virginia government evidently expected this favorable reply from Stuart concerning the reopening of the negotiations with the Cherokee, for on the same day that Governor Botetourt gave Walker and Lewis their instructions, he wrote to Hillsborough of the necessity of this change. Since Stuart agreed in this necessity the Board of Trade in their lengthy report on the boundary line, dated April 20, 1769, made favorable comment on the subject but recommended that the expense of the new purchase should be borne by the colony of Virginia.[126]

This extension to the Holston River did not satisfy the speculative ambitions of the Virginians. Their imagination had pictured vast fortunes built upon the exploitation of western land and they had become impatient at the prolonged exclusion from the Ohio Valley which they looked upon as exclusively their own. The treaty of Fort Stanwix by the cession of land as far west as the Tennessee River had offered them a golden opportunity to enter into their heritage. In particular

* Called Tryon's Mountain on following map.

the officers and soldiers who had been promised lands for their service in the late war were anxious to receive their reward. The result of the agitation of these men was a memorial by the House of Burgesses in December, 1769, to Governor Botetourt setting forth the needs of even wider limits than those proposed by Mr. Stuart.[127] The burgesses dwelt upon the great difficulty of marking and protecting a line through a mountainous territory, and they laid particular stress on the fact that "a great part of that most valuable country, lying on the Ohio, below the mouth of the Kanhaway, lately ceded to his Majesty by the Northern Indians, would be separated and divided from the British territory," within which area lands had been already legally patented. For these reasons the memorialists pointed out "that a line beginning at the Western termination of the North-Carolina line, and running thence in a due west direction to the River Ohio, may be accomplished at much less expence than the other line proposed."

To this memorial Stuart made an elaborate answer in which he criticized its contentions. The superintendent asserted that the proposed line would never touch the Ohio River and would run close to the Cherokee towns and cut off their most valuable hunting-grounds. The permission of settlements so far to the westward would arouse the hostility of every tribe and cause another Indian war. The opinion of Stuart in the end prevailed and the House of Burgesses determined on June 15, 1770, to enter upon a treaty with the Cherokee "for the lands lying within a line to be run from a place where the North Carolina terminates, in a due west direction, until it intersects Holstein River, and from there to the mouth of the Great Kanaway."[128] For this concession Virginia agreed to pay two thousand five hundred pounds.[129] The House of Burgesses assigned as the reason for renouncing the wider boundaries proposed in their memorial and their acceptance of Stuart's and the ministerial line "the menace to frontier interests resulting from the disquietude of the Indians;" but it may be that the news from London concerning the proposed establishment of a colony in the region may have been of influence upon their minds, since their purchase under the authority of the imperial government would establish more firmly Virginia's claim to part of the territory of the upper Ohio Valley.

When the idea of such a change in the line was first reported to Lord Hillsborough, he was pleased to confirm it. His letter of October 3, 1770, to Lord Botetourt offers sufficient evidence to prove his purpose at this time to permit a limited expansion of settlement to the west of the mountains. He wrote:

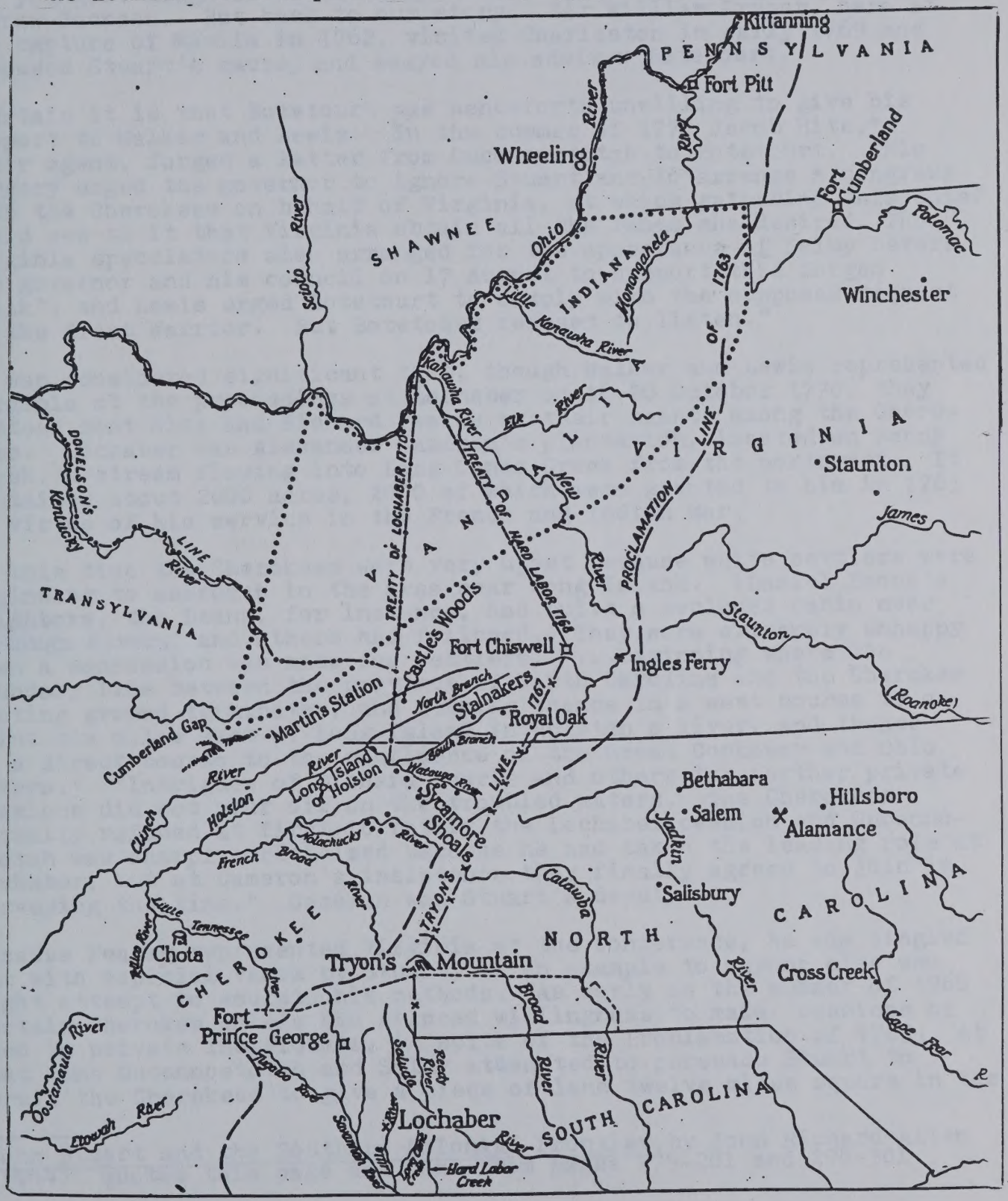
> I am convinced from the fullest consideration, that the extension of the boundary line, as proposed by the address of the House of Burgesses to you in December last, would never have been consented to by the Cherokees; or, if their consent could have been obtained, that settlement, so far to the westward, would not only have been inconsistent with the true principles of policy, but would also have been the ground of continued jealousy and disputes; and therefore it was very pleasing to me, to find that the House had receded from its claim, and closed with the proposal contained in my letter to you of the 13th of May, 1769.[130]

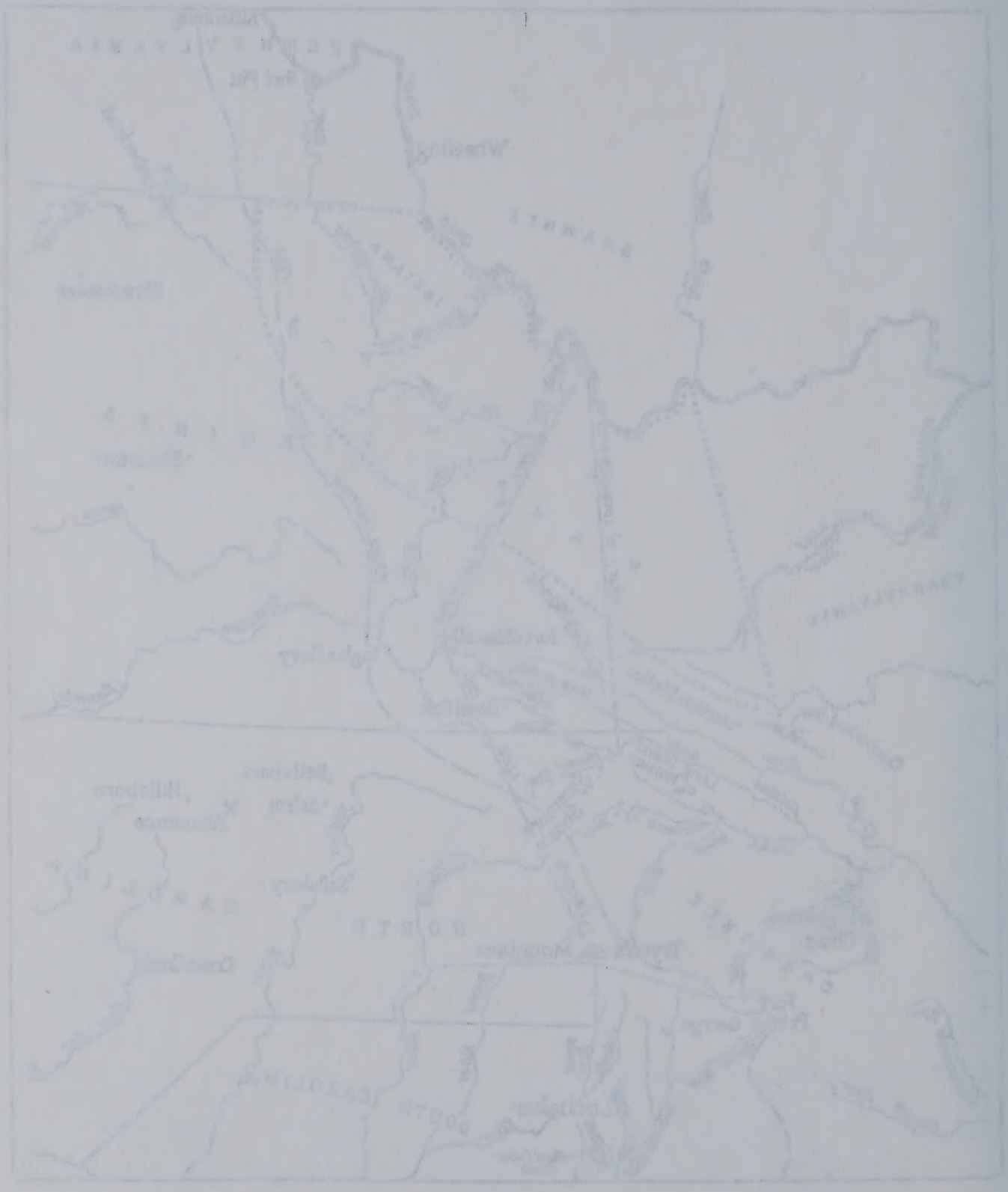
Some of the speculators were not yet ready to give up all hope of securing more extensive boundaries. On August 17, 1770, several Cherokee chiefs appeared before the colonial council at Williamsburg to discuss the question of western cessions. Governor Botetourt's mind was prepared for the Indians' speeches by a letter from Andrew Lewis, dated July 6, complaining of Superintendent Stuart's criticisms of Virginia's proposals and intimating that much better terms could be obtained by dealing directly with the Cherokee than through the mediation of the southern superintendent. Forged letters from some less well known speculators were also sent to the governor. One of the Cherokee chiefs spoke at length and informed the council that his people were ready to grant all the land the Virginians wanted. The governor was uninfluenced by the proceeding. He was in favor of promoting the land interests of his colony, but he was too good an administrative officer to attempt such a direct interference with the functions of another office. His answer both to the Indians and to Lewis was that cessions of land could be obtained only through the mediation of the superintendent.[131]

Stuart did not learn of this effort to circumvent him until he had completed his own negotiations at Lochaber; here, in October, 1770, he met one thousand Indians and carried out his promise to the Virginians. He reported to Lord Hillsborough: "Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self interested men in the province of Virginia to embarass me, in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation, to practice upon the Indians, and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me."[132] Stuart was able to carry through his own plans, however, in the face of this opposition. He pointed out to the Indians the necessity of changing the line in order to include the settlements on the Holston River. The Indians were not disposed to make so large a cession as was demanded, but the southern superintendent was successful in his arguments; and it was finally agreed that the line should follow approximately the course accepted by the Virginia assembly and approved by Hillsborough.[133]

Much more was told by Alvord, but we don't have the space. The results at Lochaber did not satisfy Lewis and Walker, soon let down by Botetourt, nor the Virginia French & Indian War veterans who had been promised land grants for service (Richard's son-in-law included). Sgt. George Teter finally received bounty land in Kentucky early 1780.

Colonel John Donelson, then official Pittsylvania Co. VA surveyor, was appointed by Gov. Lord Botetourt as his representative at the Treaty of Lochaber. Subsequently Donelson deliberately misunderstood his mandate to run the line to the Louisa River (really a branch of the west fork of the Great Sandy River) instead calling Kentucky River the Louisa. This map shows the status after that.





Not many years later this Pittsylvania County man would lead a flotilla down the Tennessee River and up the Cumberland to begin the very first settlement in middle Tennessee at the site of Nashville. His youngest daughter Rachel would become bride of future President Andrew Jackson. But back to our story. Sir William Draper, hero of the capture of Manila in 1762, visited Charleston in early 1769 and espoused Stuart's cause, and swayed his admirer Botetourt.

"Certain it is that Botetourt was henceforth unwilling to give his support to Walker and Lewis. In the summer of 1770 Jacob Hite,* their agent, forged a letter from Ouconnostotah to Botetourt. This forgery urged the governor to ignore Stuart and to arrange a congress with the Cherokees on behalf of Virginia, at which gathering this chief would see to it that Virginia obtain all the lands she desired. The Virginia speculators also arranged for the appearance of Saluy before the governor and his council on 17 August to support this forged "talk"; and Lewis urged Botetourt to comply with the supposed request of the Great Warrior. But Botetourt refused to listen."

It was considered significant that, though Walker and Lewis represented Virginia at the proceedings at Lochaber on 18-20 October 1770, they instead sent Hite and Richard Pearis as their agents among the Cherokees. Lochaber was Alexander Cameron's plantation, located on Penny Creek, a stream flowing into Long Canes Creek from the northwest. It contained about 2600 acres, 2000 of which were granted to him in 1765 by virtue of his service in the French and Indian War.

By this time the Cherokees were very upset because white settlers were beginning to encroach in the area near Long Island. (Daniel Boone's neighbors, the Beans, for instance, had built a secluded cabin near Watauga River, and others had followed.) They were extremely unhappy when a concession was made for settlers, "...beginning where the boundary line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee hunting ground terminates, and running thence in a west course to a point six miles east of Long Island in Holsten's River, and thence in a direct course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway and Ohio Rivers." "Intrigues of Richard Pearis and others for further private cessions did not pour oil on the troubled waters. The Cherokees actually refused at first to ratify the Lochaber cession and Ouconnostotah was sharply criticized because he had taken the leading role at Lochaber, but at Cameron's insistence they finally agreed to join in surveying the line." Cameron was Stuart's deputy.

Because Pearis represented Virginia at the Conference, he was singled out with especial venom by Stuart, as an example to anyone else who might attempt to emulate his methods. "As early as the summer of 1768 certain Cherokee chiefs had evinced willingness to make cessions of land to private individuals, in spite of the Proclamation of 1763. At that time Ouconnostotah and Saluy attempted to persuade Stuart to permit the Cherokees to give a piece of land twelve miles square in the

*John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier, by John Richard Allen (1944) quotes this page and next from pages 279-281 and 298-301

"valley of the Saluda River beyond the South Carolina Indian line to a son of Cameron by a Cherokee woman. When Stuart pointed out that their proposal was contrary to the proclamation, the chiefs adroitly argued that the proclamation did not apply, since Cameron's son was an Indian. At the Congress of Hard Labor the Cherokees importuned the superintendent so forcefully that he placed the matter before Hillsborough. The Cherokees actually measured off the land they desired to give, although Stuart prevented..the cession.

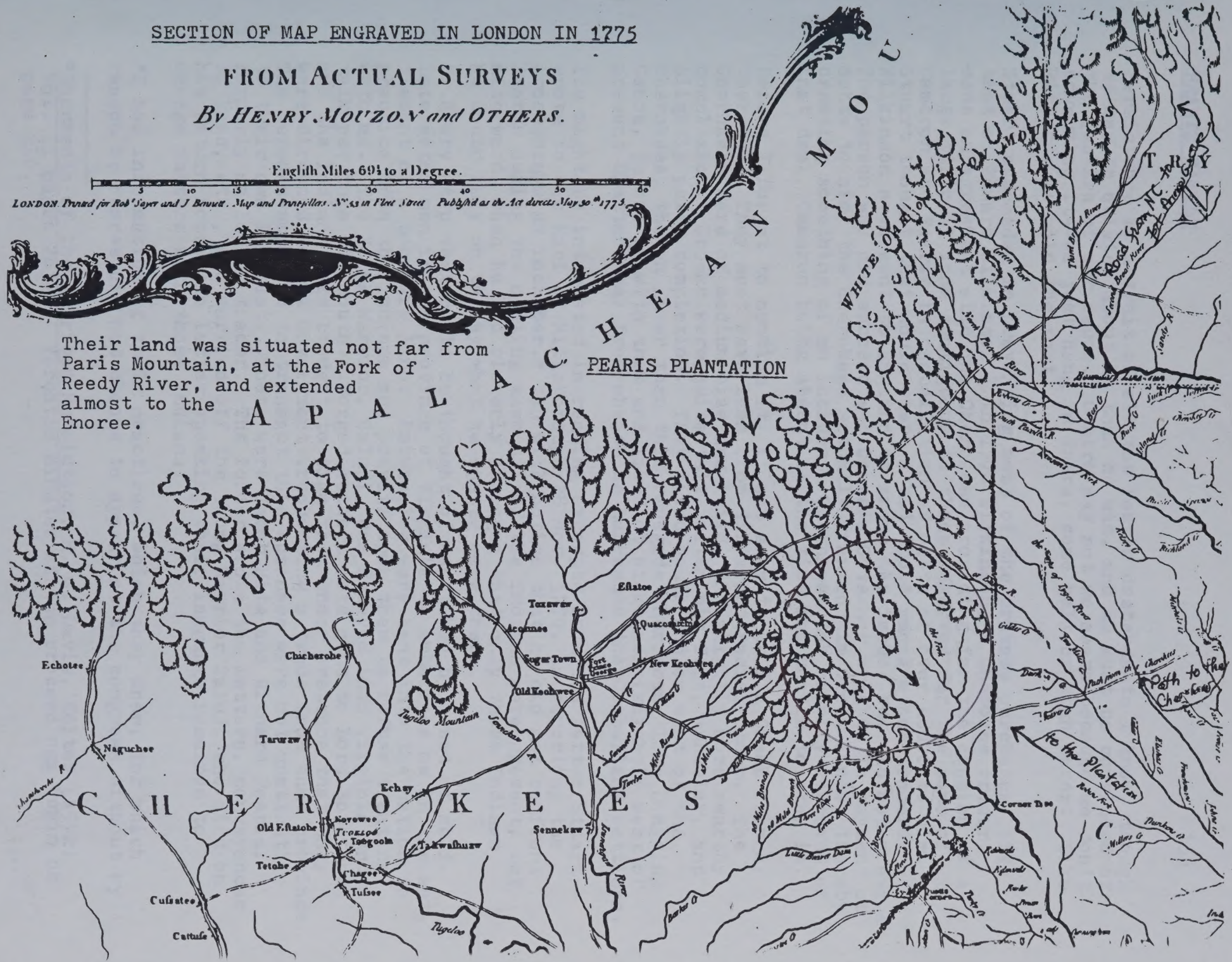
"In the winter of 1768-9 another scheme..came to light. When Dr. Walker came to Charleston in January, Walker carried to Cameron a letter from David Ross, formerly a factor in the Virginia..company. Ross proposed to Cameron that they persuade the Cherokees to earmark for them some desirable lands and to insist the grant be consumated at the next formal treaty...Cameron reported the overture to Stuart, who placed it before Hillsborough...Ross's scheme fell through...

"The next attempt to consummate a private purchase--in the final analysis a successful one--was made by Richard Pearis. According to Cameron ..Pearis was a finished scoundrel; Cameron claimed that Pearis even managed to cheat Walker and Lewis while acting as their agent among the Cherokees. Certainly Pearis's activities in behalf of Walker and Lewis did not occupy all his energies. In 1769 he secretly and fraudulenty secured the consent of a number of Lower Cherokees to a cession twelve miles square in the valley of the upper Saluda for his half-breed Cherokee son. In the following year with the aid of Saluy, whom he promised maintenance for life in return for his services, Pearis strove to secure the approval of the whole Nation. He obtained signatures to a deed by representing to the Cherokees that it was a petition for the establishment of a trade with Virginia." (According to Stuart and his assistant Cameron--who was probably jealous Pearis got away with the same thing he failed to accomplish! They were determined to make an example of Pearis. The truth got twisted.)

"Ouconnostotah opposed his scheme, and Stuart quashed his attempt to have the grant approved at Lochaber. Pearis was not dismayed. With Jacob Hite, to whom he had sold part of the land, he simply assumed that the cession was complete and legal; and the superintendent was unable to stop him from making use of it. Because the land was within the jurisdiction of South Carolina, Stuart finally appealed to the governor and council of that province for help. He was referred to the acting attorney general, James Simpson. Simpson unearthed the South Carolina act of 1739 forbidding private purchases and prosecuted Pearis and Hite. (This will be shown on a later page.) Late in 1773 at the newly-established circuit court at Ninety-Six, both were found guilty of violating the act. They were forced to renounce their titles, and were also fined. But Pearis placed the grant in his son's name in the winter of 1774-5, had it surveyed, and persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out titles for the son in the same court. Pearis settled upon the land, was driven from it by the patriots at the onset of the Revolution, and was later compensated for its loss by the British Loyalist Commission!"

Do not forget that the information on this and the preceding page was taken from the writings of John Stuart and Alexander Cameron!

SECTION OF MAP ENGRAVED IN LONDON IN 1775



Persistence is a trait of all the Pearis descendants I know, though we may be quieter about it than he was, and we must be convinced of the justice of our cause. Others may not we aware because we don't advertise it--we just hang in there, come hell or high water. Like Richard, we hold the fort.

Stuart succeeded in preventing most of the private purchases, like that of Edward Wilkinson. In 1770 Wilkinson, a Cherokee trader, made an agreement with the Cherokees providing for the cession of a large strip of land contiguous to those reserved for the sons of Cameron and Pearis in cancellation of debts of over £8000 to him. Stuart thought that would start a bad trend among other traders. Wilkinson even went to England to argue the issue, but did not prevail. The person who did succeed was Georgia Governor Wright, In payment of debts to him, the Cherokees actually granted him Creek lands, thereby creating something of an incident. Ouconnostotah happily approved of that deal, Cameron being absent at the time and unable to stop it.

Before I forget to mention it, it was easy to tell a Creek from a Cherokee. They must have been from different racial stock. The Cherokees were of medium size and build, and slightly more swarthy complexion. Creeks were quite tall, often six feet, muscular, and slightly paler complexion. They lived south and/or west of the Cherokees, though later than this renegade Cherokees, like Dragging Canoe, joined up with them and lived at Nickojack (slightly west of present Chattanooga) from whence he harrassed the Cumberland settlers.

You might be interested in reading excerpts from the letter Stuart wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough 28 Nov. 1770, in reporting the proceedings at Lochabar.* You will notice that he did not confront Pearis during the meeting when all of the Indians were present, but afterward, when he had cleverly arranged that only those Indians he could rely on to say what he wanted were there.

"..Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self-interested men in the province of Virginia to embarrass me in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation to practice upon the Indians and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me. The Young Warrior, Saluji, was decoyed into Virginia and a talk put into his mouth...Forged letters were sent to Lord Botetourt and the Indians were brought to sign them under pretence that they were directed to the Government..requesting a trade from that province. The persons employed to transact this business were not unattentive to their own interest...These were Jacob Hite and Richard Pearis, formerly an Indian trader. The former wrote the letters, conveyances of land, etc., and carried off the Young Warrior Saluji who died on his return home; the latter speaking their language remained to manage matters with those Indians.

"I had information of their practices, which they knew; for which reason Mr Peares did not choose to appear at the congress without my

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*Documents of the American Revolution, K. G. Davis, Editor (1972) Vol. II pages 261-2. Verbatim minutes of the proceedings begin on page 210.

"permission, which he applied for as he said in order to justify his conduct. After the treaty was signed I sent for him and he came. I confronted him with the Indians in presence of Colonel Donelson, and they declared with great indignation their utter ignorance of the letters and talk referred to in the minutes of the Council of Virginia, as well as of the titles of land obtained from them, persisting that they understood them to be letters soliciting a trade as aforementioned....."

The following illustration will demonstrate that Stuart cast around for any support for his policies he could get. Sometimes he was successful, others less so. He attempted to get North Carolina Governor William Tryon as an ally, without much success. It could even be that Mitchell, the Salisbury merchant alluded to, was acquainted with Richard's brother Robert??

From: Colonial Records of North Carolina (2nd Series) Robert J. Cain, editor. Volume IX, page 237
Records of the Executive Council 1755-1775, Minutes 1770

Given under my hand and the Great Seal etc. at New Bern 27th August 1770.
Wm. Tryon.

His Excellency was pleased to lay before this board Several Letters of Correspondence that passed between him, Mr. Steuart the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and one from Mr. Cameron the Deputy Superintendant (with a Letter from Mr. Mitchell Merchant in Salisbury) and desired the Opinion of this Board whether any measures can be taken to prevent Richd. Paris from Settling the Cherokee Lands on the Western Frontiers of this Province. It is the opinion of this Board that as Richard Paris is not an Inhabitant of this Province, they are at a loss to know what Steps to recommend to remedy the matter complained of by Mr. Steuart, But that this Goverment will take Effectual care that no Settlement shall be formed on the said Lands but under Grants from the Crown.

Then His Excellency desired the Opinion of this Board, as the Suggestions in Mr. Steuarts and Mr. Camerons above Letters intimate a dissatisfaction of his conduct towards the Cherokees, whether in his Behaviour to the said Indians he has at any time been wanting in Attention and regard to their Interest. It is the Unanimous Opinion of this Board, that the Suggestions set forth are false and frivolous and that the discontent of the said Indians appear to have been excited by the Traders settled amongst them.

His Excellency informed this Board, that in pursuance of a Petition from the Freeholders in the Town of Hillsborough, he thought fit to Grant a Charter of Incorporation[123] to the said Town, bearing date the 9th day of July last, with a power of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly Ordered that the said Charter be read, and recorded in the Secretarys Office.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber at New Bern on thursday 18th October 1770. Present His Excellency the Governor. The Hon'ble John Rutherfurd, Lewis DeRosset, Alexr. McCulloh, Robert Palmer, and Samuel Cornell Esqrs.

(WI State Hx Soc #F257 N67--1994)

Though it is quite possible Richard Pearis had visited that part of South Carolina before 1768 in his travels as a trader, the family had never lived there, and probably were shocked by the conditions they found. Regulator groups were riding roughshod as they dealt out summary justice to suspected wrongdoers, and many a man was "hung by mistake" before the real culprit was discovered. And the once proud Cherokee nation was in a pitiful impoverished state, easy prey for men like Williamson and Georgia Governor Wright and others who inveigled them into debt and then demanded land in payment. To understand the part of the story that follows, it is necessary to understand what brought this all about.

All South Carolina histories will tell you these things, but for the benefit of those who have never read them, I will try to do it briefly. Earlier in this book, we left our Cherokees (or they us) becoming increasingly disenchanted by the "Great Men of Virginia" and other whites. Before that we mentioned Fort Loudoun, built near Chota to replace the Virginia Fort, never manned, which Richard helped build. Governor Glen, who had been a very good governor (and who, by the way, had tried to get the Charleston Council to build courts as early as 1753 in the backcountry which would have prevented the later Regulator mess) was on his way to help supervise the building of the fort in the summer of 1756, when he learned that he had been superseded by Governor William Henry Lyttleton, a baron and former ambassador to Portugal, who felt supremely confident in his ability to handle a few rude savages. His very undiplomatic handling led many of them, who never would have done so had Glen been there, to listen to the inducements of the French. He did encourage warriors to go north to help General Forbes' Army. But, as we have seen, some of those who went, were there to see who would give the best gifts. A series of frontier killings (not handled well by author-thorities) led to a state of war in September 1759. Some Indians were locked up as hostages at frontier Fort Prince George, as precaution, to be traded for the real culprits. An insufficient number of guards were left when other troops left. Cherokees seized the fort and slaughtered the guards. For the next two years the frontier blazed with gunfire. Lyttleton was withdrawn to England and left the colony in the better hands of Governor William Bull. Among the devastated settlements was Long Canes (shown on the Lochaber Treaty map) where Ulster Scots lived. Nearly 100 Cherokees fell on them and butchered men, women, and children, among them the mother of Patric Calhoun, grandmother of powerful statesman John C. Calhoun.

Our Thomas Dyal, Jr., great grandfather of Mary Ann Dial who married Pearis descendant John W. Griffith, fought in these Cherokee Wars, late 1759 and into 1760. General Jeffrey Amherst was appealed to for aid, and he sent south Col. Archibald Montgomery (Lord Eglinton) and his Royal Scots (1200 men) who also included South Carolinians gathered on the way, and marched into the Lower Towns on June 1, burning villages, destroying crops, and killing or capturing those he could. Boasting that he had "chastised" the Indians, he left prematurely. In 1761 Amherst sent another Scotsman, Col. James Grant with 1200 regulars, 400 South Carolinians, and other militia who marched over the mountains, burning all of the Cherokee towns, destroying all crops, and driving the Cherokees into the mountains to

starve. The Cherokees had no alternative but to sue for a humiliating peace which left the Piedmont open to immigrants. (Under Old Hop in 1756, and Governor Glen, in return for Fort Loudoun they had ceded to King George II all the Cherokee lands in South Carolina except for the northwest corner comprising present Greenville, Anderson, Pickens and Oconee Counties.) During that time North Carolina had built Fort Dobbs not far from Salisbury, on the route immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania followed into North and South Carolina. The Cherokee War was scarcely over before a tide of mostly Ulster Scots but including others were pouring down over that road to settle, expecting little but subsistence.

The Upcountry was too far distant from markets to attract planters who hoped to get rich from the labor of slaves, though a scattering of Low Country planters, perhaps with clairvoyance about the future, contrived to get grants there, but much greater opportunities were at the same time opening up in Georgia, for rice grown near the Savannah river, etc., and for forest products marketed by the same route. William Henry Drayton, considered a patriot later but to us a villain, tried to get land in the Indian Territory but was quashed by Stuart. Perhaps that made him even more rabid in his later endeavors. Governor Wright, as we saw, fleeced the Cherokees and especially the Creeks in the Georgia Upcountry.

Selfish tidewater planters who had grown very wealthy from the forced labor of gangs of maltreated slaves, controlled the government from Charleston, where all the courts were, run by grasping lawyers who wanted to collect all the legal fees to be had in the entire colony. Through their influence, the Council refused to let any seats of justice be established anywhere else. Backcountry victims had to spend more than the case was worth to travel to the city, where cases were often postponed indefinitely. Many entire books have been written on the subject.* Finally taking matters into their own hands, the Regulator movement was formed in desperation.

Even before the Cherokee outbreak, the planters had become almost paranoid in their fear of insurrection of their African slaves even though in their quest for riches they continued to import more, and also in their fear of the Indians on the frontier who were becoming increasingly angry because South Carolina traders were fleecing them. Instead of addressing the grievances, they decided the menace from both races could be solved by the settlement of poor white farmers in the back country. Three new townships were set up west of a

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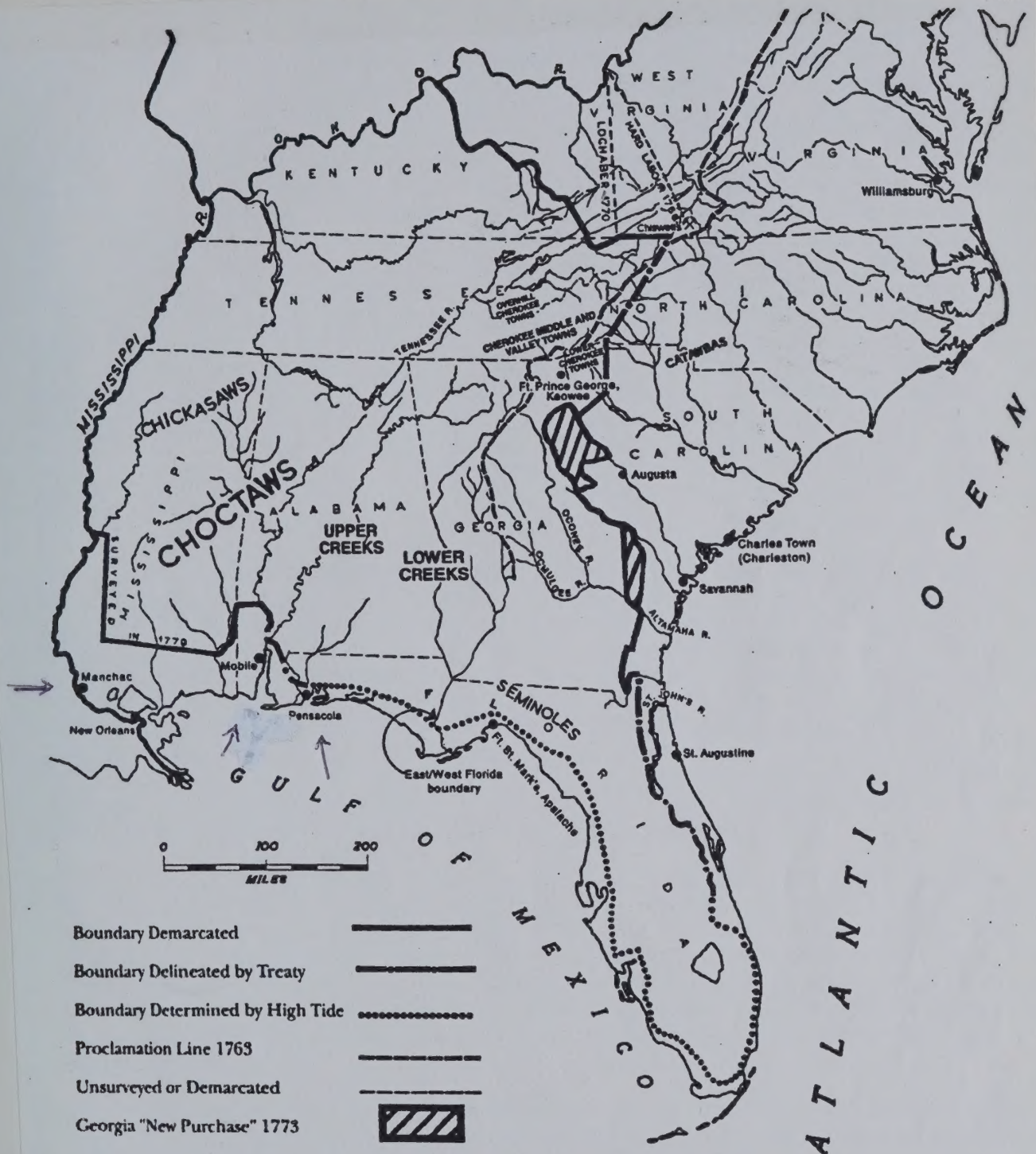
*One such unusual, entertaining book is The South Carolina Back-Country on the Eve of the Revolution, the journal of a high-church Anglican missionary, Charles Woodmason, who set out about that time to convert the whole backcountry to his particular brand of theology. Knowing nothing of their culture and bigoted against all other faiths, he exaggerates grossly, especially against Presbyterians, who told him bluntly that they "wanted no god-dam black-gowned sons of bitches there." Despite all this, in due time he became sympathetic to their plight and assisted Regulators in their petitions to establish seats of justice.



Map of the Southeast with current state boundaries, showing locations relevant to Stuart's superintendency.

Besides showing where the various Indian tribes of the South were living in the 1770's, this also locates Manchac, Mobile, Pensacola, and other places which will be mentioned later. There were two Floridas- East and West.

From: John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier by J. Russell Snap (1996) opposite Introduction page

line from Ninety-Six to Due West (called Dewisses or Yellow Water in the Treaty of Hard Labor, Some time in between one will see it called DeWitt's Corner), Boonesborough on Long Canes Creek, Hillsborough on Little River, and Belfast or Londonborough on Hard Labor Creek. Eager to bring in settlers, the provincial assembly in 1761 provided passage money of £4 sterling for "respectable poor Protestants" from Great Britain and Ireland. Children twelve to two received half. Bounties were also given for purchase of tools, leading to a flood of both Ulster and Lowland Scots, Welsh and English as well as a few French Huguenots at New Bordeaux and Abbeville , and even a few overseas Germans or Swiss. Others came from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Some were criminals fleeing justice! These formed gangs of banditti and preyed on their fellow man. Many came with only a pitiful supply of this world's goods--a horse and cow if they were lucky, the clothes on their backs, one or two cooking pots, two or three pewter spoons and a hunting knife or two. Most contrived to get some sort of much-needed firearm. Of course a quilt or two was included, andthe indispensable axe with which to make a crude dwelling. Their small claims were tax-exempt for ten years. All were grateful to King George, who had made the subsidies possible, and loathe to fight their benefactor later on.

At length, after a great struggle involving the Regulators and partly to circumvent them, a circuit court act became law, approved by the king on 25 Nov 1769, providing for seven court districts in this whole large area, meeting thrice a year in Charleston and twice annually in Beaufort, Orangeburg, Ninety Six, Camden, Cheraw, and Georgetown. The first courts were held in these districts in 1772, in which Stuart indicted Richard Pearis for illegal possession of land in Cherokee Territory at the Ninety-Six courthouse. By the time the Revolution broke out, the back country had elected three representatives to the legislature, a pitifully small number, but a start. Among them was Patrick Calhoun of Long Canes.

The ill will aroused by Charleston's long disdain of the people on the frontiers helps to account for the unwillingness of those people to throw up their hats and cheer for the "Patriots" when the War broke out. The memory of a bitter struggle over the court act "made many a man a few years later scorn to follow, against the sovereign who had given him his land, the cross-country politicians from whom he felt he had suffered far greater wrongs than any imposed by Parliament or King."

That is why the war to follow was far more costly and bitterly fought in South Carolina than in any other place in what eventually became the United States.

In the meantime the persistent Pearis was still a thorn in Stuart's side. Others are starting to get the same idea, as he complained in January 1773 in another letter to Lord Hillsborough., in which he neglects to mention that, although his deputy Cameron never took up residence there, he was grazing his cattle in a huge tract not far from Pearis. The locals called these places "Cowpens."
a section of the letter follows.

Some time the following year Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite both from Virginia went into the Cherokee nation and obtained cessions of large parcels of land, the former under a pretence of his having a son by an Indian woman, the latter fraudulently by pretending to write letters to the governor of Virginia and me, by which means he got the Indians to sign a deed of cession. When I met the Cherokees at Lochaber in 1770 to settle the Virginia line, I found great fault with the chiefs for having contrary to their promise given away any land without an application by me. I confronted them with Pearis, when they denied their having signed any paper but what they understood to have been a letter to Lord Botetourt and me relative to trade. As none of the abovementioned parcels of land have been accepted of by me for His Majesty or included within the boundary lines then agreed, I have not heard that Mr Cameron has taken possession of any part of it. Pearis and Hite have not only taken possession themselves but have sold great tracts to emigrants from the Northern Colonies and have lately been treating for and marking out more land which sets a bad precedent and causes great confusion. I thought it my duty to take every step to remedy this evil and by advice of His Majesty's Attorney-General of this province I have directed prosecutions to be commenced against the said Pearis and Hite, the issue of which I shall be careful to communicate to your lordship.

At the same congress in 1770 the Cherokee chiefs declared their inclinations to give to Mr Edward Wilkinson or to cede to His Majesty a parcel of land by way of satisfaction or payment of their debts due to Mr Wilkinson; but this proposal appearing to me at that time to have been of a new nature and unexpedient, I discountenanced it also. And here, my lord, I must do Mr Wilkinson the justice to say that he did not take any clandestine or underhand steps to carry his point, and it was not till the month of December following and after the Georgia traders had solicited and obtained from the Cherokees a cession of a large tract in that province by way of payment of their debts that he had the abovementioned lands run out for him.

The cessions abovementioned in favour of Mr Cameron's son, Pearis, Hite and Mr Wilkinson do not contain less than 6 or 700,000 acres of very excellent land but approach so near the Cherokee towns that I declined accepting of them when I settled the boundaries.

I must beg leave to observe to your lordship that if His Majesty should be pleased to order the Creeks and Cherokees to be treated with for the lands in Georgia, and if said lands are to be disposed of for payment of the debts due by the Indians to the traders, Mr Wilkinson will have a right to his proportion of the sum arising from the sale of them in common with other traders. *Signed.* [C.O.5/74, fo. 35]

if we believe Stuart, he

Not only did Pearis not budge, but during this time ~~he evidently~~ was selling tracts ~~in his cession~~ to emigrants from the north.* On 21 Dec 1773, Stuart wrote: "The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite, who illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon the established boundary, came on before the circuit court of Ninety Six last month, when judgment was given against them

*Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788 by Walter H. Mohr (1933) pages 12-14 Quotes and excerpts on the next few pages from this.

"and they relinquished all claims or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue ofany deed orconveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future, but I beg leave to observe to your Lordship that this success is owing to the existance (sic) of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist, I should be very doubtful of success."

Footnotes say that the 8 January 1773 letter shown last page enclosed a map of the lands surveyed by Patric Calhoun, Deputy-Surveyor 8 Dec 1770 for Wilkinson--also reservations of Cameron and Pearis. What we wouldn't give for a copy of that map, but it is probably locked up in some vault in England. The general map on page 154 will have to do forus. Mohr goes on to tell more about Wilkinson, then,

"In South Carolina William Henry Drayton wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba reservation for a term of years. Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773, ""The King much approves the step you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the Council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it."" " The information in this paragraph is particularly revealing to us, and we wonder if it had anything to do with Drayton's resolve two years later to rebel against King George. He and Pearis soon became bitter opponents, and we will soon hear more from him.

Lest the reader should get the idea that Stuart was steadfast in his support for the abused Indians, the following incident disproves that. Georgia GovernorWright, powerful and influential with some of the English peers, was able to make the ploy about Indians owing him large amounts from his trading business stick. "Stuart was one of the chief negotiators at the treaty which was made at Augusta. The Creeks were not willing to make any cessions. However, at the treaty which was completed on 1 June 1773, the Indians finally ceded 2,100,000 acres comprising land in Wilkes, Lincoln, Taliaferro, Green, Oglethorpe and Elbert counties, Georgia. The Indians were discontented with their bargain...the traders had been expected to furnish the goods for the treaty but failed to do so, and Stuart...made a few hasty purchases. Stuart and Wright insisted that the Indians punish murderers of white settlers on the new purchase, and when Creeks hesitated an embargo was placed on trade with this tribe...by Oct 1774 the Creeks seemed willing to meet British demands. During these negotiations, Stuart discovered another deal in which Jonathan Bryan of Georgia leased from Creeks located in East Florida. The Indians tore up the deed at the conference, but on the way home Bryan inveigled them into renewing it.

"In the secluded valley through which flowed the Watauga River on the Watauga River on the western frontier of Virginia and North Carolina, a group of restless frontiersmen began the famous push which was finally to secure the western regions for the United States. When it

was discovered that their land was beyond the boundaries of Virginia and on the Indian reservation, these settlers adopted a working agreement among themselves andproceeded to secure a ten-year lease from the Cherokees for the territory which they occupied...Cameron chided one of the chiefs...who replied that the Indian who negotiated..was not authorized and a great rogue. At the same time he confessed he had taken his share of the goods...By 1773 ..Jacob Brown secured title to land as far south as the mouth of Camp Creek on the Nollichucky."

(Here we should pause to remember that since their 1661 punishment by the Army of Colonel James Grant had destroyed all their earthly possessions and all their crops and driven them into the mountains to starve, they had been in a pitiful state, and much decimated in population and prone to disease. They did not require as much land as before with their reduced numbers, and the proceeds of land sales seemed to them like a bonanza. Prices received for deerskins and furs was in a recession, making their hunters prey for people like Wright and Wilkinson.)

Meanwhile Pearis was not budging. Cameron, who detested Pearis with fiery vengance was ready to believe any rumor about him, or probably to make one up himself. Knowing how contemptuous Richard had been of people who stole "the King's horses" while he was stationed at Fort Cumberland during the War, the following accusation seems far-fetched. On 11 Oct 1773 he wrote Stuart that Richard Pearis was smuggling rum into the Cherokee tribe; also that Pearis was encouraging the whites and reds to bring in stolen horses which he then sold in Virginia. As far back as 1757 when he set aside the doweries for Sarah and Margaret, their portions were to include many valuable saddle horses, as we have read. It seems obvious he must still have been raising herds of horses on the fine land he had acquired, and very well may have sold them wherever the market was. Prosperous Virginians would have been willing to pay a premium for fine horses. I find it unlikely he would have the need or inclination to buy stolen horses, though Cameron may have convinced himself it was true because he wanted to believe it. There was a suggestion when he was quite young that Pearis enjoyed rum. Dinwiddie had once remarked to Lewis, "See to it that Pearis behaves himself & does not drink too much." There seems to have been no suggestion of anything like that later and Dinwiddie might have got the idea from a single incident. But to be honest, if he still enjoyed an occasional drink of rum with the Indians I would not be surprised. His accomplishments before and after prove he was not a drunkard. Other more unscrupulous traders did stoop to selling rum back then. Evidently Galpin, who will be mentioned later, did so. On 2 4 Sept 1773, the statement was made that "Galpin seems determined to observe no regulation whatsoever" regarding giving rum to the Indians. Galpin became an Indian agent for the "Patriots" during the Revolution. He had been a successful trader in Georgia for a very long time. Some say Pearis had wanted that job, but I have seen no proof of it.

Meanwhile back up North, the Mason-Dixon line was being started, and Virginia Gov. Dunmore was himself delving into land schemes. Major Andrew Lewis was in cahoots with him, and ready to fight the Indians in the "Dunmore War."

17 December 1774 Cameron wrote to Stuart that Richard Henderson and others were among the Cherokees and he suspected that they were trying to make some land purchases. These preliminary negotiations culminated in the Henderson purchase of 17 March 1775 at Sycamore Shoals. By this purchase a large tract of land bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland, and Ohio Rivers became the property of Richard Henderson and Company. Henderson was undoubtedly influenced in this purchase by an opinion supposed to be derived from the eminent British jurists Camden and Yorke to the effect that deeds made at public conferences by Indians as sovereign nations and the bona fide owners of the land were valid conveyances and required no confirmation by the Crown.

"This purchase aroused opposition, and protests were made by Stuart, Cameron, and the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina. Although Virginia held the Henderson deed void against the state she later considered it valid against the Cherokees." Thus, at Henderson's expense, Virginia became owner of Kentucky in March 1775. By the same date five years later, Richard's son-in-law George Teter and his wife Sarah (Pearis) Teter were already owners of bounty land there.

Everyone knows the story of Daniel Boone and his sponsor Judge Richard Henderson. Only enough will be told here to show that Captain Richard Pearis, his former trading partner Nathaniel Gist, and former partner, Thomas Price were there as interested spectators. Price, who also still worked occasionally for Pearis was used as an interpreter during the ceremonies.

Extracted from Dawn of Tennessee, Samuel Cole Williams (1939)pp 402-5

In the autumn Richard Henderson and Nathaniel Hart, representing the company, passed[5] through the Watauga and Nolachucky Settlements on their way to the Overhill towns to treat with the Indians. They were joined and guided by Thomas Price, an old trader to the Cherokees and an interpreter, who then lived on Cherokee Creek, in the present county of Washington, between those two settlements. Henderson and Hart, also, returned through the settlements.

The visit of the Carolinians to the Cherokee towns was promptly reported by Cameron to Stuart and by the latter to Lord Dartmouth in London.[6]

The chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, after Henderson's visit, delegated Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla), their reliance in diplomacy, to go to North Carolina to view the goods proffered as consideration for the desired lands.[7] We have a glimpse of the chief and his party as they passed through the Moravian towns:

> Nov. 23, 1774. Two Indian men and a woman arrived today, accompanied by several white men.[8] They were going to Col. Henderson, who they say, has bought land from the Cherokees, some 300 miles square. The Indian chief, or king as they call him, is on his way to receive payment for the Cherokee nation; this nation is not at war, but is quiet and peaceful . . . The Indians wondered much at the organ, thinking it must be alive if it could make a sound like that; the organ had to be opened for them, for they had heard children inside, who sang . . . They say they are to receive 4000 pounds in goods—it can hardly be believed.[9]

The goods had been assembled at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville, North Carolina) and they met the approval of the Indian delegation—the squaw shrewdly examining the goods in the interest of the women of the tribe.[10]

Six wagons loaded with the consideration goods made their toilsome way westward with this party. "The Indians would scarcely let their leader, Col. Henderson, out of their sight. The whole province is stirred up over this purchase of the land by private individuals; indeed some say that it did not really belong to the Cherokees."[13] Significantly, the Moravian "Br. Bagge changed several gold pieces for Col. Henderson."

Attakullakulla and Henderson had fixed upon the first day in March as the day for the Cherokees to meet the Carolinians in treaty and Sycamore Shoals-of-Watauga as the place. But as early as January eager Indians gathered at the rendezvous where the goods had been stored after the arrival of the transport wagons. By the latter part of February their number had swelled to hundreds; and, according to Felix Walker who was present, the treaty lasted about twenty days.[14] By many accounts, the number of Cherokees on the ground finally reached 1200, one-half warriors.

For the subsistence of such a horde, the Wataugans furnished food (largely beeves and corn-meal), crediting Henderson and his associates.[15] A God-send was this to the men isolated on the western waters; a market for their surplus products was brought to their doors.

The country-side practically emptied itself of men* with more than a sprinkling of women and children present to witness the scenes. It was not only the greatest event that transpired in their midst; it was the most colossal transaction in lands by individuals or a private corporation that America has ever seen. Nearly 20,000,000 acres were involved.[16]

Real negotiations began on March 14th, Henderson at the outset, questioning the Cherokees concerning their ownership of the lands for which his company had bargained. The chiefs went into council, as was their custom, and returning replied that they owned the lands. On the following day, the chiefs resorted to a bit of finesse: they offered to sell the region between the Sandy and Kentucky Rivers which Colonel John Donelson had bargained for and included within the line surveyed in 1771, acting as agent for Virginia, and for which that province had never paid the five hundred pounds promised.[17] Henderson refused to treat for those lands; he was not interested in lands claimed by Virginia, nor, indeed, in any small boundary "as he had a house full of goods for them"—the Indians—but would keep them unless negotiations should proceed upon the already agreed basis.[18]

* Attendees included:

Luttrell, Thomas and Nathaniel Hart; other North Carolinians, Col. Martin Armstrong, Valentine Searcy, Tilman Dixon, Samuel Henderson, and Jesse Benton, the father of the Missouri statesman, Thomas Hart Benton, "Old Bullion." From the present county of Rutherford, North Carolina, there were: Capt. Wm. Twitty, Samuel Coburn, James Bridges, Thomas Johnson, John Hart, William Hicks, James Peeke, Felix Walker, and his father Col. John Walker. Of local notables, John Sevier, James Robertson, Charles Robertson, Isaac Shelby, John Coulter, Wm. Clark, Wm. Clawson, Richard Calloway, William Blevins, John Smith, Thomas Price, William Bailey Smith, Wm. and John Farrar, John Redd, Samuel Crawford, Jesse Dunham, Moses Crawford, Zachary Isbell, Thomas Butler, Joseph Vann, interpreter, Jacob Brown, Wm. Cocke, Thomas Houghton, Samuel Wilson, John Lowry, John Carter, Castleton Brooks, John Shelby, Richard Hogan and Matthew Decker. Among the Indian traders present were, Ellis Harlin or Harland, Isaac Thomas, Edward Rogers, Thomas Benn, Richard Pearis and Nathaniel Gist.

Sycamore Shoals, near Elizabethton, Tennessee, taken in September 1941 during a period of extreme drought.

PEARIS FAMILY

CHAPTER ~~FOURTEEN~~ THIR - CAUGHT IN THE JAWS OF WAR

Captain Pearis, sick of war, had no inclination to make it his career. Vigorously recruited by Governor Dinwiddie after the dreadful Drapers Meadows massacre of 1755 and urged to raise Indian troops, he had continued to serve as long as he felt vitally needed, for the sake of family and country. Now middleaged, he longed for a peaceful life as an upcountry gentleman, surrounded by Rhoda, his maturing children, and his Cherokees. Though some histories say he was ordered south to be closer to the Cherokees as an agent, and others that he went there to get land from them (both of which might be true) they overlook mentioning what may have been one of the most compelling of reasons--to be with his Cherokee son George in the Cherokee country. There is no doubt he loved his oldest son dearly, or he would not have named him George, for his own father. All three of the Pearis sons named their eldest son George.

Coming as they did in 1768, the family had not been there to experience depredations of the "banditi" which led to the Regulator movement, and thus were appalled by the amount of violence often wreaked by overzealous members of that group as they pursued suspected wrongdoers. However commendable their original purpose may have been, too many acts of rowdyism and oppression were commited in their name. Now peaceful people started complaining so loudly that even Charleston took notice, and sent special agents with broad powers to counteract the excesses. Unfortunately, it appears that the agents were not screened carefully enough, as some turned out to be unscrupulous manipulators who used their position for unsavory ends. At least, that was reported of one Joseph Coffel (also known as Scoville or Scofield) who was assigned the district lying between the Saluda and Broad Rivers, with instructions to break up the group in that area.

Feelings ran so high after this agent came that the populace was soon divided into two camps pro and con. (But having read so much contemporary material, and so much about our Richard which cannot have been true, it appears possible others could have been maligned as well.) Each side exaggerated so much in Revolutionary days that the truth must lie somewhere in the middle. Revolutionist William Henry Drayton's writings are still being quoted as gospel because, being on the winning side, he is considered a hero--but as you will see in upcoming pages he was one of the worst tricksters of all. He hated Coffel for being a Tory--being called a "Scophalite then became one of the worst perjoratives he and his cohorts could dream up.

Once the court system was established, Coffel was withdrawn because he was no longer needed, but the nickname stuck. You guessed it, Richard Pearis, eager for proper law and order and disliking the excessive violence of the Regulators, supported Coffel. When we get to that part of the story, you will see Richard and his second son, Captain Robert Pearis, labeled as Scophalite captains. As this chapter unfolds, quotations from parties on both sides of the Revolution will be presented. You will notice the invectives each side hurled against the other. As you read them, think of our own times. Those of you who

are old enough to remember wars of the 20th century will remember when Wartime propaganda machines taught us to hate "Japs" and "Kikes" and other horrendous characters. Then, lest anyone considers propaganda to be a late phenomenon, read "Of Plymouth Plantation" by Mayflower group Governor William Bradford, and notice how he exaggerates as he castigates even those in his own group whose actions he does not agree with. Poor misunderstood but heroic Isaac Allerton was hated clear out of the community! Write what is expected of you on history exams at school, but as you go through life question everything you read. This is my advice to my descendants. (And it is fine if you question what I write, too.)

The County history* says, "The best known of all pre-Revolutionary settlers in Greenville County was, of course, Richard Pearis who took up his residence on the site of present Greenville City between the years 1766 and 1768. Pearis was an Irishman of some education and pronounced ability...in commendation of his services in the (French & Indian) War, he was publicly thanked and given the post of agent for Southern Indians with headquarters at Fort Pitt. But after filling this position for a short time, he decided to move to South Carolina and take up his residence among the Cherokees, since his wife was a Cherokee woman... (underlining mine.)

"Pearis established his trading post and erected a corn mill near the present location of Camperdown mill, at what was then called, "Great Plains," and was soon engaged in a lucrative business with the Indians. His holdings of land were extended year by year in every direction, till at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, he is said to have claimed title to ten miles square....from Pearis comes the name of "Paris Mountain," which beautiful and pleasant summer resort of Greenvillians today was included within his holdings..."

Jacob Hite's plantation was situated on the NNE side of the Pearises, on a fertile plain near the Enoree River. Despite any misunderstandings, the two families remained on such cordial relations that a Hite son became engaged to a Pearis daughter. But on the area to the south in the beautiful Golden Grove area of present Greenville county, the land was used by a belligerent Scotsman by the name of Alexander Cameron who (though illegally by his own definition) grazed vast herds of cattle so close to the Pearis plantation that one wonders whether at times they encroached upon it. Cameron, also, had an Indian son through whom he claimed ownership, but was prevented by John Stuart, his employer, from establishing claim.

The dour Scotsman was infuriated that his rival, Richard Pearis, managed to stand on his rights and continue to occupy the land adjacent to his. After all, Richard had paid the Cherokees for it, something Cameron probably neglected to do. If perchance fights occasionally broke out between herders hired by the rival sides, the tension would increased even more, especially since Richard was also raising horses. Cameron's actual residence was at Lochaber.

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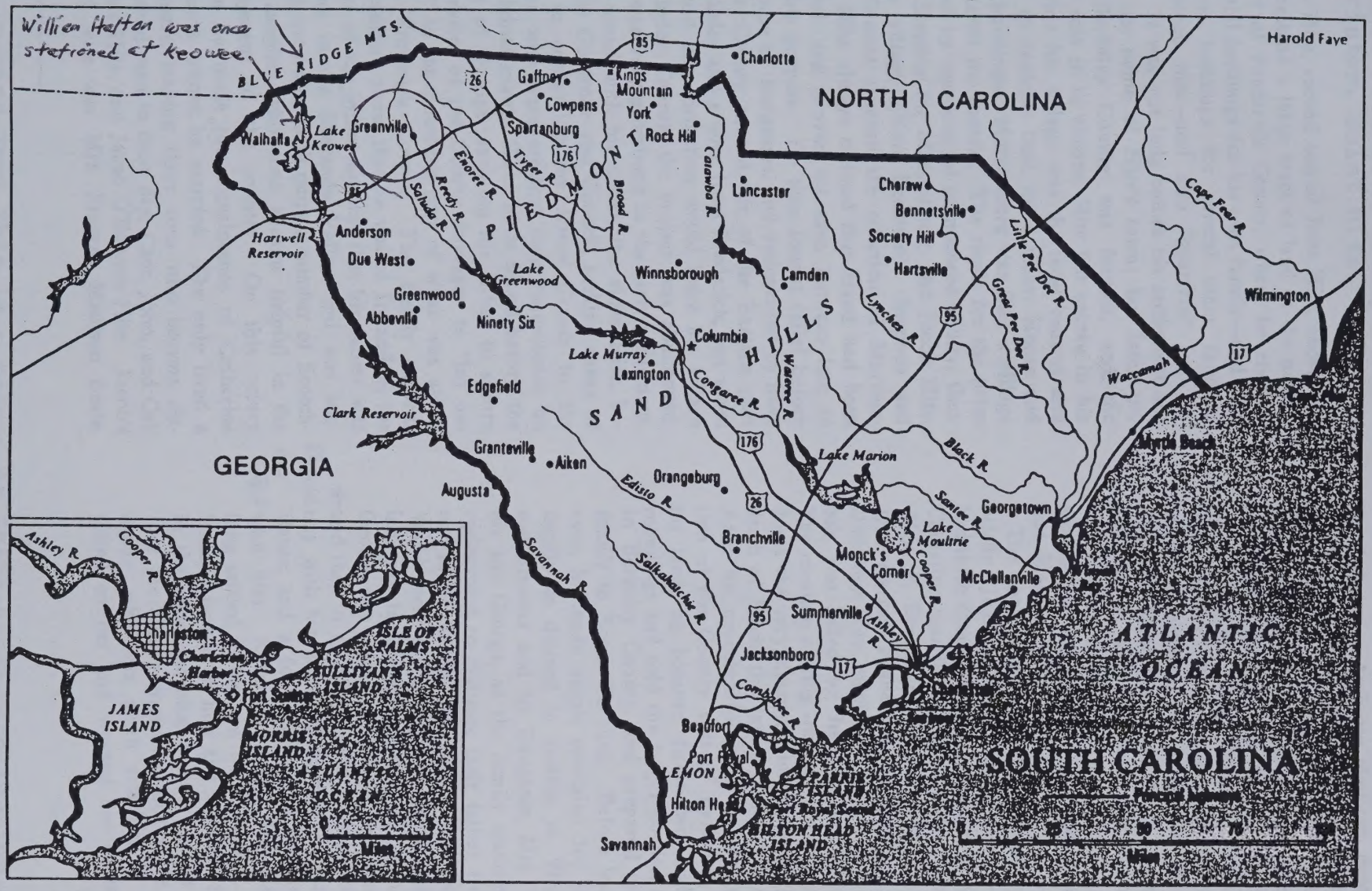
*History of Greenville County, South Carolina, James M. Richardson, (1980) pages 32-3

From: South Carolina, A Bicentennial History, by Louis B. Wright



20th century map of South Carolina. The Pearis plantation was at what is now the city of Greenville, far upper left. The road which is now highway 85 was already there, also the one over the Blue Ridge Mountains, though the latter was more of a path through a gap.

PEARIS FAMILY

Regarding Jacob Hite, son of original Frederick County Proprietor, Joist Hite.

Jacob Hite, second son of Joist Hite, chose for his homestead a large tract of land in the northern part of Frederick County, where he erected substantial buildings for his own family—and also numerous buildings for several other families who joined him—and also "quarters" for his slaves. It was not long before his settlement acquired the name of Hite's town; but later on, when Berkeley County was formed, and the County seat to be chosen, Hite felt secure in his claim that his village was the most central and offered to dedicate land for a Court House and Public buildings. Martinsburg was then a village and entered the contest. The rivals for the prize were led by two men of pronounced ability, Gen. Adam Stephen for Martinsburg, and Jacob Hite, for his village (Now Leetown). Stephen and his followers secured the selection of Martinsburg. Hite always claimed that fraud had been practiced, and proved his case, but too late to serve his purpose. He then sought relief before the House of Burgesses, and endeavored to have another County carved out of the Eastern part of Berkeley and a slice from Frederick, but when he found this formation would leave his village in Berkeley County, the project was abandoned. Jacob was very prominent in the early settlement. He is found with his father, the elder Hite, before the Governor and Council, seeking cause of delay in confirming the *Minor Grants* to the families who were erecting their homesteads on the original grant. Then he is found before the Courts of Orange, assisting his father to secure the services of the County Surveyor to "lay out roads," in the Southern part of what was afterwards Frederick County. The family records and tradition show that he visited Ireland in the interest of the infant Colony, that his father was planting in the Sherando Valley, and was successful, returning with quite a number of Scotch-Irish families who soon became helpful in the development of the country. On this return voyage he made the acquaintance of Catherine O'Bannon whom he married. She only lived a few years, leaving three sons who became distinguished men in their day, Capt. John, and Col. Thomas Hite, and Jacob O'Bannon Hite. Jacob's second wife was Mrs. Frances Madison Beale. Her father was Ambrose Madison, descendant of the emigrant who settled in Gloucester County, 1653. It was through this line that we find James Madison Sr., son of Ambrose Madison and Frances Taylor, who married Nellie Conway 1749. Their son James became President of the United States. By the O'Bannon marriage Jacob had two daughters, viz. Mary Hite married Rev. Nathaniel Manner and had for a second husband Rev. Busby, and Elizabeth, her sister, married Col. Lawrence Beale. The children by Jacob's second marriage were a son and daughter, George and Eleanor.

The marriages of Jacob's children is given briefly: John married Sarah ———— and had three daughters, Mary married Edward Grant, Catherine married Thodoric Lee, Sarah married Alex. P. Buchanan, Second, Thomas Hite, born 1750, married Frances Beale in 1772. Jacob O'Bannon Hite, mentioned as the third son of Jacob, was killed by Indians in South Carolina. The mention of this incident very properly introduces the very dramatic incidents in the life and death of Jacob, the father of the last named son. After his unsuccessful effort to secure the location of the County seat of Berkeley County on his land, he became dissatisfied with his surroundings and sold the larger portion of his land in Berkeley County, and prepared to move his family to South Carolina. Before leaving, however, he made ample provision for such of his family as desired to remain in Virginia. His son Thomas and his Daughter, Mrs. Willis, and his son George, as the family tradition gives it, endeavored to dissuade their father from this removal, he would not yield. Thomas and Mrs. Willis were given large tracts of well improved land not far away from their old homestead, and George was placed at William and Mary College; and then in 1786 he started on his southern journey with his wife and younger children and his slaves, and a few neighboring families migrated with him. Kercheval says, "He had not been long settled in his new home in S. C. before the Indians murdered him and several of his family in the most shocking manner"—then adds—"before the bloody massacre took place, an Indian squaw who was much attached to Mrs. Hite, called on her and warned her of the intended

* Should be 1768

Keep in mind that this is a second or third-hand recollection of the Hite family version, told several generations afterward.

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This is part of a much longer Hite family history given by T. K. Cartmell, in the book, Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, from which the nice photographs were taken. Information about other Hites were omitted because, though interesting, they do not concern this story.

massacre, and urged her to remove with her little children to a place of safety. Mrs. Hite immediately communicated this intelligence to her husband who disbelieved the information, observing "the indians were too much attached to him to do him any injury." The next morning, however, when too late to escape, a party of Indians armed and painted in their usual war dress, called on Hite and told him they had determined to kill him. It was in vain that he pleaded his friendship for them, and the many services he had rendered their nation. Their fell purpose was fixed, and nothing could appease them but his blood and that of his innocent and unoffending wife and children, they barbarously murdered Hite, his wife, and several of their children. After this terrible massacre they took two of his daughters, not quite grown, and all his slaves as prisoners and carried off much plunder and

The writer has additional traditionary history relating to the capture of the Hite daughters and slaves, which may be regarded as authentic, considering the source; and as it presents a pathetic coloring to the sad picture drawn by the old historian Kercheval, the writer will give it here as well as he can recall from memory the incident as related to him in the long ago. After the capture of the two young girls, the chief of the Creek tribe chose Eleanor for his squaw wife, and guarded her with great care and concern while the marauders were retreating from the scene of the massacre. At that time the Indians were allies with the British, and the retreat was towards the nearest British Army post. It was during this retreat that Eleanor and a negro girl made their escape. Eleanor was recaptured, but the negro girl, who succeeded in securing a fleet pony, was not overtaken. After the Indians reached the British Army, one of the officers saw the young captive Eleanor, and succeeded in buying her from the chief. He took her to the Florida sea-coast, and there wooed and won the affections of the young Eleanor; but owing to her broken health, as a result of her hardships of her capture and imprisonment with the band of savages, she died at Pensacola upon her arrival there. George Hite, the son, who had been placed at William & Mary College by his father, hearing of the awful calamity that had overtaken the family, immediately started upon a search for his sisters. He found some of the old slaves who enabled him to trace his sister Eleanor to Pensacola. He learned enough to satisfy him that his sister had experienced severe hardship, but no maltreatment, and that she had been cared for by a British officer named Johnson; and in after years he learned of the attachment between him and his sister. George Hite found the negro girl who had escaped and brought her back to Virginia." When we recall that Jacob Hite with his father spent the greater part of their lives with several Indian tribes, and were on friendly terms and understood Indian habits, customs and Indian treachery, it is strange that he allowed his delusion to overcome his caution and thus be sacrificed. Kercheval in his narrative concerning this massacre states that he obtained his information from Jacob's son, Col. James Hite, and then adds, "Mr. Hite kept a large retail store, and dealt largely with the Creek and Cherokee tribes. It is said a man by the name of Parrish who went to Carolina with Hite and to whom Hite had been very friendly, growing jealous of Hite's popularity with the Indians, instigated the savages to commit the murder, and then adds that about the year 1784 or 1785, he saw the late Capt. George Hite (Who had been an officer in the Revolutionary Army), who had just returned from an unsuccessful search after his two young sisters, who were taken captives at the time of the murder of his father. He had traversed a great part of the southern country among the various tribes of Indians, but could never hear anything of them. Capt. Hite, a short time after the war of the Revolution, recovered part of his father's slaves who had been taken off by the Indians. and states that one of these slaves was owned by Maj. Issac Hite of Frederick County. This woman brought home an Indian son. Kercheval adds that he frequently saw this son, who had all the features of an Indian; and that part of Hite's slaves remained with the Indians and were kept in rigorous slavery;

The above is part of a much longer Hite Family sketch given by T. K. Cartmell in Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, from which the nice photos were also taken. Information about other Hites was deleted, not being part of this story.

The above is part of a much longer White family sketch given by T. K. Dartnell in Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, from which the nine photos were also taken. Mistaken about other Whites was deleted, not being part of this story.

Historians are in disagreement about just which members of the Hite family besides Jacob, himself, and his second wife Francis, were killed by enraged Indians. Perhaps some grandchildren were among them, and it seems as though there may have been unrecorded children younger than George (at college) and Eleanor, who was captured by Creeks. Some say it was Jacob O'Bannon Hite who was killed in the Indian Country and others that it could not have been he. Which Pearis daughter was engaged to "young Hite" and whether it was he, whether the daughter was part Cherokee, and many other details are in question. Further enmity was caused due to the fact that Richard Pearis took the part of King George III and Hite favored the Patriots. The following abstract of will may help or it may confuse the issue still further.

It appears that Jacob O'Bannon Hite had many young namesakes, for he had his mother's maiden name as part of his own, plus his father's first name. John Hite and Thomas Hite, Jacob's two eldest sons, according to this, both died during the Revolution, leaving young children. Their wills are extracted below. Berkeley County?

Tyler's Quarterly Magazine Vol 3:49 (July 1921) (MPL 929.1T98V3)

OTHER WILLS—AND RECORDS—ABSTRACTS.*

John Hite, dated 25 Oct. 1776, proved 18 Mch., 1777. To wife Sarah half of the plantation on which he now lives, the other half to son Jacob O'Bannon, who shall also have all lands in West Augusta. "Inasmuch as my father has been killed by the hand of Violence, & it is probable he left no will behind him, whereby the inheritance of his lands will descend to me, but as brotherly affection will not permit me &c, if my brothers and sisters will be at equal expence in securing the right & title to that tract of land in So. Carolina, lying in the Indian Country within the State of South Carolina, Part whereof being an undivided tract held by my father under a deed granted by the Cherokee Nation to Richard Pearis, the said Pearis' son, and my father, and part whereof being a purchase from John Neville &c;" children Jacob O'Bannon, Mary Catherine and the infant unbaptized; sisters Mary and Elizabeth. Executors: Rev. Daniel Sturgis, Tavana Beale, Thomas Rutherford, William Gibbs, and James Keith.

.. *Thomas Hite*, dated 22 Sept., 1776, proved 17 Augt., 1779, names wife Frances, and mentions children without naming them. Executors: Wife, James Ruth, James Nourse and Dolphin Drew. The appraisement shows the following books: Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences £32; Bailey's Dictionary £8; Ainsworth's Dictionary £15; Cole's Dictionary £6; Josephus, 4 vols. £12; Elements of Navigation, 2 vols., £6; Davidson's Virgil, 2 vols., £5; Smart's Horace 2

*Where it is not otherwise stated, a will is intended.

PEARIS FAMILY

As shown in the preceding Hite family sketch, Jacob Hite was angry at "the man by the name of Parrish who went to Carolina with Hite;" but the reason cited was not the correct one. Both men were involved, as most of the so-called Great Men of Virginia were, in land speculation. This will all be explained in more detail later in the story, but in short, both men tried to obtain land in Indian territory in upper South Carolina. Hite's scheme failed and Pearis's almost did. The Cherokees, with whom Richard had always been a great favorite, sold him a huge tract, of which he was able to hang onto a large part (though with great difficulty) through the good offices of his eldest Cherokee son George.

Richard, taking pity on Jacob, offered to sell him part of the land at a cheap price. After all, he had paid the Cherokees; but Hite, being a stubborn man, refused to pay though he stayed on the land. Perhaps he thought Richard owed him a debt of gratitude for helping him get started in the Indian trade as a teenager. As in an earlier Berkeley County Virginia quarrel with Colonel Adam Stephen, Hite held his ground in anger. This may be one clue as to why he opted for the side of the Rebels in the Revolution when Pearis sided with the Loyalists. On the other hand, he very naturally would have stayed on the same side as his children still in Virginia.

A source to be disclosed later, which presumes Mrs. Pearis was a Cherokee and that all of the children were half Cherokee, says a Pearis son and daughter were engaged to be married to a Hite son and daughter; and that the Pearis daughter, at great personal danger to herself, raced to warn the Hite family of the intended massacre as soon as she learned of it, before it was too late. You will notice that at the bottom of column 2 of the 4-column sketch preceding, it says, "an Indian squaw who was much attached to Mrs. Hite called on her and warned her to remove to a place of safety." Again, Jacob was a "stubborn German" who refused to listen, and the whole family was killed except for the kidnapped Eleanor.

After the Revolutionary War, the new government took pity on the Hite heirs and they were given land in new Greenville County South Carolina at a very reduced rate in compensation for their loss.

In those days, though they might cover several square miles, such places as Cameron's were called by the strange name of "cowpens," perhaps because they often contained sections corralled off for various purposes in cattle care. The famous Revolutionary War Battle of Cowpens was fought at such a place about 50 miles northeast of there. Nowadays they are called ranches, and the herders cowboys,

Cameron never passed up an opportunity to try to get Pearis in trouble. Richard would have been a despicable person if even half of the stuff the man wrote Stuart were true, who then passed them on to Lord Hillsborough and later Dartmouth, in England. He tried unsuccessfully to get Richard's trading license revoked, get him evicted, etc. Some of those letters* give such fascinating insights into customs, people, and events of the times that it is no wonder historians often quote them. Though exasperatingly critical of our hero, we learn of many things that happened to him. The Greenville County history concludes from a 1775 letter of Stuart that he never, at any time, held legal title to the land, which is almost but not quite correct. Their quote is from a speech in which he scolds Cherokees, saying, "you are constantly listening to Richard Pearis, who cheats you of your lands."

The letter of 11 October 1773 of Cameron to Stuart in which he tries to get the license revoked for alleged rum selling and peddling of stolen horses received through the Indians, also says, "Agreeable to your orders I have warned Richard Pearis to be and appear at next Circuit Court at Ninety-Six. I have also sent to warn John Prince who was his clerk at the cession and Thomas Price who was his interpreter. James Jones the other interpreter will be there likewise. There can be no difficulty in proving the meeting and their purchasing of the land.

"I have prevailed upon the Great Warrior to be at court to declare how artfully Pearis had imposed upon them when the first deed of gift was made to him and Jacob Hite at Chote of 150,000 acres of land. Jamie Brakham who was his interpreter will also be at court. The Great Warrior was very glad when I told him that you would be at Ninety-Six and immediately agreed to come down and take you by the hand and open his breast to you. He will want a piece, strouds, some shirts, and calico for his wife, a saddle and rum, etc. (Note: In other words, a nice bribe! "Piece" is an antiquated word meaning "firearm" or gun.)

"Your old friend theLittle Carpenter is gone to war with a party of about 30 men. He left a string of whampum for you that in case he should fall, to remember his two children which he left. He desired me to tell you that all his relations have been killed by the enemy, that he will take care that no white man will suffer by his party, but should any of them meet him in his way he will take care of them like brothers, that he shall hunt only for his enemy, the Yaughtinoos,

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*Documents of the American Revolution, K.G. Davis, Ed., Vol IX:232-3, and others-several of the many volumes will be cited, too many to list.)

"Kickapoos, Piankeshaws or Twightwees, that you'll be surprised to hea hear of his going to war at this time of life but the rogues would not let his people live, that he hoped you would approve of his endeav endeavors to get satisfaction..." This last does not concern the Pearis family, but I wonder if it might indirectly concern Major (but now Colonel) Andrew Lewis and Dunmore's War, now heating up. That war was brought on by land speculators, Lewis being one of them. The tribes listed above are from north of the Ohio River.

Section of letter of 31 December 1773, John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth: "...The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite who had illegall illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon, Indian lands beyond the established boundary line came on before the Circuit Court at Ninety-Six last month when judgment was given against them and they relinquished all claim or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue of any deed or conveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have a good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future. But I beg leave to observe to your lordship that this success is owing to the existence of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist I should be very doubtful of success.

"The Great Warrior of Chote attended the circuit, but as I could not possibly attend there also, he came to Charleston to see me and we conversed together for several days. He is the supreme governor of his nation where his word is a law, which ascendancy is entirely owing to his personal bravery and other superior talents. He seemed much hurt that his nation should be suspected of joining in or encouraging any combination or confederacy against the white people..." He neglects to say that Ouconnastotah had come partly or mostly to collect the presents owed to him for testifying at the Ninety-Six Courthouse.

As we have seen, this was only a temporary setback to our Richard, determined as always to stand on his rights as he saw them. Stuart had played games with him by getting the acting attorney general Simpson to dredge up an obscure 1739 municipal law forbidding sales by Indians to a private white individual. But there was a loophole in the law he had not anticipated--it did not forbid transactions between Cherokees in Cherokee Territory. There is nothing in the records to prove or disprove the next point, but, though popular with most of them, Richard was a well-to-do man, and it seems only reasonable to assume that he compensated them well for their trouble in re-granting the same land (the whole 150,000 acres) to their fellow Cherokee George Pearis, an adult. This having been accomplished, he had the land surveyed* and the following winter he persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out a title in George Pearis's name and record it at the Ninety-Six courthouse.

Records of most other land transactions in Indian territory have not survived. In all likelihood they were destroyed by the Revolution, though quite a few families lived there including that of Jacob Hite

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*Cameron to Stuart 23 February 1775

whose unfortunate witness, the Cherokee Saluy, died on the way home, had been unsuccessful in convincing Virginia Governor Botetourt of the validity or his purchase. Now George Pearis's territory presumably covered that land also and, it having cost Richard something to obtain, he was willing to do Hite a favor by letting him keep it on payment of a small fee.

But Hite was very set in his ways. Both men had paid the Indians at Chota and he was not about to pay again. Perhaps he thought Richard owed him something for getting him started in the trading business when he was a lad. As in his earlier quarrel with Colonel Adam Stephen, his mind was set. The situation certainly caused hurt feelings on the part of both families, though I wonder whether therift was as great as that Hite Family sketch by Cartmell would imply. It seems not to have been serious enough for the Pearis daughter and young Hite to cancel their engagement.* Some chroniclers say his name was Jacob O'Bannon Hite, but if his mother was a Madison (second wife) rather than Catherine O'Bannion, that does not seem so likely. It might have been plain Jacob, though. It is said that the young man was a law student, almost ready to apply for a law degree in Charleston, and a Patriot, as most wealthy Charlestonians were, and as also were his brothers in Virginia. The Hite plantation was near the Spartanburg road where it crosses the Enoree. The site is easy to locate on the map in this chapter.

Though Stuart had been only temporarily successful in his 1773 court battle with Pearis and Hite, he had, he thought, entirely prevailed against someone who turned out to be a much more dangerous adversary. A spoiled, rich Charleston official by thename of William Henry Drayton** had wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba Indian reservation for a number of years. (To get a rough idea of where that was, look at this same map. The Catawba River was named for this tribe. They were in that area straddling the border in both colonies, and east of the Cherokees.)"Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and theEarl of Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773: 'The King much approves thestep you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given him solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it.'"

All through the winter of 1773-4, parties were ranging the Kentucky regions making surveys even though they knew it would stir up anger of the Indians, for that land had not yet been ceded, even to Henderson, whose negotiations came later. Those speculators were simply trying to spy out the richest land for when the time came and they could be first to file.

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*History of Greenville County, page 43

**Federal Indian Relations 1774-1788, Walter H. Mohr (1933) page 13

Though wealthy tidewater planters had so many advantages, they considered that their exhalted position entitled them to ever more riches. As we have seen, they rationalized that the backcountry settlers, who by 1774 comprised 3/4 of the white population, was to be exploited to the advantage of the elite. Attorneys and court officials, wishing to extort legal fees as high as the traffic would bear, were chagrined when they were forced to allow a few courts to operate in the interior. So just imagine how angry they became when the Mother Country, in an effort to recoup some of the costs of defending the colonies during the French & Indian War, started imposing taxes. They grumbled over new export duties on rice and other byproducts, which now had to be routed through England instead of direct to natural markets; but the Stamp Tax seemed to them to be the last straw. All legal documents had to be served & recorded on purchased, specially-stamped paper which could be acquired only through agents of the Crown, whose sole occupation was collection of those fees. The anguished cry went out that their rights as English citizens was being violated. (The extorter was now being extorted!)

Charlestonians who had never been in the least concerned about rights of backsettlers in the rest of the colony, much less of dirty, uncivilized Indians, or of black slaves who were regarded simply as expendable property, now cried self-righteously about liberty. The brave patriots of the Boston environs now became their special heroes. Never mind that the New Englanders had different ideas about how to treat one's fellow man. Much-appreciated money and food was now sent to the relief of the oppressed patriots to the north, which was fine except that they should have been thinking of the needs of the people whom they, themselves, were oppressing nearer to home.

This is only skimming over a long and complicated subject, about which such a proliferation of easy-to-obtain books have been written that it is not considered necessary to delve into it deeply here, except to set the stage so that what is to follow will be easier to understand. Please do not get the idea from this, though, that your chronicler is not abundantly grateful that the Americans won the Revolution, for I am, and have other ancestors who fought on the winning side. What we need to understand is why so many decent and heroic people in South Carolina opted for King George III instead of the Whigs. The Revolution there was the bitterest and bloodiest in all of America, with neighbor against neighbor and brother against brother. People who had no appetite for war were coerced into choosing sides, and often went back and forth between sides, depending upon who was at the time prevailing.

William Henry Drayton, a young aristocratic court official who earlier had been contemptuous of the unwashed multitude, became a violent democrat opposed to all British authority. Perhaps the 1773 rejection of his rights to lease Catawba land was a factor in this. At any rate, when in 1774 Charlestonians, taking their cue from New England, began organizing opposition groups he was one of them. In January

1775, at the first Provincial Congress, Drayton headed their secret Committee of Five which, on the night of 21 April 1775 commited their first overt act of revolution, in seizing 1600 pounds of gunpowder, 800 guns, and 200 cutlasses, property of the government arsenal. This was an act of theft, of course, though they rationalized that they were in the right and anyone opposed to them was wrong. But when Drayton and his gang accuse their opponents of theft, keep this in mind. If they lied, it was clever to deceive the enemy; if the enemy lied it was a dastardly deed. Anyway, now that the Whigs (or Patriots as they called themselves) had stolen all the government arms, the ability of others to counteract them was severely limited from the beginning.

In 1775 news traveled slowly. It took months to deliver a message overseas and several more months to get a reply. The Province was temporarily without a Royal Governor when on 3 May 1775 a fallacious letter was received from Arthur Lee in London stating that the British were planning to raise an Indian war and Negro insurrection against the colonies.* This news and that from Lexington MA a few days later spurred vigorous action. On 1 June the Provincial Congress reconvened and immediately assumed extensive governmental powers in ordering 1500 special troops raised, issuance of a million pounds of paper currency, and a Council of Safety of almost unlimited executive authority. On 3 June an Association test was authorized, and all non-signers were to be dealt with according to "sound policy."

"The Association which pledged men to war against their sovereign and to treat non-signers as enemies was difficult enough for the conservative friends of liberty in the lowcountry to accept, but to a large segment of the backcountry it was completely unacceptable...active opposition flared up. The Germans of Orangeburg would not sign, but they were passive and would not fight for the other side, either, so were considered no threat. " A militant Scotch-Irish loyalist party was forming in the Ninety-Six-Camden district. Thomas Fletchall, the most important person between Broad & Saluda rivers owned plantations on Fair Forest Creek and environs totaling 1650 acres. He was a combined justice of the peace, coroner, and militia colonel (though not physically agile enough to actually engage in combat, being very corpulent and along in years). Therefore, the Committee made every effort to win him over. On the first week of July they sent him word to muster his regiment and secure the men's signatures to the Association. In compliance he assembled his regiment on 13 July. The paper was read to "every company" but not "one man offered to sign it." Instead they had Joseph Robinson draw up their own Counter-Association signed by men from "Savannah River to Broad River"--more specifically Fletchall's regiment of the upper Saluda, Col. Stark's lower on the forks of the Saluda, and Col. Savage's at Ninety-Six.

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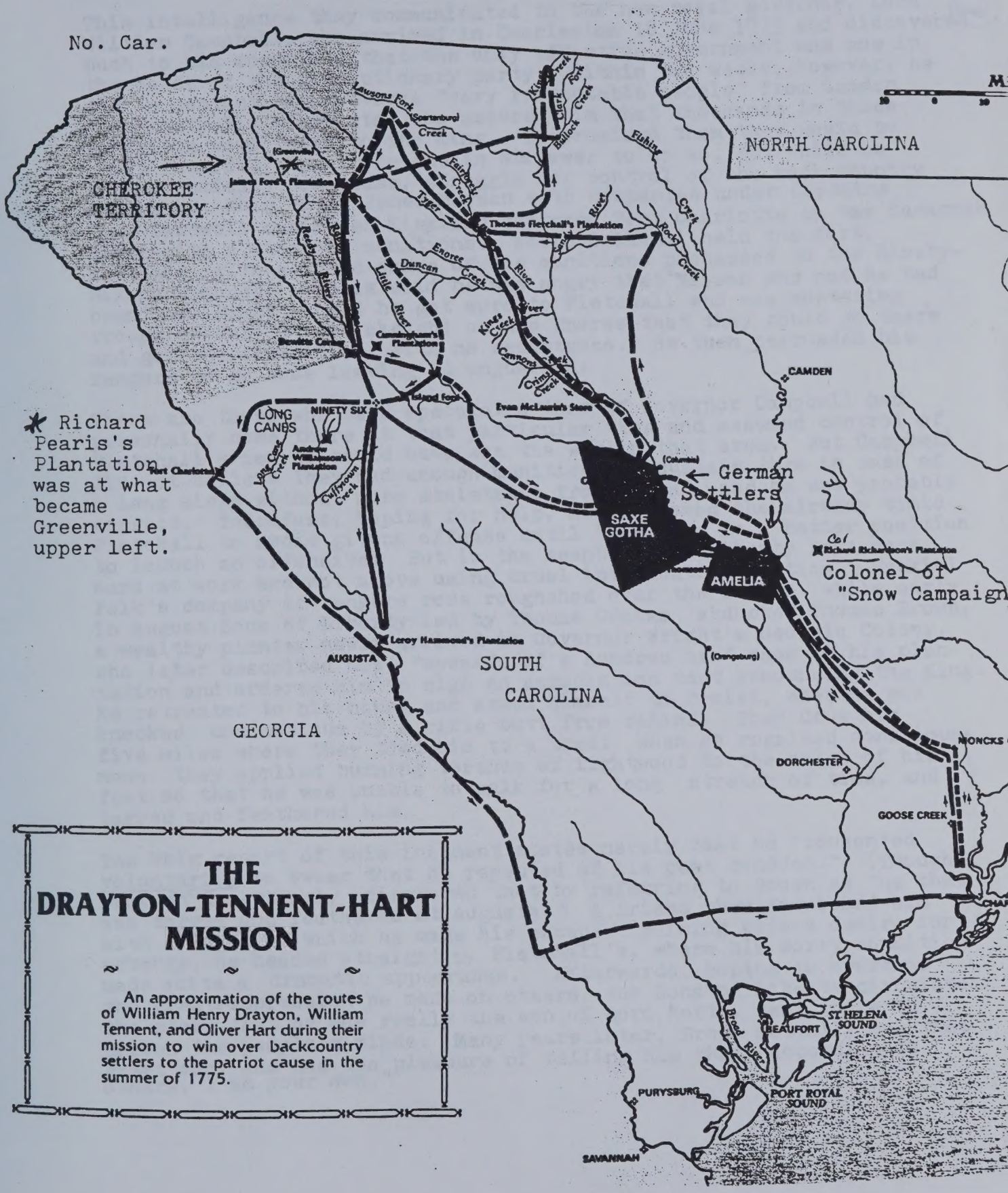
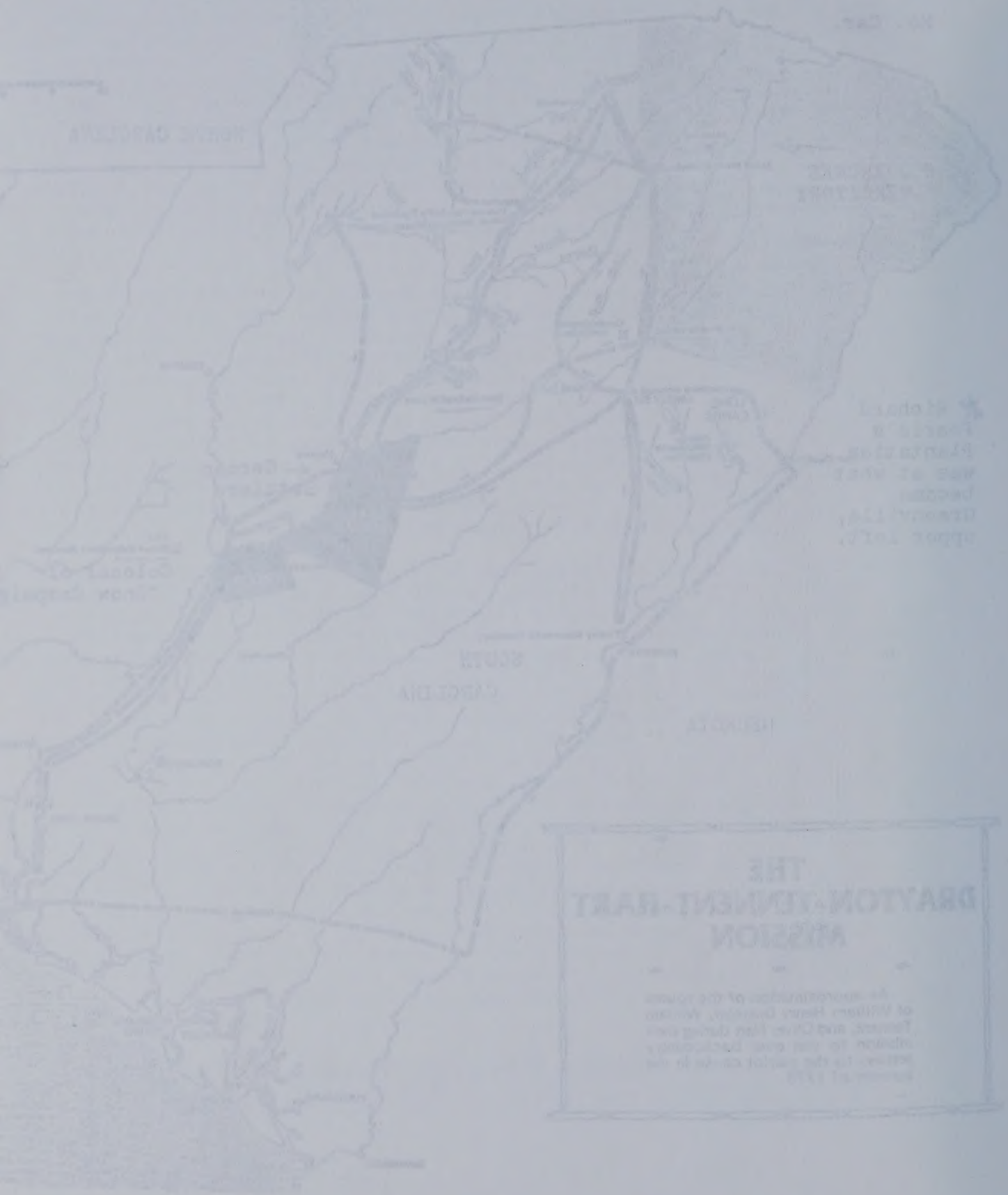
*Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry 1775-1776, by Gary D. Olson, printed in Vols 68 & 69, South Carolina Historical Magazine 68:203-5


No. Car.
NORTH CAROLINA
CHEROKEE TERRITORY
Richard Pearis's Plantation was at what became Greenville, upper left.
German Settlers
SAXE GOTHA
AMELIA
Colonel of "Snow Campaign
CAMDEN
NINETY SIX
LONG CANES
AUGUSTA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
DORCHESTER
GOOSE CREEK
BEAUFORT
ST HELENA SOUND
PORT ROYAL SOUND
PURYSBURG
SAVANNAH
THE DRAYTON-TENNENT-HART MISSION
An approximation of the routes of William Henry Drayton, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart during their mission to win over backcountry settlers to the patriot cause in the summer of 1775.



This intelligence they communicated to the new royal governor, Lord William Campbell, who arrived in Charleston 18 June 1775 and discovered much to his surprise, that the only effective government was now in the hands of the revolutionary party. Within two weeks, however, he was in contact with several "very respectable people" from Camden and Ninety-Six Districts who assured him that thousands in those districts were loyal to the King. He promised them they would be amply rewarded when it became in his power to do so. But while he was essentially powerless, struggle for control of the back country increased. Whig Major James Mayson with companies under Captains John Caldwell and Moses Kirkland captured Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River with a store of munitions. While Caldwell held the fort, Kirkland with a large share of the munitions proceeded to the Ninety-Six Courthouse. It is said he was angry that Mayson and not he had been made Major, and he got word to Fletchall who was mustering troops at Ford's (see sketch) on the Enoree that they could go there and get the ammunition with no resistance. He then persuaded his rangers to go home leaving it unguarded!

There are those who have speculated that if Governor Campbell had personally come there at that particular time and assumed control of Fletchall's men he could have won the war in that area. But Campbell did not believe they had enough munitions to sustain them in case of a long siege without more assistance from abroad, and he was probably correct. Therefore, hoping for help, he cautioned the already timid Fletchall to avoid giving offense until they were in a better position to launch an offensive. But in the meantime the Liberty Boys were hard at work and not above using cruel intimidation tactics. Ezekiel Polk's company of rangers rode roughshod over the region while early in August Sons of Liberty led by Thomas Graham abducted Thomas Brown, a wealthy planter newly arrived in Governor Wright's Georgia Colony, who later described how "upwards of a hundred men" came to his plantation and ordered him to sign an association test renouncing the King. He retreated to his house and armed himself to resist, when he was knocked unconscious by a rifle butt from behind. They drug him five miles where they tied him to a tree. When he regained consciousness they applied burning torches of lightwood to the soles of his feet so that he was unable to walk for a long stretch of time, and tarred and feathered him.

The Whig report of this incident states merely that he "consented voluntarily to swear that he repented of his past conduct." (Though Drayton unwittingly disproved that by referring to Brown as "he that was tarred and feathered at Augusta.") A friend then furnished him with a horse on which he made his escape. Burning with a desire for revenge, he headed straight to Fletchall's, where his sorry condition made quite a dramatic appearance. Afterwards, hoping to overcome the great impression he made on others, the Sons of Liberty circulated the story that he was really the son of Lord North, sent there to poison the people's minds. Many years later, Brown actually met that great man, and had the pleasure of telling him that, "according to others, I am your son."

Realizing now that the recalcitrant backcountry must be won over by fair means or foul, Whig emissaries from the Charleston Council of Safety were sent there to "explain" to the people the "nature of the unhappy dispute" between Great Britain and the colonies. The commission was made up of William Henry Drayton, Joseph Kershaw, Colonel Richard Richardson (site of his plantation shown on sketch), and two Charleston clergymen, Presbyterian Rev. William Tennant and Baptist Rev. Oliver Hart. Drayton and Tennant were considered as charismatic, at least in their own environs. The talks commenced with mixed results at the Congarees, especially in the German settlements where no one attended until threatened. Under coercion, most signed but without conviction. At the next place the Germans were in attendance but refused to sign. Cutting off all suplies of merchandise to the local storekeeper, Evan McLaurin, had some effect on them.

At King's Creek on the Enoree, Drayton spoke with some apparent success until the arrival of Robert Cunningham and Thomas Brown. The latter read a message from Governor Campbell and after that no one would sign. When the committee sponsored an election for local delegates to the Provincial Congress, Brown, Cunningham, and Kirkland quashed the election. No matter how hard they harrangued, these men, considered so eloquent in their own element, made no impact on these people. Nobody would sign the association test. That evening at Fletchall's, Brown insulted Drayton to the point that he lost self-control. A duel was prevented only by Fletchall sending all of his guests to bed.*

Up to this point Richard Pearis had avoided all of these gatherings, not wanting to be drawn into conflict, though he began to realize that war was inevitable. He hoped not; but because he would not commit, both sides suspected he was against them and began a propaganda war. At the same time he was much feared because of his persuasiveness with the Indians. Of course his adversaries, Cameron and Stuart, being British agents, were on his Majesty's side so that he had a natural reluctance to team up with them, though he had no wish to rebel against the King unless to reduce harrassment. He wished to be with the Indians and stay where he was. He was not much impressed with Drayton and his bunch when they contacted him but decided to hear them out and, at their request, arrange that they might talk to the Cherokees.

It appears that, to obtain his cooperation, Drayton must have dangled the prospect of a special commission as Indian Agent as bait. One of the papers of the Council of Safety correspondence does contain the phrase, "If a commission is given to him (referring to Pearis) it must be a special one." Some writers have speculated that he desired the post George Galpin (McApline) received and others that it was different ones, and that Pearis, angry, then changed sides. Some or all of this may be true, but I can find no confirmation that he was offered a post at all, just that they were considering it should the occasion arise. Pearis had a way of attracting detractors! It was only natural for the Council of Safety to criticize him when he tricked them after taking the Indians to visit Drayton, The first version here is Cameron's report before Richard declared for the King.

*The King's Ranger - Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier, by Edward J. Cashin (1989) page 31. (Univ.GA Press-Very informative!)

Intelligence from Alexander Cameron[1]

8 November 1775 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Dartmouth, 8 January 1776, Vol. X, No. 778.

Intelligence contained in Mr Cameron's letter of 8th November. William Henry Drayton, accompanied by two Independent parsons, Hart and Tenant, made a tour through the interior and back parts of Carolina and Georgia, haranguing the people and exciting them to rebellion by enumerating a long list of pretended grievances and representing the Acts of Parliament respecting Boston as cruel, tyrannical and oppressive, by which means they seduced a great many people. Mr Drayton authorized Richard Pearis to give and receive talks from the Indians, to use his influence to get Mr Cameron killed or taken prisoner, in which he failed of success although he tried every means in his power to effect it, first by endeavouring to raise a sufficient body of men, and when he could not get a sufficient number he then offered a considerable reward to any single person who would shoot him from behind a bush, then mount his horse and escape into the settlements. Pearis was at the same time writing Mr Cameron privately to be on his guard against the designs of some of the frontier inhabitants upon his life.

Mr Drayton sent Pearis with a talk into the nation (of which I send a copy herewith [Vol. X, No. 778iii]) who delivered it to the Indians and prevailed upon Eccuy or the Good Warrior and three more Indians to go with him to visit Mr Drayton at the Congarees. These Cherokees were told by Mr Drayton that Mr Cameron was a very bad man and spoke with two tongues, that the white people were determined to drive him out of the Cherokee nation, and that if the Cherokees attempted to protect him they would involve themselves in a war by which the lives of their women and children would be exposed, and that for a person who could not now be of the least service to them whatever he might tell them to the contrary. Eccuy seemed to approve of what Mr Drayton said and promised not to protect Mr Cameron, but upon his return home, being severely reprimanded by the headmen for listening to Mr Drayton or Pearis's talks, denied that he had made any such promise.

Richard Pearis was to have delivered Mr Drayton's talk to the Indians on the 9th of October and the Indians met accordingly at Sugar Town to hear it; but as Pearis had been taken sick they were disappointed. But on the 10th his son, George Pearis, with one Dutarque, an officer, and a party of rangers, met the Indians. Mr Cameron took care to be present where Mr Edward Wilkinson was also. Eccuy first addressed the Indians, said he had been told by Mr Drayton that the Great King was going to make the white people pay much more for their goods than usual and that of course the Indians would be obliged to pay two pounds of leather for what formerly they could buy for one pound etc., but as Pearis was sick and could not attend he desired them to go over to his house where they would hear Mr Drayton's talk explained. Mr Cameron then reminded them of Mr Pearis's behaviour upon many occasions when by lies and forgeries he had imposed upon them and defrauded them of their land, in doing which he, Pearis, had not been singular as the same had been practiced by many of the frontier inhabitants, and had it not been for the line run and marked by order of the King they would not have had a foot of land left them at this day, and then they would have been obliged to serve as slaves; that they seemed to have

forgot how much trouble and expense it had cost their father the Superintendent to recover a part of their land of which they had been defrauded by the same Pearis, that lying rogue who now wanted to talk to them; that they could not suppose he would tell them truth as he never knew it; that the people by the waterside wanted them to take up the hatchet against their Great Father the King who had supported them time out of mind and would always do so while they behaved properly and listened to his talks. Upon which a chief named Keanitah made a manly speech, desired that they would pay no attention to Pearis, who was a rogue and a devil and could never speak truth. This he desired his son, George Pearis, tell him: that Scotchie (Mr Cameron) had been appointed by their father the Superintendent to take care of them, that he never had deceived them, that they would hold him fast and protect him notwithstanding the anger of the white people. He was seconded by another chief, upon which all the Indians went away and left Eccuy, young Pearis with the officer and his detachment, by themselves in the town house. Some Indians went a few days afterwards to Pearis's house in hopes of getting some ammunition which had been promised them, but they returned without any and much disappointed.

On the 12th September 4 Senecka Indians were fired upon about break of day near the Buffaloe Lick on the new ceded lands in Georgia. One of them was killed and two wounded; the 4th, who was not hurt, named The Raven, set up the war-hoop and the wounded men stood to their arms, upon which the white people ran off. This murther was perpetrated by three brothers named Cloud, for which they have since been committed to prison in Georgia. The Indians were much exasperated at this piece of treachery and were with difficulty restrained by their chiefs from taking immediate satisfaction of the traders, and Mr Cameron thinks they will not pass it over. What adds greatly to the discontent of the Cherokees is their being disappointed by the Carolinians who promised them 2000 pounds of gunpowder of what they had seized off of this place and at Georgia. The ammunition had actually been sent, but the escort was beaten and all of it taken away by Mr Richard Cuningham who is at the head of a party in support of government.

Colonel Fletchall of the militia, having put himself at the head of 1500 men, in August last declared for government. William Henry Drayton assembled about 2000 men at Ninety Six and sent a manifest to Fletchall's camp proposing an accommodation, which his want of ammunition induced him to accept of. But his assistant, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cuningham, stood out and was followed by most of the men, but about the first of November he was surprised in his own house and made prisoner. His brother Richard went with a party to rescue his brother but took a wrong road, he missed his brother but took the ammunition abovementioned. The rebels are collecting all their force to attack Cuningham.

In October some of the principal Cherokee chiefs went to Augusta in Georgia to get a supply of ammunition. After staying there about two weeks they got about 600 lbs powder and ball in proportion, with which they returned. They all got sick of a fever which at that time raged in Georgia. One of our best friends, Skalalusky of Toqua, died much lamented by Mr Cameron. *Copy*. [C.O.5/77, fo. 81]

Greenville County History(pages 37 et seq) tells the story using Cameron's version just shown, so to get a balanced view of this and the following conflict we have to consider both this and the reports from others, including the Whigs. But before we do, let us consider who George Galpin was and whether Richard Pearis really thought he might receive the appointment the Revolutionary party awarded to him. I'm far from an expert and could easily be in error, but here is what I came up with. First off, it appears that Galpin was given the post prior to Drayton's initial contact with Pearis, and that he was far too powerful with the Creeks for anyone to even consider transferring his commission to anyone else.*

George Galpin, as he was called (actually McAlpine but nobody called him that) was one of the licensed trading partners who by 1741 were associated with Charles Town merchant Archibald McGillivray in a lucrative business long before Georgia was settled. Three of the partners, Irishmen John Rae and George Galpin and Scotsman Lachlan McGillivray, lived among the Creeks and took Creek wives. In 1750 South Carolina Gov. Glen called upon Galpin to counteract French influence and mend ongoing hostilities between Creeks and Cherokees.

Out of their trading houses in Augusta and Silver Bluff on the opposite (SC) side of the Savannah River, these three men monopolized over 3/4 of the trade with the Creeks and Chickasaws. They were well connected with Henry Laurens by 1755. Does it make sense to you that Richard Pearis had been offered, or would have expected, that man's position with the Creeks, not the Cherokees? That Drayton & Laurens would attempt to bribe Pearis with some position sounds logical, but the chroniclers seem to have overlooked the possibility that Richard simply did not trust Drayton once he became better acquainted. Perhaps he was really sick at the time the man spoke to the Cherokees; on the other hand, sending his son George Pearis in his place could have been because he was suspicious and wanted to avoid commitment. He also knew that Cameron would be there to create a diversion.

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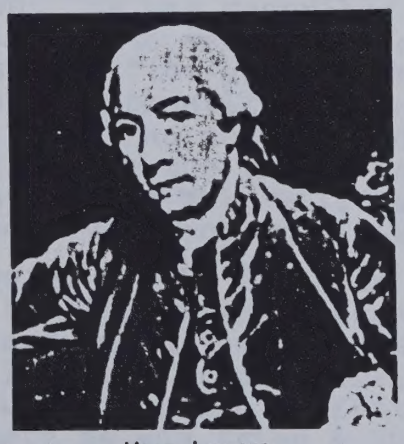
*John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier, J. Russell Snap (1996) pages 17-19

William Henry Drayton



Henry Laurens

It is believed that much of the bloodyness of the Revolution in South Carolina could have been prevented had not the moderate Henry Laurens been replaced as head of the Council by the radical Drayton.

A Journal of Coln. David Fanning's transactions During the late War in America, from the year 1775--Commencing 1ts of May until the peace *

Coln Thomas Fleachall of Fairforest ordered the Different Captains to call musters and present two papers for the inhabitants to sign(1) one was to see who was friends to the King and Government, and the other was to see who would Join the Rebellion (1) the first of may Capt James Lindley**of Rabirns Creek sent to me as I was a sergeant of the said Company to have his Company warned to meet at his house 15th of said month (.) I did accordingly and he presenting the two papers. There was 118 men signed in favor of theKing, who Declared To Defend the same at theRisk of Lives and Property in July 1775--there was several advertisements set up in Every part of the said District that there was a Very Good prispetearing minister to call at the Different Places to preach and Baptise Children.***

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*The Narrative of Col. David Fanning, by Lindley S. Butler (pp 20 et seq) David Fanning finished the journal of his wartime experiences on 24 June 1790 at his home on St. John's River, New Brunswick, Canada, where, as a Loyalist partisan in the Revolution, he was resettled by the British government. The narrative opens in May 1775 in back-country SC where, as a 20-year-old Indian trader with the Catawbas and possibly the Cherokees, he is faced with the awesome choice of loyalty to his king or armed rebellion and treason. He was born 1755 at Birch Swamp, Amelia Co. VA, where his grandfather, Bryan Fanning had settled. His father, David Sr., moved to present Wake Co. NC but drowned in Deep River before the boy was born, leaving him and his sister in the care of a young mother unable to cope with the struggle. They were bound out; he, though educated, had a cruel master from whom he escaped to Orange Co. NC, where taken in by the O'Deniell family and cured of scald head or tetter worm, an offensive scalp disease that left him bald. He afterwards wore a skullcap. It is said he was a superb horseman and tamer of wild horses. His efforts to regain his father's two plantations of 1100 acres in VA were not successful. At age 18 he moved to Joseph Keller's on Raeburn Creek of Reedy River in present Laurens Co. He was described as "a man of fine pysique," small but muscular, with sandy complexion and a wig, very self-reliant but reckless with "the astuteness of the Indian and the fleetness of Arab" and a strong constitution enabling him to bear toil and hunger. As a young trader he accumulated 20 horses, 6 cattle and two slaves. On one of his trips to the Indian region in 1775 his trade goods were pillaged by an alleged Whig militia band, and from that day a new-born Loyalist "swore vengence on all whigs."

**James Lindley (1755-1779) native of Chester Co. PA lived in Orange Co. NC. He settled on Reaburn's Creek by 1768 in what became 96, where he was justice of the peace and captain in the Upper Saluda Regt. (Lyndley's Fort) Was at siege of 96 & captured at Great Cane Brake. He remained an active Loyalist until capture at Kettle Creek GA14 Feb 1779, imprisoned in 96 jail where he was tried & hung in April.

***This was Rev. William Tennent, who used religion as an inducement to join the Rebel cause.

"But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a Minister, we all went to meet two Jews By name Silvedsor and Rapely (note: instead of Tennent who evidently did not show up, they were harrangued by Francis Salvador and Richard Andrews Rapley, two Whig planters living in the 96 Dist.) and after many speeches in favor of the Rebellion and usd all their endeavors to Delude the people away at last presented Revelution papers to see who would sign them(.) They were severely reprimanded by Henery Oneal* and many others (.) it Came so high that they had much adue to Get off with their Lives. the Rebels then found that we was fully Determined to oppose them. They Began to embody in the last of said month to Compell all to join them or to take away our arms: Our Officers Got word of their Intentions; I then Got orders From the Capt to warn the militia to assemble themselves, at Hugh Oneals mill which was done by Captains Companies and Continued for Several Days under arms. And then both parties was Determined on this Condicition That neither parties should intercept Each other (.) (note: this was a truce period, as will be explained in other versions, which was agreed to because the Loyalists did not at the time possess enough arms and munitions to do battle.) this truce continued for some time untill the Rebels had taken Thomas Brown who after that had the Honor to be Coln of the Ridgment of the East Florida Rangers in Augusta and Burnt his feet tard featherd and cut off His hair, and after that he got so he was able to Set on horse Back. he came to our poast and the Rebels then began to embody again. Coln Fletchall formed a large Camp and marched from the Liberty Springs to Mill Creek on our way towards Ninety Six. 12 miles from Ninety Six the Rebels found that they was not Strong Enough for us Sent an Express to Coln Fletchall--to come and treat with them which Said Fletchall Did but the terms of their treatment I Dont Know.** We was all Dismist untill further Orders (.) in a Short time After theRebels took Capt. Robert Cunningham*** and Carried him of to Charlestown (.) our party**** was then Informed of his being taken off in the night time and by makeing an Enquiery after him we got Information of a large Quantity of Ammonition that was there, on Its way to the Cherichee Nation for Capt Richard Pares

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*Henry O'Neal was an early Loyalist leader, with Patrick Cunningham when the Cherokee powder was seized. An order was issued for his arrest and he was in custody by Feb 1776 & with other Loyalist leaders excluded from pardon on 11 April 1776.

**The Treaty of Ninety Six 16 Sept 1775, negotiated by Thos. Fletchall and Drayton. By its terms both parties agreed to disband and remain neutral. The treaty effectively defused the Loyalist uprising.

***Robert Cunningham, b PA is on the 31 Oct 1771 list of absolved Regulators, at which time his address was 1000 acres on Island Ford of the Saluda. He was in the 96Dist. by 1766 (Much later a son and daughter of this man would marry children of Richard Pearis.) With his brother Patrick he was an active Loyalist and advised against any negotiations. He refused to abide by the treaty and on 23 Oct was arrested and jailed in Charleston, stayed there after release a year later, till the British, after capture of the city made him Brigadier general and he established a post at 96. At end of war he went to St. Augustine, then Nova Scotia, then in 1786 to Nassau, Bahamas where he died in 1813.

****Patrick Cunningham, who settled in 1769, was deputy surveyor. He tried to rescue Robert and then seized the Indian ammunition. His career parallels his brothers except that after the war he settled in East FLA; but he returned to SC in 1785, and eventually became a member of the legislature: He died in 1794.

who swore to these facts. (footnote says "The powder and lead seized by Patrick Cunningham's Loyalists on 3 Nov. 1775 had been granted to the Cherokees by the Whigs on the condition that they attack the Loyalist settlers. William Drayton ordered the militia to apprehend the King's mad people concerned in this daring act.") we then formed a Large Camp Coln Fletchall Being So Heavy he gave up the Command to Majr Joseph Robinson*

In the month of November 1775 the South Carolina Militia of which I was at that time Sergeant under the Command of Major Joseph Robinson laid Seige to a Fort erected by the Rebels at Ninety Six Commanded by Coln Mason (Mayson) which continued for the space of three Days and Three nights at the Expiration of which time the Rebels were forst to Surrender and give up the Fort and Artillery**

Major Robinson then Ordered the militia to the North Side of Saluda River and Dischargd them for Eighteen Days (.) afterwards Orders was Issued for every Capt to Collect their Respective Companies at Hendricks mill about 20 miles from Ninety Six (.) the Rebels having Received Intelligence of our Intended motions they Immediately marched before us and took possession of the Grounds which prevented our assembling there

But about 300 of our men met at Little River and marched from thence to Reedy River and Encamped at thebig Cane Brake for Several Days--the Rebels being informed of our Situation marchd unexpectedly upon us and made prisoners of 130 of our men (.)*** the Remainder fled into the woods and continued there--with the Cherichee Indians until the 18th of January 1776--when I was made a prisoner by a party of Rebels commanded by a Capt John Burns, who after Detaining me four days and Repeatedly urging me to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States Stript me of Everything and made me give Security for my future good Behavior by which means I got clear on 19 may 1776 hearing the Rebels had issued a Proclamation to all the friends of Government offering them pardon and protection provided they would Return to their Respective habitations & Remain neutral-------TO BE CONTINUED ON LATER PAGES------

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*Joseph Robinson had 400 acres on the Broad River, was a deputy surveyor & major in the Upper Saluda militia. After his successful siege of Ninety Six he was captured at Great Cane Brake 22 Dec 1775. After release he went to Pensacola, then St. Augustine where he was commissioned Lt. Col. of the SC Royalists in 1778. After the evacuation of Charleston he was in East FLA, Jamaica, and finally New Brunswick. Sometime after 1788 he moved to Prince Edward Island.
The TEST OATH taken at Major Joseph Robinson's camp in support of the King & royal government read, "I,(name) do swear that I will observe, obey and abide by all the laws of England which are of force in this his Majesty's province of South-Carolina, and all the Acts of the General Assembly of said province."

**The siege of Ninety-Six on 19-22 November 1775 was one of the few Loyalist victories. The Whigs had gathered there under Williamson and Mayson. More details and a sketch of the site will appear later.
***The battle of the Great Cane Brake on 22 Dec 1775 was a brief skirmish that ended the second Loyalist rising. The Whig militia commanded by Col. Richard Richardson and Lt. Col. William Thompson were reinforced by North Carolina militia under Col. William Polk and Lt. Col. Alexander Martin. Many Loyalists were taken prisoner--attacked by a huge force of 4000 men in the "Snow Campaign." Much more will be told later.

PEARIS FAMILY

WHO

David Fanning's Journal certainly is exciting, but it covers so much in few words that much of the story is left out. As he admits, he did not know what was in treaties and the like. We have to consult other versions, including those of Richard Pearis's enemies, to get details--and even then there is much we cannot know. What seems to me to be proof that if Richard expected to receive any appointment from the Council of Safety, it could not have been that of Galpin, who according to the following must have been appointed in late July 1775, before Drayton contacted Pearis for any reason.

From Cameron, before 2 August 1775*

(He is trying to keep peace between Creeks and Cherokees as well as prevent any clashes with whites).."they seemed exasperated at the Virginians (as they call all the northward people) for stopping their ammunition and fighting against the King's people. They told me that if ammunition could be got soon things might remain quiet among them, but if they could not be supplied they could not answer for what their young people might do...But by some traders that arrived yesterday at this place I am informed that the ammunition is seized at Savannah; if so, God have mercy on them, for I am afraid it will be out of my power to save them. I am just now informed that the Carolina Committee have appointed George Galpin, Leroy Hammond, and David Zubly superintendents of Indian affairs among the Creeks, and three others for the Cherokees. .....Most of the traders except Gaulpin's are come up with goods but not a pound of powder with any of them....."
(Without ammunition the Indians would starve. They had long ago given up the bow and arrow and were dependant on the White man to live.) Now the Council of Safety had raided the arsennal at Savannah.)

Col. William Thomson to The Honble Henry Laurens**

Sir Congarees, 6 September 1775 (now Columbia)

Since I wrote You from Camp Amelia 2d Instant I received Your Favor of the 31st Ultimo..You may depend that I will as soon as possible exert' myself in following Your Orders for raising Volunteer Companies..... follow Your own and The Honble Mr Drayton's Instructions ...and give such Orders with regard to the Post of Fort Charlotte & for the safety of our associated friends at Augusta , as I may think the most prudent at this alarming time...The re-appointment of Capt Ezekiel Polk, I hope will be attended with every good consequence...Yesterday about noon when the several Companies were getting ready to proceed on their march for the Ridge, We received an Express from Capt Parris informing us that a Captain Hendrik*** and several others belonging to Colo Fletchall's Regiment stopped him (torn) Cherokee Indians from coming down here, at about ten Miles distance (torn) this & hoped that we could come to their assistance. The Companies were immediately Ordered to go and rescue them and to take Hendrick & his associates Prisoners. I arrived there just before night and took Capt. Hendrick; but the others escaped soon after he was taken and before any of the Companies came up to the house they were sent in. I ordered the Prisoner, under a Guard, to the Camp where he now is in confinement. Capt Parris with the Indians

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*Documents of the American Revolution, Davis

**Papers of Henry Laurens, David L. Chestnut, Editor (1992) Vol 10 pages 371 and later. Volume 11 will also be quoted, see index

***Wm. Hendricks, Capt. in Major Patrick Cunningham's Loyalist Regt, Little River Militia, Ninety-Six Brigade in 1780

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton*

Sir: Charles Town 15 September 1775

Moses Kirkland came into Charles Town on Monday late in the Evening & disguised, repaired immediately to the Governorat whose House he was accommodated with a Bed & from whence he embarked on Tuesday Morning in the Tamar's Boat & got safe on board that Man of War--these facts the General Committee were informed of on Wednesday--the Committee examined a young Man one Bailey Chaney who was said to have accompanied Kirkland & admidst heaps of shuffling & prevarication they collected enough to confirm not only their belief ofKirkland's being actually on board the Man of War but also that His Excellency held a correspondence with our Enemies of a very different nature from that which he had endeavored by various arts to represent to us as the true motive of his writing to Fletchal & others of that party,...(He goes on to excoriate Royal Governor Campbell for having the audacity to oppose them..after this they attacked the Man of War but)...Kirkland has eluded all your schemes, but we will not yet think him out of our Reach, tis possible we may still bring him to answer for his misdeeds--his companions Robinson, Brown & Cunningham's we hope will be taken or driven out of the Colony by you. (Kirkland sailed North to contact General Gage.

16th Septem. last night a packet arrived from Capt. Pearis who was at Congarees (note: modern Columbia) with four Cherokees who were waiting for you--Mr. Pearis laments your delay, represents the anxiety of the Indians & fears bad consequences will follow if they should return without seeing you or some person to Talk to them in your stead--this appears to be a matter of great moment & will require your immediate attention--we need not inform you of the contempt in which Indians hold the man who deceives them & they scarcely know the difference & never will make the distinction when their friendship is courted, between disappointment & deceipt--Cameron too will exult & repeat his slanders, we therefore recommend this business to your most serious attention.

last night also the Governor, who was on board the man of War sent Capt. Innes to demand at Fort Johnson--(who commanded thefort and by what authority the Americans took it over, etc, etc.)

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton**

Sir: Charles Town 21 September 1775

We refer to our last dated the15th by your messenger from Ninety Six which we hope has reached you & that you are now on your way to meet those Indians who led by Capt. Pearis came from the Cherokees at your Command & who have in the utmost anxiety & impatience been many days waiting for you.--

We have Several Copies of interrupted Letters from the Superintendant at St. Augustine to his Agents in the Nation. they look so much like

*South Carolina Historical Magazine Vol I, pp 281-3
**ibid, pages 299-300

Wm Hy Drayton to Henry Laurens*

Sir: Camp near Ninety Six

.....I now hear that all Cunninghams Party are dispersed. I begun this letter in the morning & I am now writing by the light of light wood; and yet I have lost no time in proceeding with my letter. Tomorrow I shall discharge the Militia. Today I returned thearmy public thanks. They are really a fine body of Men.

I inclose a letter from Mr. Wilkinson. I mean to stay here with the Rangers some days to watch the consequences of the violence mentioned in that letter...in order to quiet the fears of the People above, but with orders not to advance any thing near theIndian line. I have not yet seen Paris & his Indians, but I expect to see them in a few days, after which I shall return to Charles Town...

Council of Safety to Saxe Gotha Committee

Gentlemen: Charles Town 24 October 1775

The affairs of this Colony must be reduced to a very precarious situation when the information of Mr. Lewis Dutarque & Ralph Humphreys is to Supercede the orders of those who are authorized & required to do everything which to them Shall Seem needful & expedient for the defence Security and protection of this Colony.....We desire you will do your endeavours to forward the Waggon with Safety & order the Waggoner to deliver the Letter directed to Mr. Wilkinson to Mr. Pearis as we Suppose Mr. Wilkinson will be gone from Keowee to attend his Duty at Salisbury. We have ordered an escort of Rangers to conduct the Waggon & request your assistance if needful.

(footnote says The Powder promised to the Cherokees by William Henry Drayton and voted by the Council of Safety October 4 was stopped at the Congarees by citizens who feared that the Council of Safety planned to employ the Indians against settlers who had not adhered to the patriot cause. Ralph Humphries and Lt. Lewis Dutarque of the 5th company of Rangers under Col. Wm. Thomson may have been influenced by Richard Pearis. Pearis had decided about this time to bolt from and discredit the patriot cause. He told the people people of the Congarees that Drayton, acting as the agent of Charleston, would use the powder to disrupt the backcountry. It refers to Pearis's Affidavit 11 Nov. 1775, Kendall Collection.)

The footnote to the next item (shown on next page) accuses Richard Pearis of defecting because he did not receive Edward Wilkinson's appointment (not Galpin's)It says, "The notoriously dishonest Richard Pearis, jealous of Edward Wilkinson's appointment as an Indian commmissioner, apparently attempted to discredit him with the Council of Safety by questioning his loyalty to the American cause. On November 11, by which time he had joined the British, Pearis signed an affidavit in which he claimed that the Cherokees said "that Mr. Wilkinson was a Roague and Desir'd he Should be taken out of the Nation."

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*Laurens Papers 10:393, 500

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO RICHARD PEARIS
Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Sir_

We have received your Letter of the 15th. Inst & Shall give [*its*] contents full & proper consideration_ in the mean time we are Sorry to learn that the Ammunition Viz[t] 1000.# Gun Powder & 1000# Lead intended for the Cherokees has been Stopped & detained at Congaree_ it is necessary that it Should be forwarded & properly distributed_ but as we have no hopes of meeting M[r]. Wilkinson at Keowee, presuming that he will have been Set out upon his Journey to Salisbury before this can reach you, we desire that you will receive the ammunition, open M[r]. Wilkinson's Letter & follow the Instructions given to him as if they had been directed immediately to your Self, & also in M[r]. Wilkinsons absence take a Letter which we now direct to him_[1]

You Shall hear from us or from the Provincial Congress in due time relative to recalling M[r]. Cameron, but we desire that you will not abate your vigilance to counteract his Schemes & projects_ We cannot forbear expressing our good opinion of M[r]. Wilkinson & our hopes that upon further investigation you will find that you had mistaken his principles & his conduct_ We have no partiality for any Man but him who is a fast & Steady friend to American Liberty_ if M[r]. Wilkinson Shall here after be found to be or to have been faulty, He Shall receive no countenance from us_ but we cannot condemn any Man unheard we hope you will either prove clearly that he has acted contrary to the Interest of America in order that ~~he~~ he may be properly, distinguished_ or that you will endeavour to colesce with him for common benefit_[2]

By order of the Council of Safety.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO EDWARD WILKINSON
Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Sir_

We are Sorry to find that from misapprehensions the Ammunition intended for the Cherokee Indians to be distributed by you has been detained at Congrees_ we have now ordered it to be Sent forward immediately but as we have no expectation of your having time to take upon you the distribution we have authorized M[r]. Richard Pearis to transact that business & we desire you will deliver to him the Letter which we wrote to you by the Waggon in which the amunition is put & direct it to him for his Government in acting in your Stead_

We hope you will not fail to be at the meating of the Indian Commissioners at Salisbury on the 10th. Novem[r]. M[r]. Galphin, will probably be delayed, two or three days_ from a necessity for *illegible* attending certain Creek Indians who are to be at his House about the latter end of this Month_[1]

By order of the Council of Safety_

From: Papers of Henry Laurens
10:502-3
next item below - 10-506

Council of Safety to Edward Wilkinson Charles Town October 29, 1775

We have just received and taken under consideration your letter of the twentieth instant, and we thank you for the intelligence contained in it. Mr. Pearis had some days before intimated to us what passed between Mr. Cameron & the Cherokees. We shall only observe to you, that when Mr. Cameron in his talk to the Indians "that but for the Care of the Great King &ca they could not have had a foot of land left to them by the white" Your silence was a Tacit Confirmation of a Short Change against us comprehending every thing that could or can be said to render us odious in the sight of the Indians.....

(This goes on to command Wilkinson to discredit Cameron in the eyes of the Cherokees and says, "he has affoarded us too much reason to say we are sure that whenever thought proper by his Enployers to order the Cherokees to fall upon and murder our Frontier Inhabitants Man Woman & Children."

Following is a footnote from page 515, same source--"Richard Pearis, in the presence of several Loyalists including Patrick Cunningham, offered his deposition before Justice of the Peace Evan McLaurin in Ninety Six District 11 Nov 1775. His primary purpose was to discredit the patriot cause and Drayton in particular. Much of Pearis's dissatisfaction seems to have stemmed from the fact that he had not been appointed an Indian Commissioner, as he claimed Drayton had promised. Accusing Drayton of attempting to use the powder sent to the Cherokees to obtain land for himself. He also repeated the rumor that Drayton intended employing the Indians against the white inhabitants on the frontier. The Council of Safety read it 30 Nov. and condemned it "as a false & malicious libel." Drayton answered the allegations in a 6 Dec. "address to the frontier settlements." Historians, of course, have taken their cue from Drayton, considered a hero because he was on the winning side.

Next we quote Loyalists in the American Revolution, Gary D. Olson, So. Car. Hist. Mag. 68:213-7

After Kirkland had left the backcountry, Drayton led a force of militia across the Saluda River into Ninety-Six district and detached parties to seize prominent loyalists. Nine men were taken into custody, but Robert Cunningham managed to escape. Drayton nevertheless felt confident that in a few days he would be able to march into Fletchall's district of the Upper Saluda and easily disperse the opposition there "without blood spilt in battle."[36] Brown and Cunningham, however, had been more successful in raising men to oppose him than the patriot leader wanted to believe. Indeed he was soon forced to conclude that the loyalists numbered over 1,200 men while his own force barely totaled one thousand. Drayton decided to try deception in order to avoid bloodshed and perhaps defeat.

To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctury for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

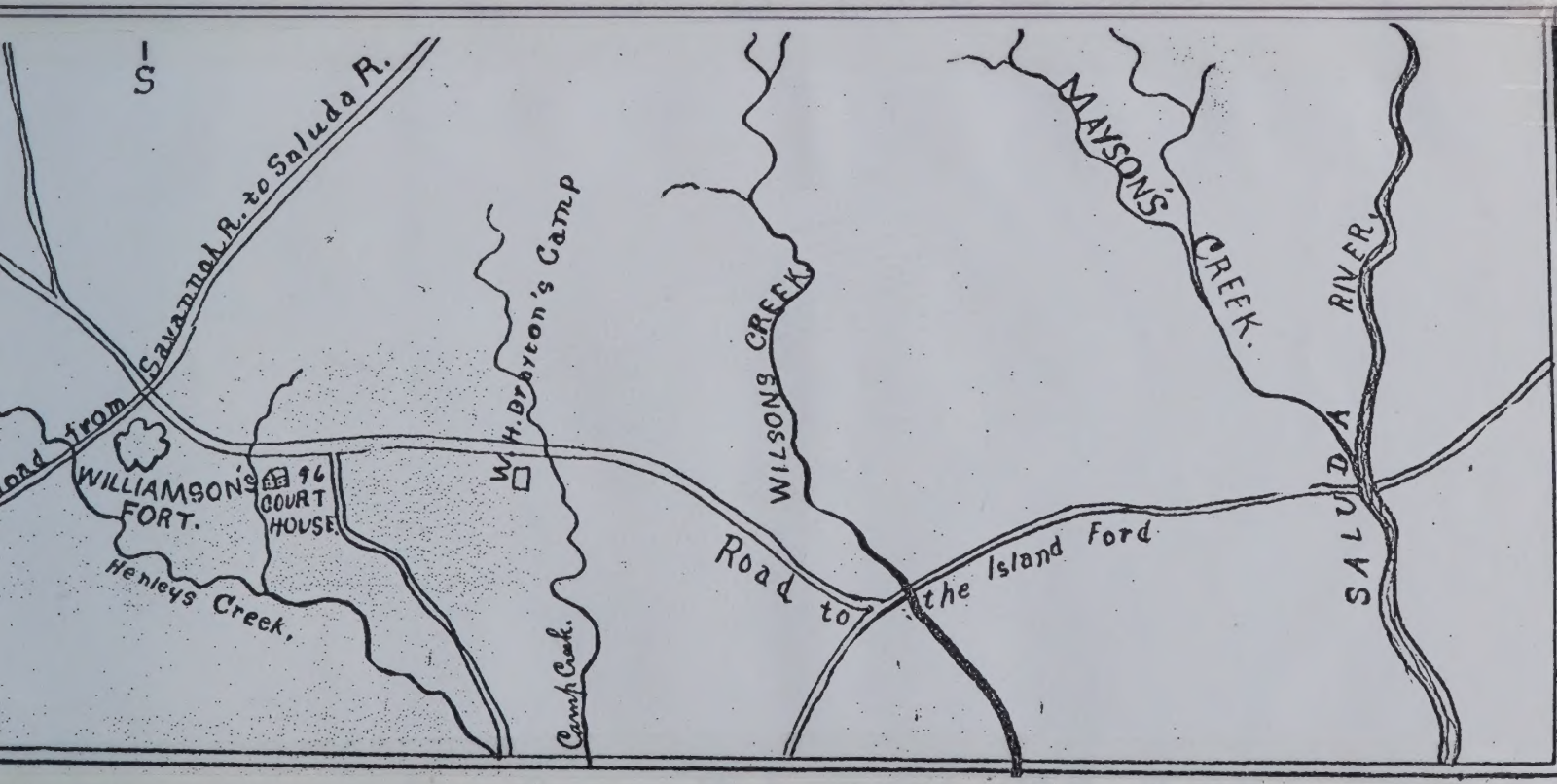
The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days.

One must admit that Capture of Ninety Six Courthouse wasn't a great victory, but it was the only one this set of Loyalists would ever win on their own turf, so we will play it up a little with diagrams from J.B.O. Landrum and a quote from: South Carolina, a Bicentennial History, by Louis B. Wright, page 130.

"The first battle of the Revolution in which blood was shed in South Carolina occurred 19-21 November 1775 at Ninety Six, a strategic outpost in the Up Country nine miles south of the present city of Greenwood. Whigs and Tories were about evenly divided in the region, and tension between them was acute. Tories had captured a wagon train of ammunition being taken to the Cherokees as part of their hunting allowance on orders of the Council of Safety; this supply was deemed essential to keep the Indians at peace with the colonists. The Council of Safety ordered Major Andrew Williamson to recapture the gunpowder in possession of the Tories. Before Williamson could mobilize an adequate force, he learned that more than 1800 Tories under the command of Patrick Cunningham and Joseph Robinson were marching on Ninety Six.

"Only a small brick jail at Ninety Six was available for defense, and it would not serve for the 562 troopers whom Williamson had recruited. Consequently, he built a makeshift fortification across the creek from the jail in a field owned by John Savage. He had one advantage over the Tories: he had three small swivel guns which he mounted so as to sweep a wide area. For three days the two forces exchanged sporadic firing until finally, on the morning of Wednesday 22 November, both factions agreed to a truce and the fighting ended. One Whig lay dead. The Tories admitted to one man dead, but the Whigs claimed several more. Thus ended the first bloodshed by South Carolinians in a war that would increase in bitterness as the years went on."



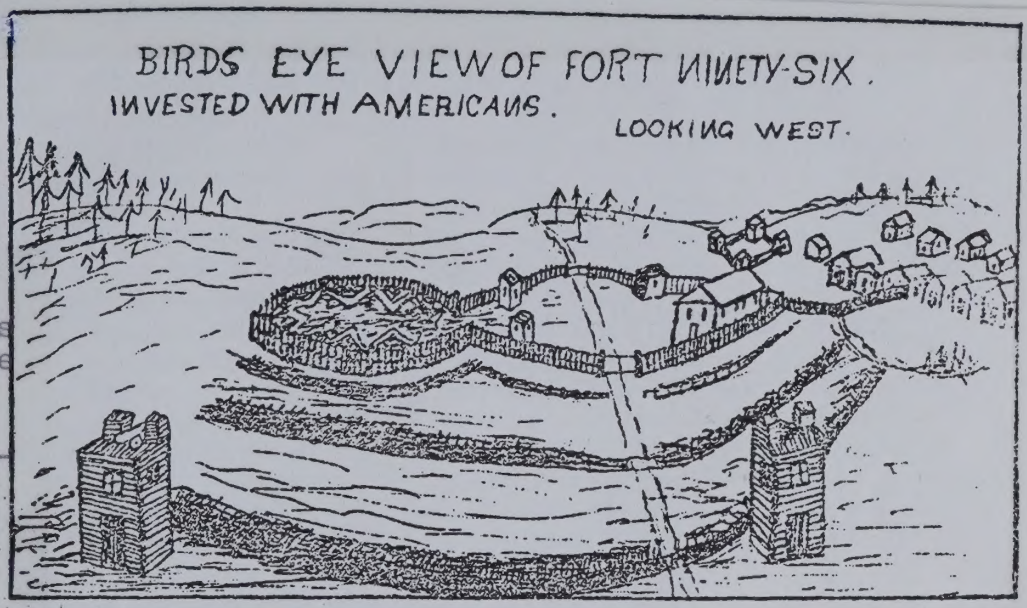
"Map of 96 Court House and surrounding country showing roads, stream &c, together with Williamson's Fort. This map is copied from one found in Drayton's Memoirs." - J.B. O. Landrum

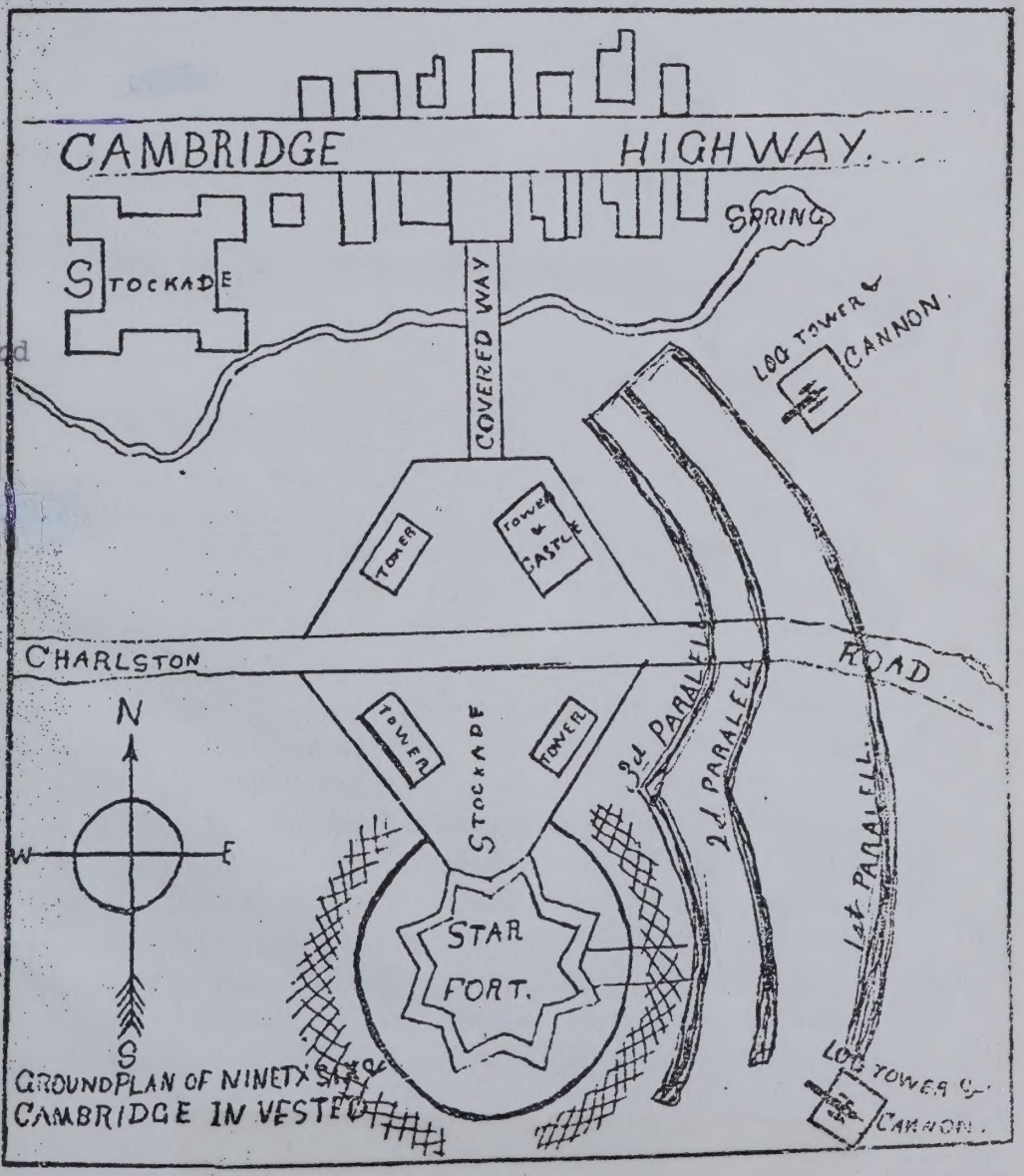
Sketches of Fort Ninety-Six as shown in Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina by J.B.O. Landrum (1897)

The signers of the treaty of peace on 22 Nov. 1775 for the Council of Safety were Andrew Williamson, James Mayson, Andrew Pickens and John Bowie

The signers for the governor and king were Joseph Robinson, Patrick Cunningham, and Richard Pearis.

Despite the terms of the treaty, the leaders of the king's friends were hunted down by Col. Richard Richardson and an army of about 4500 including North Carolinians.





The following reflects that news must not have spread rapidly, but on the other hand while Galpin was in Salisbury NC, he or something else got the Patriots stirred up. A great host of them would soon show up to assist SC Col Richardson who, with a 4000 man army, effectively swept away all Tory resistance in the "Snow Campaign." (As you will note, Galpin had a habit of keeping Indians happy with rum.)

GEORGE GALPHIN TO COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Silver Bluff, December 9, 1775

Gentlemen

Inclosed is the Proceedings of the Comm[rs:] at Salisbury,[1] only M[r.] Wilkinson did not arive there 'till we all left that place, he was detain'd on Acc[t.] of the Ammunition that was taken by Cuningham's Party, we Expected no tother than they had him at the Camp as well as M[r.] Parise_ (I Rec[d.] a Letter from him this day), if it was Possible to Send him Some Powder for the lower Town Cherokees, as they got none before I went to Salisbury, I Deliv[d.] 500 ℔ of Powder and as much Ball to the overhill Cherokees Sent them by the Council of Safety from Savannah, they beg'd verry hard for 500 ℔ more and as I heard you had sent 1000 ℔ for the Lower Towns I wrote to Savannah to the Council of Safety and they Sent it up, 400 ℔ is gone to the Lower Cherokees, 250 ℔ is now gone to M[r.] Wilkinson, 150 ℔ went some time ago. I Borrowed 100 ℔ for the Overhill Cherokees which made them 600 ℔_ & I pay'd it out of the last 500 ℔_ I wrote M[r.] Wilkinson he must write the overhill Indians to acquaint them how the Powder is gone as they are all one people they cannot think much of it, it will Satisfie them now, it will be Suficient to kill meat for them but they cannot make any hunts with it, M[r.] Wilkinson Writes me there are about 40 Cherokees gone to Augustine to Meet M[r.] Stuart, to get Amunition and presents, I am afraid they will think but little of our presents, they will get so much from M[r.] Stuart for it will be a hard matter to get goods, We must provide a good Quantity of Rum for without that the Goods wou'd be nothing, the Commiss[rs.] thought it was best to draw upon you for the Money, as they Goods must all be purchas'd here, I Suppose it will make no odds with you, the Currency of Carolina will pass best in those two provinces in buying Provision or any thing else we may want, I wou'd have wrote you Som[*e*] days ago, but I Expected ~~some~~ ↑one↓ of the Traders in, and did not know but he wou'd brought some News from the Indians th[*at*] went to M[r.][2] Stuart, he is arived but there is none returned, it was all Peaceable when he came away there is a man Just come down from Cunningham's Settlement he says they have made a Strong Fort & they are a Fiddleing and dancing & tells every man that Joins them the King will give them 500. Acres of Land and pay beside, he Says he heard up there they had 4 Hog[ds.] of Gunpowder Sent them and it pas'd for rum Hog[ds.] & that they have a great many Men_

I hope that Fort will be a Trap to Catch them all in, it will save the Country the trouble of hunting them out of the Swamps_ In case we can not get Gun powder in Savann[*ah*] do you think you cou'd Spare us 2000 ℔_ for that will be as little as we can give both Nations_

M[r.] Walker[3] told us he had Just came from Fort Pitt whe[*re*] he was holding a Congress with the Indians there, and_ they are all well disposed towards the Colonies he gave them Some Presents & they went off well Pleased_

After that the situation went from bad to tragic. We may as well hear it from the pen of the enemy.

Col. Richard Richardson to Hon. Henry Laurens

CAMP GREAT SURVEY, DUNCAN'S CREEK, Dec. 12, 1775.

SIR:—In the evening of yesterday, the honor of your commands from the Council of Safety, came to hand by the Express, which has given me infinite satisfaction, the rather as they convey the lenitive measures, which I have been happy at the distance of two hundred miles to adopt. The eighth instant I wrote and made public a kind of declaration, of which I herewith inclose a copy, which I hope may in some measure meet with your approbation, upon which they have come in, many of them, and delivered up their arms, all of whom, where they have not been capital offenders, I dismiss with soft words and cheerful countenances, and admonish them to use their interest with their friends and neighbors, which seems to have a good effect. Our army which is now formidable strikes terror, and the opposite party have hitherto fled before us, keeping fifteen or twenty miles distant. We often are told they will give battle, but yet have not attempted it, and do hope we shall by the measures pursuing so weaken their party that most

will abandon them, and they will not be able to make head with any great body, and the salutary measures prove the best conquest. Should their behavior be otherwise we shall deal with them accordingly. We have several prisoners, amongst whom are Col. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Shuburg, and several others of the first magnitude. By the capture of Col. Fletchall (who was hid in a cave, and taken by Col. Thomson and rangers, and the volunteer companies who were sent out on that and some other service) papers have fallen into my hands which the Council of Safety will be glad to see, but which I cannot venture to send by this conveyance; but shall transmit by the officer of the guard, with the prisoners, which I intend to dispatch to-morrow. Our army is about three thousand of different corps, viz: my own regiment, Col. Thomson's, and volunteer light horse. Col. Thomas, Col. Neel, Col. Polk and Lieut. Col. Martin of the North Carolina regiment, upon the continental establishment, who voluntarily stepped out on this occasion, as did Col. Thos. Polk, and say if you have occasion for their services, they are ready to go to Charlestown when called upon. I conceive when we are all in conjunction we shall muster between four and five thousand men and hope we may be at liberty to afford you any aid you may have occasion for. It will take time to settle this disturbed part in peace, which is now quite disjointed. When I write you again, which shall be as often as distance and circumstances will admit, the omission of which for the time past craves your indulgence as I have been marching from place to place, &c., and waiting the return of express, has occasioned that remissness. Draughts on Congress and new Council of Safety have been received for larger sums, which we have been obliged to draw, paying the lesser sums and husbanding it in the best manner to keep our credit good. If a small supply could come safe, it would be acceptable, but just now I don't think of a proper channel. The article power is well considered, and I shall know where to send if we want the additional numbers, I have made each portion small—but possibly may do. This minute, while I am writing, Capts. Plumer and Smith with thirty men surrender themselves and arms. All as yet goes on well, and hope, by Divine assistance, the Company may answer every good intention (if the inclemency of the season does not impede us), as our troops are illy provided, but well fed. The more minute circumstances you will suffer me to omit.

And believe me to be the servant of my country,

and the honor of being, sir,

your obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

Letter of Colonel Richard Richardson to Henry Laurens, Esq., President of the Council

CAMP LIBERTY HILL, Dec. 16th, 1775.

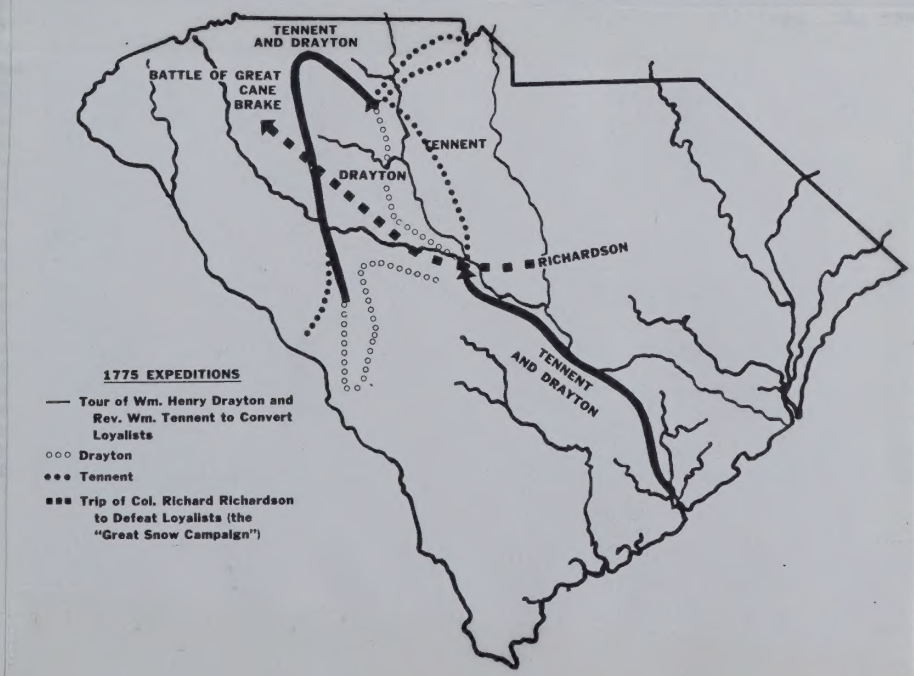
SIR:—I herewith send you the persons of Col. Thos. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Jacob Fry, Capt. George Shuburg, John McWilliams, Philip Wells, James Davis, Capt. McDavid, alias McDade, and Joseph Alexander. These being all adjudged by the officers and people here to be offenders of such a nature that from the active part they have taken, it would be dangerous for me (however innocent they may appear before you) to let either of them go; they are under guard of my son, who, from his camp dishabille, will appear before you. I have nothing particular since my last. These unhappy people are in a great panic, still flying before us, and it is told that young Pearis and others have gone to bring the Indians down, in person; if it should be the case, it could not be in a better time, and if any such intentions, should be glad the whole would come while we are here. I shall use every measure in my power that appears to be salutary, but some things distress me much that I want advice upon, and for which I shall write you by express which may be down before this. Had I no fears for Charles Town, we could command every thing here. Though Cunningham, Robertson, and others, of the first class are fled, they may yet come in our way; should they, you will soon be acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. Excuse paper, it being now very scarce.


TENNENT AND DRAYTON
BATTLE OF GREAT CANE BRAKE
TENNENT
DRAYTON
RICHARDSON
TENNENT AND DRAYTON
1775 EXPEDITIONS
— Tour of Wm. Henry Drayton and Rev. Wm. Tennent to Convert Loyalists
ooo Drayton
••• Tennent
■■■ Trip of Col. Richard Richardson to Defeat Loyalists (the "Great Snow Campaign")

Colonel Richard Richardson's List of Prisoners sent to Charles Town

1. Col. Fletchall
2. Capt John Mayfield, Ninety-Six
3. Capt. Benj. Wofford
4. R'd Pearis, Scophalite Captain Ninety-Six
5. Capt Math. Floyd, Militia
6. Capt. George Day "
7. Capt. Pat. MdDade
8. Capt. Wm. Hunt, Scophalite, Mulatto, Ninety-Six
9. Capt Geo. Zuber, 96, said to murder a Prisoner
10. " Jacob Fry, Scophalite, 96
11. " Wm. Jones " colored 96 Cane Brake, powder man
12. Capt Robt. Pearis-Scophalite Adjutant, Cane Brake, 96
13. " Bowman, 96 Cane Brake, powder man, militia
14. " Harvey - same
15. " Clery Scophalite, 96
16. " Lindley 96 Cane Brake, militia
17. " York, 96, C.B. powder man mil.
18. D'd. Cunningham, deemed a bad man by both parties, to be be delivered by Maj. Williamson
19. Geo. Nealey, Commisary Gen., 96 C.B., powder man
20. Thomas Combs, C.B., powder man
21. Thomas Tomlin " "
22. Jeremiah Ward, " 96 " very bad man
23. Capt. Henry Green, 96 C.B. p.m. mil.
24. Capt. Sam. Proctor, " " "
25. John Norris, " "
26. Benj. Stone, 96 " "
27. John Davies, " "
28. Dav'd Reese " "
29. Thomas Carter " "
30. James Derumple " "
31. James McGill " "
32. Wm. Johnston " "
33. Thomas Wisdom. Lt mil. " " extreme active man
34. Abra'm Nabors, C.B. powder man
35. Isaac Nabors, " "
36. Geo. Carter, " "
37. Thos. Gill, " "
38. Wm. Stone, 96 " "
39. Rob't Proctor, 96 " " very bad man
40. Caleb Stone, " " "
41. James Carter, " "
42. Rob't Grey, " "
43. Capt. Jno. Hilburn, an active man
44. Elisha Watson, C.B.
45. John Helms, 96 C.B.
46. Thomas Allen " "
47. Wm. Matthews " "
48. Dav'd Allison " "
49. Wm. Alison " "
50. Rob't Wood "
51. John Miller, sent from 96
52. Henry Strum, 96
53. Tho. Neville, C.B.
54. Christ'r Reuben, C.B.
55. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m.
56. John Reid, " "
57. James Reid, " "
58. Adam Frelick, 96
59. Fred. Bagwell, " C.B.
60. John Wright, " "
61. James Johnson, " "
62. James Camel, " "
63. Wm. Cox, "
64. Fred Reuben, "
65. Thomas Good, "
66. Moses Casey, " "
67. Adam Purdue " "
68. John Casey, " "
69. Jesse Casey, "
70. John Rigdell, " "
71. John Rigdell Jr." "
72. Edmund Miller, went from 96 to join opposite pty.
73. Henry Attolph, 96, C.B. Lt. Major
74. John Meek, " "
75. James Mills, " "
76. Francis Regin, " "
77. Wm. Burrows, " "
78. Benj. Stone
79. Joshua Niblet " "
80. Joshua Fowler " "
81. Rich'd Fowler " "
82. Sam Harris " "
83. John Goff. " "
84. Rob't Westmorland " "
85. Tho. Welch " "
86. Holl'y Power " " (name sic?)
87. Hugh Abernathy " "
88. Dav'd Reese, ment. above
89. Jacob Wittherow, 96, C.B.
90. John Wittherow " "
91. Chris. Tonges "
92. John Burrows " "
93. Hen. Center fitts, " (name sic?)
94. Wm. Mills "
95. Henry Citeman, a very bad man
96. Wm. Caldwell, 96, C.B.
97. And. Aventer " "
98. Abel Boeling " "
99. Owen Reid "
100. Dennis McCarty, " p.m.
101. Tho. Rogers "
102. Harmon Dildine "
103. Isaac Evans, mentioned
104. Benj. Gregory 96, C.B.
105. Jos. Turner " "
106. James Nicholl "
107. Edw'd Lang " "
108. James Wright " "
109. John Evans "
110. John Welch " "
111. Wm. Elliott, 96, C.B.
112. Leon'd Nix, "
113. Wm. Payne, " "
114. Henry Goff " "
115. Dav'd Nielson " "
116. John Morgan "
117. Fred. Hartwell " "
118. Dan. Allen " lame
119. Henry Counts " "
120. Elisha Robinson " "
121. James Burgess, " " an old man but bloody minded
122. Thomas Gill, 96 C.B.
123. Holly Goff, died on the road
124. John Tominson 96 C.B.
125. Hugh Nealey, 96 but surrendered himself to Col. Richardson
126. Witnall Warner, supposed to rob Mr. Pendelson's lodgings at 96
127. Wm. Watson, harmless man but at the C.B.
128. Chris'r Casey, 96 C.B.
129. John M. Williams, the machine maker to set fire to the 96 fort
130. Jos. Alexander, 96 C.B.
131. James Davies " "
132. Phil. Wells "
133. Jacob Stack "
134. Dan. Stagner "
135. Capt. Nealey Carghill and
136. Capt. Edghill, one sick, but both to be delivered up by 1st Feb.

NOTE: This is copied from pages 249-253 of Documentary History of the American Revolution by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D. (1855-Vol. 1) Gibbes claimed he copied it verbatim from Col. Richard Richardson's own list.

I took the liberty of abbreviating Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, and powder man to save space. It appears that there are duplications in his list, and there certainly are mis-spellings of names, in a few cases pretty odd.

omit

Col. Richardson to Mr. Laurens

CAMP RABORN'S CREEK, HOLLINGSWORTH'S MILL,
Branch of Reedy River, Dec. 22d, 1775.

SIR:—When I wrote last, by my son, with prisoners, I thought to let you hear from us before now, but constant marching, and multiplicity of cares and business have prevented, and the more so, as I had not such things as I could wish to acquaint you with; but now, as we have got to the very extremity of the roads north-westward, take the liberty to inform you, that on Saturday last, the 16th instant, we were joined by Col. Rutherford, of Rowan, and Col. Graham, of Tryon counties, in North Carolina, with about five hundred men, who, unmasked, stepped forth, hearing of the commotions in this Province, to give their aid in the common cause. Col. Martin and Col. Polk I informed you of before, and on Wednesday, the 20th inst., I was joined by Maj. Andrew Williamson, Capt. Hammond, and a small party of Col. Bull's regiment, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred, so that our army is now formidable, between four and five thousand—a number most desirable to view—though we have had no occasion for more than my own regiment to have done the business. Notwithstanding, the number has a good effect, strikes terror, and shows what can be done on occasion—and, upon the whole, it may prove a happy event—we have been successful in disarming most of this unhappy people; they are coming in with fear and trembling, giving up their arms, with a sensible contrition for the errors they have been guilty of. The spirit of discord being much abated, the most of the Captains have come in, and good part of the companies under them. I use every method in my power for the honor of the Colonies, and the salutary and peaceable establishment of tranquility in these distracted parts. There is still a camp which we cannot yet come up with, consisting of the principal aggressors, which were, by best information, camped on the Cherokee land. I detached yesterday about thirteen hundred horse and foot, about an equal number, under the command of Cols. Thomson, Martin, Rutherford, Neel, Polk, * Lyles, Major Williamson, and others, commanding all volunteers, which, I flatter myself, will render us a good account, as I don't expect them in till to-morrow, or perhaps some days hence. We made use of wagon horses, and all we could muster on this service. They have had expectations of the Indians joining them, but by a letter from Mr. Wilkinson to Major Williamson, they will be disappointed in that, as he says all are peaceable there, and the Indians well satisfied, and say the Saluda people are devils, &c.; the letter is dated the 17th December, 1775, &c. We have at times got small parts of the ammunition they got, and delivered with their arms; and yesterday two barrels, say fifty pounds, and have a slight information of some more. I shall, while I stay, do every thing I can for the good of my country, but the winter is advanced, the men, from their precipitate collecting and marching, illy provided, no tents, shoes wore out, and badly clothed, make it very difficult to keep them here. If they should break off abruptly, it might have a very bad effect; and as all the different corps, from like circum-

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omit

stances, are in the same situation, I shall, therefore, crave your permission to discharge the North Carolinians, to make their way from hence through the upper parts by the Indian line to their own colony, which will scour that part, and Cols. Neel and Thomson through a middle direction to their different quarters; Maj. Williamson's may be best concerted. Had I forces to garrison a fort, it might be proper to establish one, but the militia will not be prevailed on, I doubt, to stay, but hope, upon the whole, the spirit of discord will so far subside, that they will hardly raise any more commotions, and the rather, as the plans I have said. If our present expedition should fail that is now detached, we shall yet have these principals, as money will often accomplish what force cannot. We have many prisoners, yet think we shall not trouble you with many of them, as they are not of the first class, but make the best use of them we can after hearing harmony prevails amongst the officers of every different corps, and I could wish you had an opportunity of reviewing the whole. By the time I receive your answer in return, I conceive there will be very little left in the compass of my power. You may rely upon my best endeavors in the interim, and shall then hope for your permission to retire to my rest, and in their different districts to dismiss my own, and other regiments. After curbing this same spirit, which prevailed greatly on the north of Wateree river and Lynche's creek, and parts high up in that quarter, as we are fully informed since out, was it possible to keep the troops, I would quell or keep in awe, or win by fair means all parts of this Province; but must stop, when I think it well with us, least it should be worse. A representation of this, you will please to make to the Council of Safety, and guess at what I don't say.

I have the honor to be,

With esteem, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. This minute since, or while I was writing my name, a messenger from Col. Thomson and the detachments arrived with the agreeable account, that they had surprised and taken the camp of Cunningham, &c., and taken the greatest part prisoners, with all their ammunition, guns, wagons, and utensils. P. Cunningham had escaped, and some principals, but the most are taken, &c. I hasten the messenger express, to you, and desire you will send him back as quick as possible, with a state of affairs in Charles Town, and such orders as you may think proper.

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Your most obedient,

R. R.

The photocopies of Richardson's letters on the last few pages are taken from Documentary History of the American Revolution by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D., published in 1855. Gibbes claimed to have copied them verbatim from the originals.

The site of the Tories' Camp was on Reedy River in the Great Cane Brake, six miles southwest of Fountain Inn of present Greenville County, South Carolina. This was not very far from the Pearis plantation.

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Branch of Reedy River, Dec. 22d, 1775.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN - DESOLATION AND RETALIATION

Captain Richard Pearis, considered very dangerous by the Rebels, was taken at the Battle of Big Cane Brake on Reedy, carried to Charles Town, and imprisoned in irons for nine months at the common gaol (jail). His second son, Captain Robert Pearis, also taken, was not so lucky because he disdained to take an oath of neutrality. He was kept in jail for three years until finally exchanged for a prisoner of war of the other side at St. Augustine, convicted of piracy.

Older son George Pearis was not present during the capture, having gone to the Cherokees to seek help; but the Indians wisely refrained from getting involved in what would have meant certain defeat by such a huge force of armed men from two provinces. Besides, they were short on ammunition at the time and needed what they had for subsistence. It appears that, at the time, young Richard Pearis, Jr., was as yet a minor and not taken, though later on he became a brave captain, also. His future father-in-law, Col. Robert Cunningham, had already been arrested before any conflict occurred. and was treated with great leniency though not allowed his freedom for some time to come. His youngest daughter, Margaret Cunningham, would later marry Richard Pearis, Jr. More will be told later, but we are interested in him as one of our extended family though not an ancestor.

Now for a couple of interesting side notes. On a previous page we last saw Moses Kirkland (not a relative but an interesting character) on board the Man-O-War Tamar on the high seas. Before saying what became of him we will tell a little more about Regulators, for he had once been one. Many historians claim that most of the Regulators became Tories in the Revolution. Perhaps that was true in North Carolina though I'm not convinced, but the following will show that the split was probably about even in the groups we have become acquainted with. This is highly unscientific because, it is said, no complete list was ever made. Among old Charleston court records of Regulators absolved in 1771 (after upcountry courts were authorized but not yet built, in an effort to bring about peace in the Up Country) about 130 are mentioned. There may have been many more whose names are now lost if they were ever listed. Without trying hard, it was easy to spot the following, which have been mentioned on these pages about the Pearis Family.

Absolved 31 October 1771 were Moses Kirkland who at that time had 11, 460 acres at Kirkland's Ferry of Saluda River and 36 slaves; Robert Cunningham - 1000 acres at Island Ford of Saluda; Robert Stark - 1250 acres at Camden; John Savage 1130 acres at 96 Village. On the Rebel side I noticed Charles King, of Broad-Saluda Fork, 30 slaves but acreage not given-served 1775 provincial congress, died 1789; William Arthur- official at Saxe-Gotha; Major James Mayson - 1400 acres at Glasgow Plantation, Halfway Swamp of Saluda, slaveholder. Though only grazing the subject, it appears that having been a Regulator did not determine one's political affiliation in that area.

The list covered the entire province, and, though presumably these men were leaders of groups of Regulators, the underlings not being recorded, as widespread as the movement was, this must have been only a sampling. A complete list might change the picture, but somehow I doubt it, and think all these men simply sought justice according to their beliefs, all probably well-intentioned though towards the end some overdid it.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN - THE WAR MADE ON AND ON

Drayton had ordered Moses Kirkland's arrest to stand trial for desertion, or else assasination, so that he always traveled with four armed guards. (Drayton's accounts magnified the four to a small army.) While the other Loyalists were busy investing Ninety Six Courthouse, he and Thomas Brown slipped away to Charles Town. Brown went to see Governor Campbell and reported that Kirkland was "on the errand well known to your Lordship." A disgusted Brown explained how Drayton had manipulated Fletchall. Drayton had demanded an interview with Fletchall, Cunningham, and Brown. The men had no objection to Fletchall's going, but felt that it was a trap and feared for Brown and Cunningham's lives. Brown drafted a set of instructions for Fletchall, who didn't even read them at the meeting but (according to Brown) "had such frequent recourse to the bottle as to soon render himself non compos." Drayton drew up his own set of articles and had the uncomprehending Fletchall sign them. Therefore, the other officers did not consider themselves bound by the treaty, but he and Patrick Cunningham (Robert's brother) decided war was a matter for Campbell to decide. The Governor was very unhappy at theprematurе skirmish before help from the British could arrive.

Now Kirkland was sent on just such a mission, safely aboard a British man-of-war in Charlestown Harbor. Kirkland's young son was with him, disguised as a girl because Kirkland had heard that his enemies planned to seize his son as a hostage. Kirkland went to St. Augustine, where he secured the cooperation of John Stuart, and from there sailed to Virginia. His intention was to proceed to Boston to put his plan before General Thomas Gage.*

"Kirkland's errand became a cause célèbre when he was captured and locked up in a Philadelphia prison. Gen. George Washington personally informed Congress that Kirkland was a dangerous fellow. He sent along the papers taken from Kirkland, including some of a 'very interesting nature' from John Stuart in which he suggested that the war between the Choctaws and Creeks should be ended so that the Creeks would be free to act....Washington told Gen. Philip Schuyler that..proved the British ministry intended to use Indians against the Americans. There was irony in the plan...They had borrowed upon the rumor the Whigs used for propaganda..."(No mention is made of the fact that the Whigs were already using Catawbas, though that was only a small tribe.)

Kirkland's plan to help had obviously gone very much awry, though one would think that, indirectly, General Gage would have learned that help was much wanted. Much clucking of tongues was heard when on 14 Aug 1776 it was reported that, "Kirkland, you may have heard, made his Escape when he left his son, a Child of 10 or 12 years old in Gaol." From this it seems, in the City of Brotherly Love it must not have been rare to hold an innocent 10-year-old child in jail! Surely the child must have been sent to his family after that. As for Kirkland, he made his way south to Pensacola to join the Loyalist forces.

About Patrick Cunningham, during the Snow Campaign at Big Canebrake, at the time the others were taken captive, he escaped on a horse bareback rather than be taken, telling his troops that each should "shift for himself," in trying to get away. **

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*The King's Ranger, by Cashin page 32
**Hist. of SC in the Rev. War, McCrady I:97

Henry Laurens, Pres. Council of Safety to Col. Richard Richardson*

Sir Charles Town 20 January 1776

(He mentions what seem to be men-of-war, some large, "sailing to and fro the entrance to this harbour, and even coming near to Sullivan's Island." They seem to be reconnoitering for when the weather is better and says they are going on preparing for defense)..."We are well assured of your zeal, and place the greatest confidence in your indeavours to serve the public upon the present occasion. Robert Cunningham has petitioned for a hearing. We have some hopes, he will make such propositions we may with honour to ourselves and safety to the public accept and receive him and some other of the unfortunate men under his influence."

(Robert Cunningham had previously replied by letter that Drayton should be ahamed of himself for taking advantage of men who were frightened out of their wits by men shouting and wearing liberty caps and by cannon firing. As for himself, Cunningham had no intention of signing that "false and disgraceful" document.

'On theday the Congress met, 1 November 1775** it was informed that Captain Robert Cunningham had been taken into custody and brought to Charleston. He had been arrested under orders from Major Andrew Williamson upon the affidavit of Captain John Caldwell, charging him with seditious words. Cunningham having been brought before the Congress did not deny that he had used the words with which he was charged; he did not believe, he said, that Captain Caldwell had perjured himself; but though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty at Ninety-Six (the first one, not the one when the courthouse was taken, for he was in jail at the time) he averred "that he had since behaved himself as peaceably as any man, and although he had opinions he had not expressed them but when asked." Upon this frank statement, Captain Cunningham was comitted to the jail of Charlestown by a warrant under the hand of William Henry Drayton as President; Thomas Grimball the Sheriff was directed, however, to afford him every reasonable and necessary accommodation at the public charge. But he was enjoined not to suffer him to converse or correspond with any person whomsoever, or to have the use of pen, ink, or papers unless by espress leave from the Congress. The arrest of Cunningham was deeply resented by the people of the Upper Country,")

Now three months later he was asking for a hearing--but he was not to be released for some time yet, they were not ready. On that same day the following petition was also read.

Petition from Backcountry Prisoners

We the Subscribers Humbly Sheweth, that whereas there has Been Deversity of Oppinions, and Disturbances, in the Frontier parts of this province-Which grieves us to heart that we ever Should have Been at Varience, with our Countrymen, and good Neighbours Hon: Gentlemen--We Therefore find the Greatest Freedom, to Enter into any Honourable Terms of Unity, to preserve the peace in this Disturbed province and the peace of good

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*Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol II (1776-7) David L. Chestnut, Ed (1992) pages 50-52

**The History of South Carolina in the Revolution (1775-1780) by Edward McCrady LLD page 86

Neighbourhood. Gentlemen--We Your Humble Petitioners here in Common Goal, a Few of Whom You Do Call Leading persons of the Party that was Against you, And According to Your Honourable Articles that may be Agreed on--we shall on any Forfeit Promise to Endeavour to Settle Peace to Your Satisfaction, And the Unity of the Different Settlements, in the Frontiers Gentlemen--We Wait With Leisure on Your Call. And Forsodoing it will Alwayys Esteemed by us Your Humble Petitioners--

N.B. there is Different Circumstances)	Robt Cunningham
Amongst us, Which we Make No)	John Mayfield
Doubt But Your Honours will)	Jas Lindle
Know by Subscription--)	

Thos Fletchall	David Rees	Matt Floyd
	henry Green	William Hunt
Benjn Wofford	Jeremiah Ward	Jacob Bowman
Richd Pearis	Thomas Wisdom	Robt Parris- ✓
	Robert Proctor	George Neelly ✓
Henery Centerful	Henry Citeman	David George
Henery Goff	William Burges	David McDavid
John Goff	John McWilliams	Jacob Fry
	Philip Wells	Grady Zieband
	Jas Davis-	Jos Alexander
	Wittenhall Warner	Daniel Jones
	Adams Pardue	Elisha Robinson

Orders of the Council of Safety 27 January 1776

(Among the items decided were--)
We approve of the measures which you have taken for apprehending P. Cunningham, Robinson & Brown & will pay the Reward when properly claimed-- R. Cunningham & Colo Fletchall are extremely anxious to be enlarged upon promises of the Strictest neutrality & inoffensive behaviour, we must refer the consideration of their proposals to the Congress-- as to Pearis every Account we receive marks his conduct as more & more Criminal.

"Collo Richardson in his general Report did you Justice & we repeat our thanks for your Services in the expedition under his Command....."

The facilities at the Charles Town "Gaol" were not set up to hold 130 prisoners of war (those on the long list) so after such an overwhelming victory, the majority of them were before long let go after taking an oath to remain neutral. A footnote on page 230 of this reference says, "The General Assembly on April 11, 1776, recommended that fifteen prisoners from among the captured backcountry insurgents be excluded from the declaration of pardon or amnesty." In addition to Robert Cunningham they were: Henry O'Neal, Jacob Bowman, Thomas Fletchall, Patrick Cunningham, Richard Pearis, Elisha Robinson, Pinkothman Hawkins, James Alexander, Thomas Wisdom, Henry Green, Robert Proctor, William Dodgen, Stephen Prosser, and John Morgridge. The source cited was Journal of the SC General Assembly, 1776-1780 pages 46-7, 51 & 54. Though that did not mention the son, Robert Pearis, we know from other sources that he, also, remained in jail. some of those on this last list were on a "wanted list" rather than in jail.

Excerpts from History of Greenville County, South Carolina Chapter 7 (previously cited) (.... stands for omissions)

After the flare-up of 1775 had subsided, a majority of the frontier settlers were doubtless friendly to the Patriot cause, but their proximity to the Indian country kept them from taking an active part in the war. They knew that Alexander Cameron, ..was exerting every effort to secure the Cherokees' assistance for the British... and the success of his plans would bring the Indians down upon them... During early summer 1776, the frontiersmen began to feel that all was not well in Cherokee country. Rumors..drifted in. And knowing something must be done at once if (they) were to remain neutral, .. thought it well to send emissaries into the Towns to urge those deluded people to..continue friendship. Among those to go were Capt. Edward Hampton and his brother Preston who resided NE of present Greer... Another to go into the Cherokee country was a son of Colonel Hite, who lived within present Greenville County near where the Old Spartanburg road crosses Enoree river....this noble Patriot was a young man of character and culture. At the time he was a student of the law, about to apply for admission to the bar in Charles Town. It is also said that he was engaged to be married to a daughter of Richard Pearis.

When the Hampton brothers arrived, they found they were too late... Everywhere the war dance was in progress and hurried preparations were being made for a raid upon the frontiers. They were made prisoners and their horses, guns, etc seized; but by some means (possibly assistance of friendly Indians)made their escape on foot. Young Hite, traveling into the Cherokee country a few days later..met a large band of warriors headed for the settlements. By these he was killed and scalped, thus becoming the first victim of the most bloody massacre ever suffered by Carolinians at the hands of Cherokees. The place of his death was on Estatoe River in present Pickens County, in a narrow strip between mountains. After killing the young man, the Indians proceeded to the residence of Richard Pearis, where the daughter of Pearis, recognizing "the raven locks of her lover" in the bloody scalp displayed by the savages, knew only too well what were their intentions. In an effort to save the family of her lover from the sad fate which had already befallen him, she set out on foot to warn the Hite family of its impending danger. But whether this dusky maid of the forests reached her destination and had her warning disregarded, or was overtaken by the Indians and brought back before she had delivered her message, is unknown. At any rate, the Hite family was visited by the Indians and paid a fearful toll. (Compare this to the version on page 141-2.)

When information reached the frontier that Indians had taken up the tomahawk, there was great alarm among those adhering to the Patriot cause. Quickly they set about strengthening crude forts and block houses which had been constructed...during the French & Indian war...still others remained at their homes..who thought Indians would pass them by.. but only those who had espoused the cause of the Tories...had been safe from attack by erections of peeled poles wrapped around with white cloth before their homes..referred to as a "passover" sign to Indians to leave that household undisturbed. Sad to relate, many were the passovers erected.

Greenville County History, cont'd-- after killing young Hite, the Indians proceeded to the Pearis plantation where they were joined by a number of Tories. Then they moved on to the home of the sorely distressed Hite family, where Colonel Hite and a number of his children were killed, and his wife taken captive. From here a number..moved into what is now Laurens County, killing Miss Austin of Gilder Creek, but most red invaders turned north and into.. what is now Spartanburg..(and other counties)..Having effected a union, these Indians joined forces with a body of Tories which was moving to the attack of Lindley's fort, located near the mouth of Raeburn Creek in present Laurens County. Here a large number..had taken refuge, hoping for defense. Upon reaching the fort..the savages and their Tory allies painted as Indians were repulsed, since a portion of the regiment of Col. Williams had moved there and was waiting...

The body of Indians turning north from the Hite home next visited the Hampton plantation (and killed most of the family excepting Wade, who became ancestor of many illustrious Hamptons who lived there later on),..

Now the savages, having taken up the tomahawk in earnest, were not to be stayed in their bloody course. Wherever the whites could be found they were murdered, the "passover" being small protection. Captain Ford, a well-known Tory, was killed...and two daughters taken captive...(many others were named)...abject terror seized the inhabitants..(Many) fled the country or found protection in forts, leaving homes burned and crops destroyed. While matters were in this sad state, a Capt. Howard..was able to organize a small conpany who, like himself, had taken refuge in the old Block House (which is still standing, having been converted to a residence)..Also taking part was Capt. John Earle, ancestor of many still living in that county..This little band of resolute men marched to Big Chief Warrior mountain in North Carolina close by a friendly Indian, Scuyuka. who led them through a hitherto unknown gap where they were able to surprise the enemy from the rear...

(Ouconnastotah, and his men had noticed activity, but were expecting them to come from a different direction.) Captain Howard and his men attacked the Indians fiercely..but they were greatly outnumbered and might have been defeated except for suddenness of their onslaught..The Indians were in no mood to withstand an organized attack after their orgy of bloodshed and pillage. They had brought their women and children..and knew their march back must be slow....so they buried their dead there on the mountain side and began a hasty march back toward Pearis' plantation, where they no doubt expected to receive ammunition and Tory reinforcements. This skirmish, unknown to history, but well authenticated in tradition as "the Battle of Round Mountain," gave the frontier settlers their first respite.....

At this time Colonel Andrew Williamson was in command of all organized Patriot forces between Saluda and Broad...He ordered Colonel Thomas to move against the Indians. However, there was some delay in getting the troops in motion, probably occasioned by the action of the Charles Town authorities in releasing certain Up-country prisoners. After the British attack on Charles Town during the latter part of June 1776 had been repulsed, the Government thought that generosity on its part would have a good effect, so Richard Pearis, Robert Cunningham, and the "rest of the back country prisoners who were in confinement" were released. (Note: this sentence is misleading. Richard had not come home yet, nor had Robert, still incarcerated.)

But the troops of Col. Williamson were greatly incensed at this action and for several days could not be prevailed upon to enter the conflict. However, as the savages were beginning to retreat after the Battle of Round Mountain, Col. Thomas appeared with a small force and gave chase. The Indians moved from the North Carolina border across the northwestern portion of Spartanburg County towards the plantation of Richard Pearis. They were overtaken near Paris mountain by a small detachment from Col. Thomas' force, and a skirmish took place. The Indians continued their retreat, but being hard pressed, killed a number of their prisoners, who were hampering their progress. Among this was Mrs. Jacob Hite. But others were either released or permitted to escape..(including) two daughters of Captain Ford, the Tory killed during the raid. When the Pearis plantation was reached, the Indians did not find the expected reinforcements and continued their retreat. But for several days prior thereto, the Pearis home had been closely watched by spies sent out by Col. Williamson, and these emissaries reported unusual activity about the place. Col. Williamson concluded that Pearis was up to his old tricks again and sent couriers to Thomas, ordering him to give the Pearis home a call as he passed it..

So on 16 July 1776, Colonel Thomas took possession of the property of Richard Pearis, burned his home, mill, and trading station, confiscated all his cattle and horses for the use of his army, and carried away his wife, two daughters, and one son. Captain Pearis was still away at the time and thereby saved himself a second imprisonment. It is said that the family of Pearis was subjected to much abuse and punishment by their captors. According to some accounts, they were marched on foot 25 miles a day with little food and no covering for their heads against the heat of a summer sun, and were then confined for three days with practically no food, and afterwards sent off in an open wagon to a point near Augusta, 100 miles away, where they were left among strangers to shift for themselves, Without money or provisions.

After a few days' delay, awaiting reinforcements and supplies, Colonel Thomas set out for the Cherokee country with a fixed determination to revenge the bloody desolation which the savages had left behind them. Among his troops were many of the frontiersmen who had suffered sorely at the hands of the Indian, and who were in a mood to fight as they had never done before. Everywhere the Indians fled before them, leaving their homes and growing crops to be destroyed. By August 13th, the destruction of the lower settlements was complete. The Patriot army was now reinforced, and on September 13th a force of 2,000 men started on its march over the mountains toward the middle settlement towns, which were reached on Sept. 23rd. Here ...the destruction was soon complete, and in early October the army, having fully performed its mission, was disbanded. The successful termination of the Cherokee War of 1776 ended forever the danger of Indian massacres in the Carolina up-country.

So ends the narrative of the Cherokee War of 1776 as told by Greenville County History by James M. Richardson in 1930. Concerned only with the history of that county, he naturally leaves out the part played in the practical annihilation of the Cherokees at the hands of the white man by General Griffith Rutherford, commanding officer in charge, but a North Carolinian. I won't add much to that, except a photocopy on the next page, and I shudder to think of it, but one of the captains

under Rutherford appears to have been Captain Martin Armstrong of Surry Co. NC, closely associated with a Lt. John Griffith under him. A distant cousin named Sylvan Griffith who suspects he was descendant of that man and is certainly related to us in some way has made contact with us. Though we don't know Lt. Griffith was in the Cherokee War of 1776, it seems as though he probably was. Sarah (Pearis) Teter's daughter Sally married Samuel Griffith in Kentucky in 1791, possibly a son or nephew of that man. Small ironic world, isn't it?

GENERAL GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD.

General Griffith Rutherford was an Irishman by birth, brave and patriotic, but uncultivated in mind and manners. He resided west of Salisbury, in the Locke settlement, and actively participated in the internal government of the county, associated with such early and distinguished patriots as Moses Winslow, Alexander Osborn, Samuel Young, John Brevard, James Brandon, William Sharpe, Francis McCorkle, and others. He represented Rowan county in the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax on the 4th of April, 1776, and during this session he received the appointment of Brigadier General of the "Salisbury District." Near the close of the summer of 1776, he raised and commanded an army of two thousand four hundred men against the Cherokee Indians. After being reinforced by the Guilford Regiment, under Colonel James Martin, and by the Surry Regiment, under Colonel Martin Armstrong, at Fort McGahey, General Rutherford crossed the "Blue Ridge," or Alleghany mountains, at Swannanoa Gap, near the western base of which the beautiful Swannanoa river ("nymph of beauty") takes its rise. After reaching the French Broad he passed down and over that stream at a crossing-place which to this day bears the name of the "War Ford." He then passed up the valley of "Hominy Creek," leaving Pisgah Mountain on the left, and crossed Pigeon River a little below the mouth of East Fork. He then passed through the mountains to Richland Creek, above the present town of Waynesville; ascended the creek and crossed the Tuckaseegee River at an Indian town. Pursuing his course, he crossed the Cowee Mountain, where he had a small engagement with the enemy, in which one of his men was wounded. As the Indians carried off their dead and wounded, their loss could not be ascertained. Thence he marched to the "Middle Towns," on the Tennessee river, where, on the 14th of September, he met General Williamson with troops from South Carolina on the same mission of subduing the Indians.

In skirmishes at Valley Town, Ellajay, and near Franklin, General Rutherford lost three men, but he completely subdued the Indians. He then returned home by the same route, since known as "Rutherford's Trace." The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell county, accompanied this expedition as chaplain.

The uniforms of the officers and men was a hunting-shirt of domestic, trimmed with cotton: their arms were rifles, and *none knew better how to use them.* Many of the hardy sons of the west there experienced their first essay in arms, and their bravery was nobly maintained afterwards at King's Mountain, the Cowpens, and elsewhere in the South.

General Rutherford commanded a brigade in the battle of Camden, (16th of August, 1780), and was there made a prisoner. After he was exchanged he again took the field, and commanded the expedition which marched by way of Cross Creek (now Fayetteville) to Wilmington, when that place, on his approach, was evacuated by the British, near the close of the war.

He frequently represented Rowan county in the Senate during and subsequent to the war, showing the high appreciation in which his services were held by the people. Shortly after his last service in 1786, he joined the strong tide of emigration to Tennessee, where his well-earned fame and experience in governmental matters had preceded him. The Knoxville *Gazette* of the 6th of September, 1794, contains the following announcement:

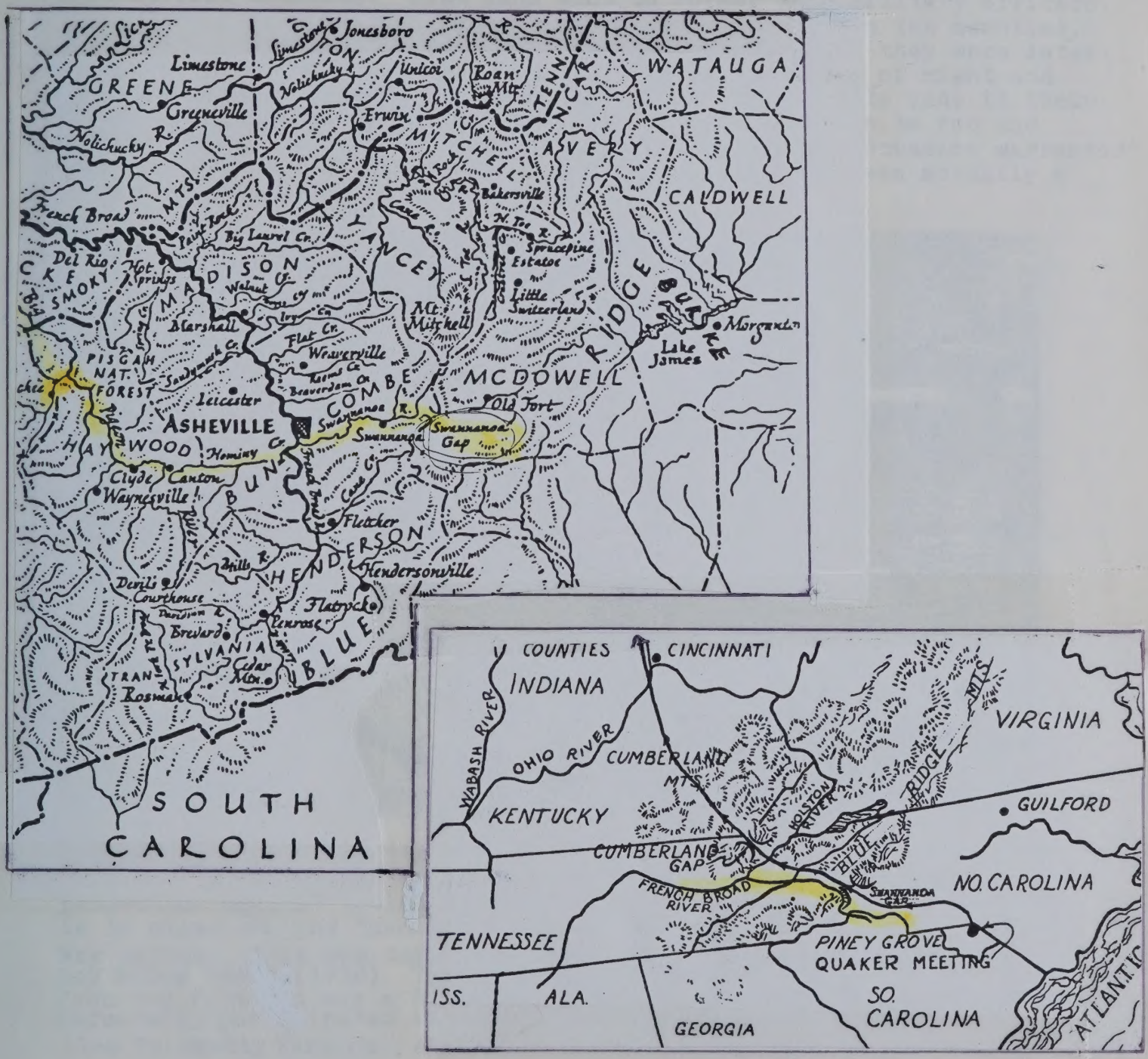
"On Monday last the General Assembly of this territory commenced their session in this town. General Rutherford, long distinguished for his services in the Legislature of North Carolina, is appointed President of the Legislative Council."

General Rutherford died in Tennessee near the beginning of the present century, at a good old age, and it is to be regretted more has not been preserved of his life and services.

Sketch copied from Sketches of Western North Carolina, Historical and Biographical by Cyrus L. Hunter (1877) Reprint 1995 Heritage Books

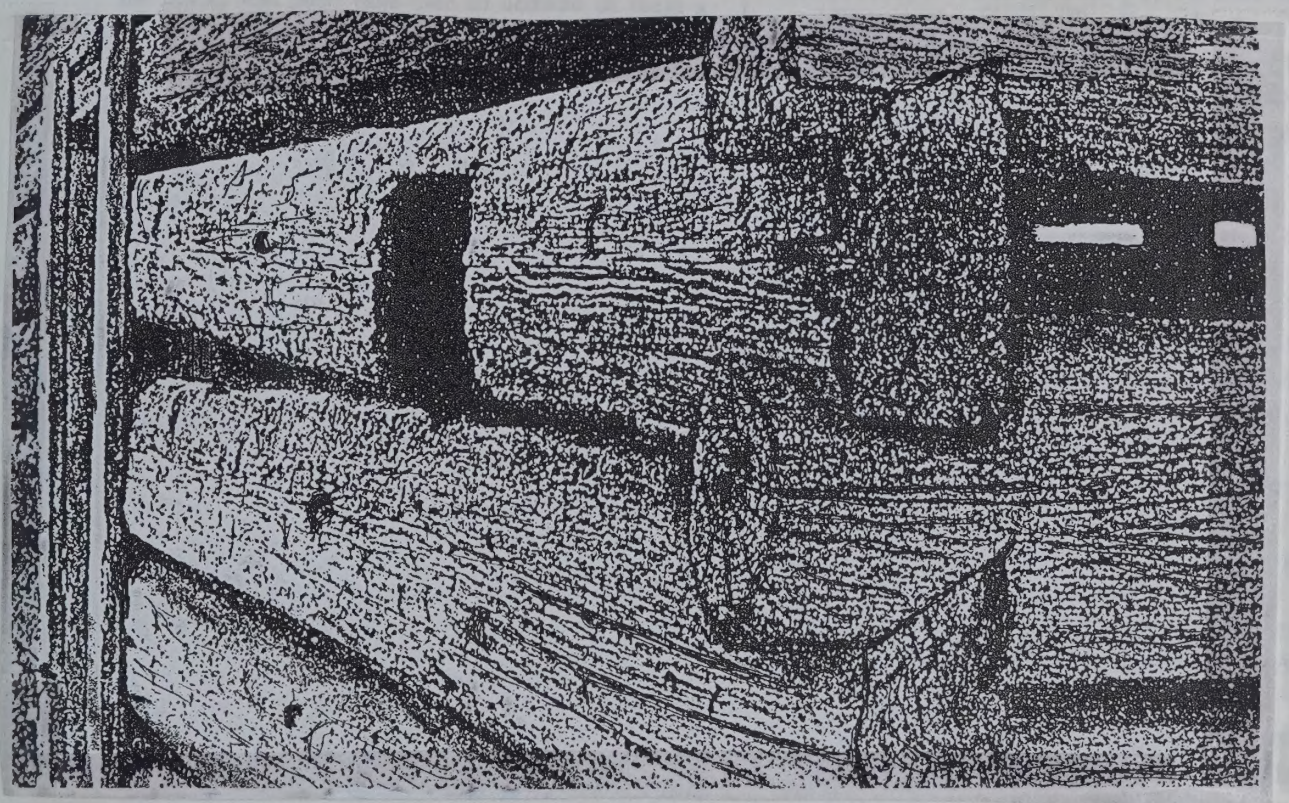
PEARIS FAMILY

The maps below show part of the route General Rutherford used in his foray across the mountains to chastize the Cherokees (and maybe with an eye to acquiring some Tennessee land later, after they were forced to cede it--in that he succeeded). His army crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoah Gap, then up that river to Hominy Creek, and took Pigeon River north of Waynesville, thence to (not shown) Tuskegee River across Cowee Mountain and the Middle Cherokee Towns on the Tennessee River--called French Broad on the inset. The little map is from a much later time, showing how a group of Quakers got to early Randolph Co. IL Some of their group used Rutherford's route across the mountains, with a cut-off to Cumberland Gap.



Following defeat of the Cherokees in 1776, a treaty of peace was signed 20 May 1777, ceding all remaining Cherokee land in SC to the white man, except a tiny slivver in the mountainous far western tip of the state, made into a reservation. The document was signed at a trading post at DeWitt's Corners (later called Due West), on the Cherokee path leading to Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River.

Though the Indians were driven out, the new state was too busy prosecuting the war with Great Britain to open the land to settlers and remained part of Ninety Six District until 1784 when counties were created, with Greenville Co. then so large it included what later became several counties. Most land went to former Whig military officers, though the Hite survivors managed to secure a grant. In the meantime, though some settlers stayed it was without sanction and they were later dispossessed. The only law in the interim was the "law of might and banditry reigned supreme. Roving thieves and cut-throats made it their favorite haunt from which they sallied forth at pleasure to rob and plunder under the guise of either Whig or Tory, as the occasion warranted" says the county history. Following pages will show it was actually a little more complicated than that.



Above: Ruins of Thicketty Fort in present Cherokee Co. SC, built by settlers on Thicketty Creek between Pacolet and Broad Rivers as protection against Indian attack during the Cherokee uprising. This is 10 miles SE of "Hanna's Cowpens" the site of a well-known Rev. War Battle. This was taken from book. Vardry McBee (1775-1864) by Roy McBee Smith (1992) The subject's father, Vardry Sr., lived 3 miles from the fort and was a Captain during the "Cherokee Campaign," and personally participated in destruction of the Pearis plantation. (See Thicketty Fort on a Western Carolinas map soon to follow.)

Rev. Charles Cummings and Rev. Joseph Rhea accompanied the first battalion as chaplains. Colonel William Christian, with his command proceeded to Long Island on the Holston (Kingsport). Here they were joined by troops from North Carolina under Major Winston. On the first day of August, 1776, the Virginia Council gave the following instructions to Colonel William Christian as commander-in-chief of all the forces.

When your battalion and the battalion under Colonel Charles Lewis are completed, you are to march with them and the forces under the command of Colonel Russell, and such others as may join you from Carolina, into the Cherokee country, if these forces shall be judged sufficient for the purpose of severly chastising that cruel and perfidious nation, which you are to do in a manner most likely to put a stop to future insults and ravages and that may redound most the honor of American arms. If the Indians should be reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, you must take care to demand of them a sufficient number of their chiefs and warriors as hostages, for the performance of the conditions you may require of them. You must insist on their delivering up all prisoners who may choose to leave them and on their giving up to justice all persons amongst them who have been concerned in bringing on the present war, particularly Stuart, Cameron and Gist, and all others who have committed murder or robberies on our frontiers. You may require any other terms which the situation of affairs may point out and you may judge necessary for the safety and honor of the Commonwealth. You must endeavor to communicate with the commanding officer of the Carolina forces and cooperate with him, making the attack as near the time of his as may be.

You are from time to time to write His Excellency the Governor, giving him a full account of your operations, and requiring his further instructions.

Instructions to Colonel Charles Lewis of the second battalions of minute men: You are to order the captains under your command to march their companies to their respective counties, then to discharge such of their men as are not properly qualified to serve on an expedition against the Indians. and to raise with all possible dispatch in their stead the best recruits that can be found for the service, and, having so completed their companies, to repair to the Big Island on Holston river in Fincastle county, the place of general rendezvous.

In the month of September, 1776, that portion of the troops under the command of Colonel William Russell began their march to the Great Island of the Holston.

THE TREATY OF LONG ISLAND

July 2, 1777, was a momentous day in the history of Long Island and the Holston settlements.

In accordance with the truce agreed upon the previous year the mighty chiefs of the Cherokee nation with their retainers and braves had gathered at this historic spot. Among those present were Oconosta of Chota, Rayetach of Toquoe, the Raven of Chota, Oo-tosse-eteh of Hiwassee, Ooskuah of Chilhowie, Atta-Kula-Kula of Natchey* Creek, the Terrapin of Chilestooch, Sunne Wauh of Big Island and many others. Also came Colonel William Preston, Colonel William Christian and Colonel Evan Shelby, commissioners for Virginia duly appointed by His Excellency Governor Patrick Henry. North Carolina was represented by Waighstill Avery, William Sharpe, Robert Lanier and Joseph Coniston. The Fourth of July was duly observed, being the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. As was the custom when treating with the Indians there were many "Big Talks" and much ceremony observed.

This treaty was soon broken by the white men, who persisted in encroaching on the Indian territory. The distant lands always seemed more attractive to the settler and he pushed over the Indian boundaries, in his quest for fertile land, with no thought for the consequences of his act.

After many days of parleying a treaty was finally agreed upon on July 20, 1776. The Cherokees were forced out of their rightful heritage whose boundaries originally comprised an empire embracing the richest natural resources to be found on the American continent.

The boundaries agreed upon between the commissioners and the Cherokee chiefs were as follows:

That the boundary line between the State of North Carolina and the said Over-Hill Cherokees shall forever hereafter be and remain as follows, (to wit) Beginning at a point in the dividing line which during the treaty hath been agreed upon between the said Over-Hill Cherokees and the State of Virginia,

*Picture of Atta-kulla-kulla as a teenager appears on page 31

JUNCTION OF NORTH AND SOUTH FORKS OF HOLSTON RIVER AT ROTHERWOOD

Site of Treaty--Long Island at left. Also see illustration pg 42.

where the line between that state and North Carolina (hereafter to be extended) shall cross or intersect the same, running thence a right line to the north bank of the Holston River at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, being the second creek below the Warrior's Ford, at the mouth of Carter's Valley, thence a right line to the highest point of a mountain called the High Rock or Chimney Top, from thence a right line to the mouth of Camp Creek, otherwise called McNama's Creek, on the south bank of Nolichucky River, about ten miles or thereabouts below the mouth of Great Limestone, be the same more or less, and from the mouth of Camp Creek aforesaid a south-east course into the mountains which divide the hunting grounds of the middle settlements from those of the Over-Hill Cherokees.

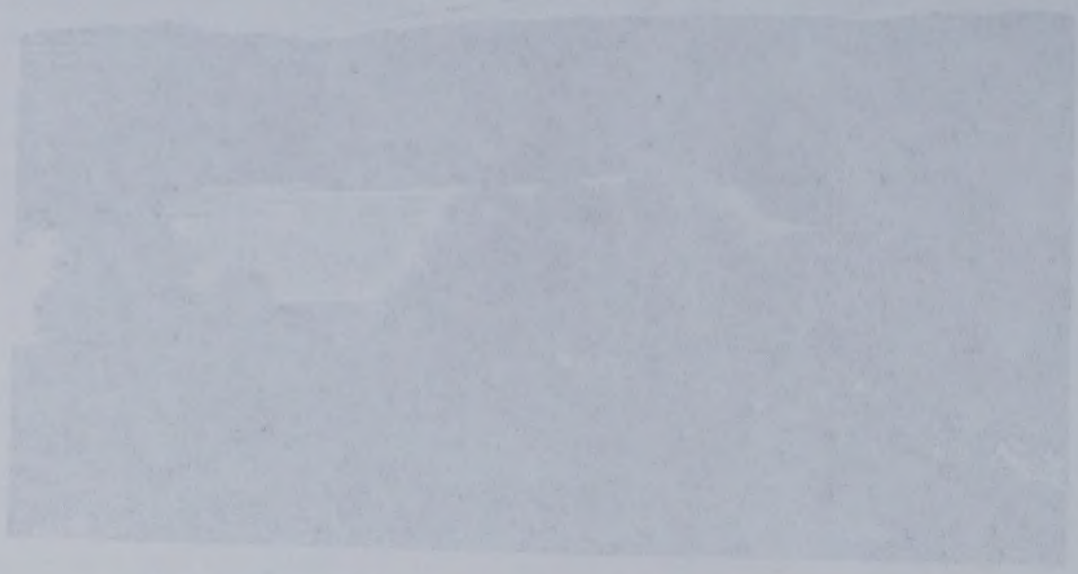
It was with the greatest reluctance that the Cherokees yielded Long Island. For generations it had been held sacred as their treaty ground. Many peace pacts had been held on this mystic island, many peace pipes had been smoked here and the council fire had burned many times.

So great was the sentiment attached to this strip of land that a protest memorandum was entered into the treaty as follows:

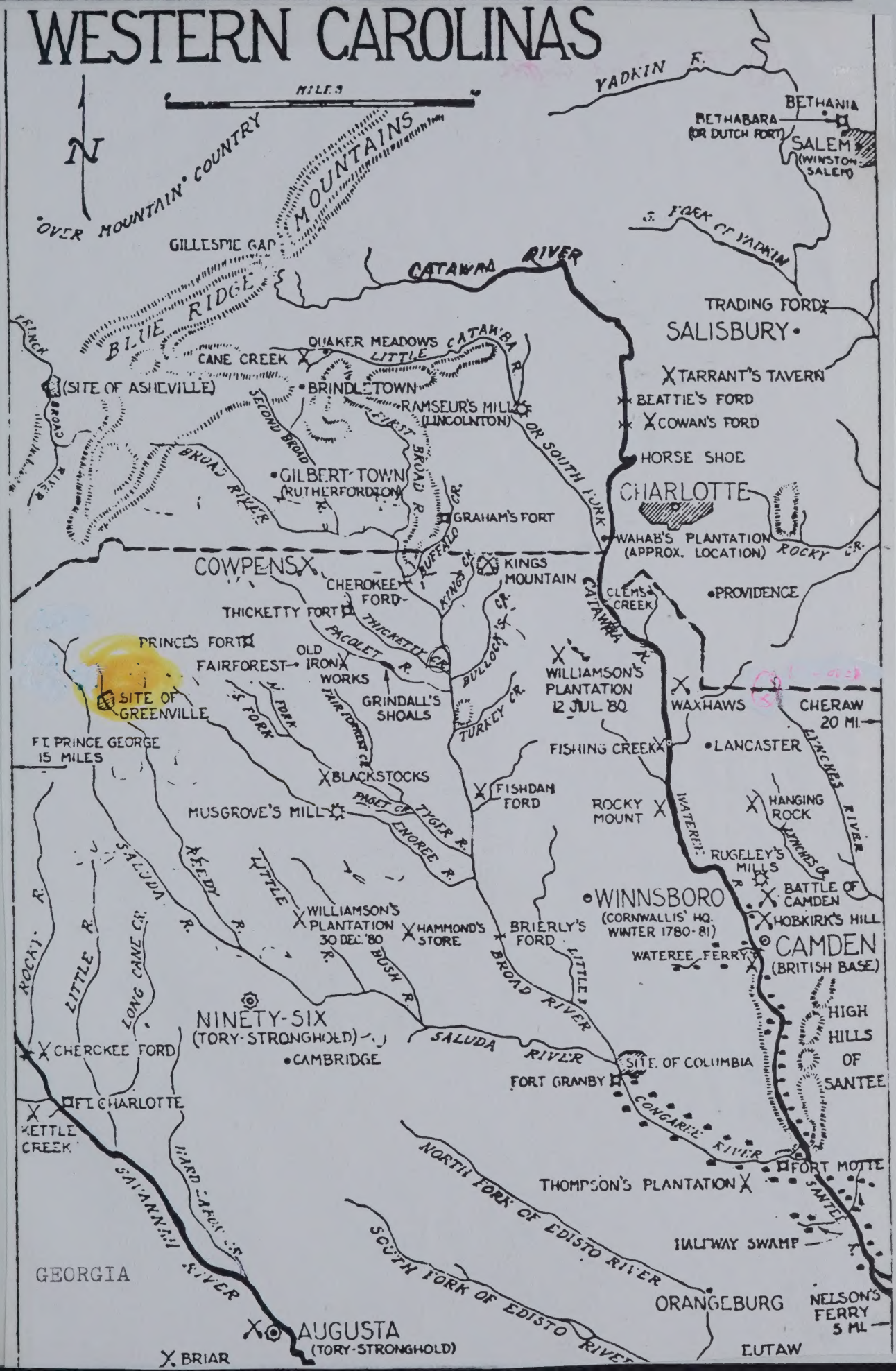
The Tassell yesterday objected to giving up Great Island, opposite to Fort Henry, to any person or country whatsoever, except Colonel Nathaniel Gist, for whom and themselves it was reserved by the Cherokees. The Raven did the same, this day, in behalf of his people and desired that Colonel Gist might sit down upon it when he pleased as it belonged to him and them to hold good talks on.

Petty border warfare continued and in 1779 Colonel Evan Shelby led a campaign against the Chickamaugas who resided near Lookout Mountain (Chattanooga) on the Tennessee River. Colonel Shelby collected his troops at Long Island (Kingsport). With nearly one thousand men at his command he adopted a different style of warfare. Boats were built for the entire command and they swiftly descended the Holston and Tennessee rivers to Chickamauga, the Indian stronghold. Dragging Canoe with five hundred warriors fled on the approach of Shelby's army and his town was destroyed. As the Indian chiefs did not respond to his request that they come in and make peace, Shelby destroyed twelve of their towns and vast stores of corn. Quantities of goods as well as horses were also captured and confiscated. After this chastisement Shelby destroyed his boats and returned overland to Long Island. His men had to march over two hundred miles through a trackless wilderness and suffered much on this return journey.

Poor, devastated Cherokees!



This map will help you identify many places David Fanning mentioned.



Colonel David Fanning's Journal, Continued - pages 23 et seq

--this indused for (me) to Return to my home where I arrivd on the 15th of June (1776) on the 20th the Rebels Being apprehensive of the Cherichee Indians breaking out dispatched several of their Emissaries amongst the Loyalists for to Discover their Intentions, one of which was Capt Ritchie* who came to me and told me that he was a friend to Government and some time before--left the Indian Nation and then wanted a Pilot to conduct him to the Indian nation again--I agreed to Conduct him to any part of the Country he wanted for to go provided he would Keep it secret. this he promised for to do But Immediately went and lodgd an Information against me and swore that I then had a Company of men Ready in order for to Join the Indians (.) in Consequence of this I was made prisoner again--on the 25th by a Capt. John Rogers and thrown into close confinement with three Centinels over me. On the 1st of July the Indians came down into the Back Country of South Carolina and Kild Several families--at which time the Rebel Camp being in Great Confusion I made my Escape and went to my own house at Rabirns Creek but finding a number of my friends had already Gone to the Indians and more Disposd so for to do (.) I Got 25 men for to join me and on our arrival at Pareshers (Pearis's) plantation on Reedy River in the Indian land we formed a Junction with the Indians (.) on the 15th in the Evening the militia and the Cherichees to the amount of 260 Surrounded a fort Built with Loggs containing 450 of the Rebels and after a smart fire on both sides for two hours and a half we Retreated without--any Injury Except one of the Indian Chiefs being Shot through the hand**

I then left the Indians and pursued my way to North Carolina, where on my arrival I was taken up again and Close Confind but was rescued by my friends Three Different times after which I made my Escape Good. I then Endeavord for to go home again, and after Experiencing a numberless hardships in the woods I arrived the 10th of March 1777 at Reburns Creek South Carolina--I was made prisoner again on the 11th by a Capt Smith bound hand and foot and carried under Guard towards Ninety Six Gaol (.) after marching 12 miles the Company halted for the evening and I watching an opportunity I cut the Ropes I was bound with and Stript myself (.) when the Guard was asleep I threw myself out of the window and Returned back to Reburns Creek by a Different way from that which they had--Carried me prisoner. I was now obliged now for to secret myself in the woods until August and was supplied with provision by some Quakers and other Loyalists in the neighborhood--

A Company of Loyalists of which--I was one, was thin Raised by a Richard Parish*** and it was determined to Go to mobile and Join the British army but one of the Company proving treacherous Gave information to the Rebels who Raised a body of Troops, for to Suppress us (.)

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*Probably the William Ritchie, a militia captain, who persecuted the family of William Cunningham (later called "Bloody Bill.") Ritchie killed John Cunningham who was lame, mistreated the father, and threatened the life of William Cunningham who had fled to Savannah. Cunningham returned to Ninety Six and killed Ritchie. The brothers Robert and Patrick Cunningham were William's cousins.

**Lyndley's Fort was on Raeburn's Creek, presumably home of James Lindley. The skirmish was 15 July 1776, turning point in the Indian rising.

***In his Loyalist claim, Richard Pearis stated that he raised a force of 400 to go to West Florida, where Mobile was. See map previous page.

they took me with five more prisoners and Carried us to Ninety Six Goal. the 5th of August 1777 Captain Parrish escaped with some of the Loyalists belonging to the Company and made his way Good to the British army at mobile in West Floriday--Myself with the five others who were taken remained in Close Confinement untill November following and were then tried for our Lives on a Charge of High Treason for Rising in arms against the United States of America but where Acquitted and went home (.)the fees and expenses of my Confinement amounted to 300£ Virginia money allowing Dollars at 6 Shillings each which I paid and was then Ordered back to the Goal for the Rent of the Room.

on the 1st of march 1778, Capt. John York of East Florida Received Orders from the Commander in Chief for the Loyal militia of Georgia and South Carolina to assemble themselves accordingly they were embodied. the majority of the people chose me their Commanding Officer (.) we took a number of prisoners furnished ourselves with horses and marched to Savannah River on the Borders of Georgia 12 miles above Augusta. (footnote says these border raids by the So. Car. and GA militia were apparently designed to disrupt the impending Whig invasion of Florida under Major Gen. Robert Howe. The poorly organized and supplied invasion was aborted at the border in July.) Capt. York who was our Pilot then Got discouraged and would not Suffer any of the militia to proceed with him back to East Florida except these men; we were then under the necessity of Returning home upwards of 100 miles through the Rebels Country and betake ourselves to the woods as formerly. During our Retreat we were pursued by 300 of the Rebels but Got Back home to Reburns Creek--when the Rebels found we were Returned they Raised a body of men for to take us and for the space of three months Kept so Constant a Look out that we were oblidged for to stay in the woods.
(Now for four pages he relates almost unbelievable suffering yet courage and daring on Raeburns Creek, North Carolina, etc., in the woods, in local militias, several escapes from jail and an abortive attempt to embody troops to go to St. Augustine, betrayals, etc., We take up with him again with two bullet wounds, unextracted in his back which began to fester and then thrown from his horse, 12 miles farther on. He remained in the woods eight days with nothing to eat but herbs and three eggs, his wounds becoming very offensive for want of a dressing. He then managed to get on a horse again and went to a friend's house where he made a signal)...and a young Girl 14 years old came to me. But when near enough to see me She was frightened So at the Sight She Run off But I pursued after her on horse Back and telling her who I was She Said She new it was me But I was Dead and that I then was a Sperit and Stunk yet. I was a long time before I could Get her to come to me I looked So much like a Rack of nothing But Skin and bones and my wounds had never been Drest and my Clothes all Bloody (.) my misery and Situation was beyond Explanation and no friend in The world that I could depend on(.) however these people Seeing me in that Distrest Situation took the Greatest Care of me and Drest my wounds....My horse having been Seen by Some of the Rebel party they concluded I was not Killed and wrote Several letters which they gave one of my friends offering to treat with me and advising me to Surrender threatening at the Same time in case I did not to Banish eight families of my Friends out of South Carolina.

A limited time was given for my answer but it had expired before that I received it. in Consequence of which their threats were put in Execution and the peoples properties was taken from them, and themselves Confined. on the Receipt of my Letters the people were liberated but their properties were Still Detained.

The Second day after I treated with the Colonel of the Rebel Militia and had an express Sent of to Governor Rutledge at Charles Town about a week after his answer Came Back with a conditional pardon that which I had done should be forgotten and that I should live quietly and peaceably at Home, and be oblidged to pilot parties through the woods as occation might Require.

Before I excepted of these conditions I advised with my friends and Company who all approved of it as it conduced both to their Ease and Safety. I Remained at home a year and twelve Days and was Repeatedly urged for to Except of a Company in the Continental Service which I always Refused. (Footnote says though he refused a commission he admitted cooperating with the Whigs by serving as a guide for the militia and was paid for it.) after the Reduction of Charles Town* myself and one William Cunningham** concluded for to embody a party of men which we affected. we Determined for to take Colo Williams of the Rebels militia prisoner and then Join Capt Parish*** who was to Raise a Company and assist us--Colo Williams got notice of it and pushed off and though we caught Sight of him he escaped us.

We now found ourselves growing Strong. Numbers flocking Daily to us--I then took the Kings proclamation and Distributed them through the country for upwards of 100 miles. Capt Parrish had the command of the party and marched up to Ninety Six which he took possession off without firing a Shot where I found him again. We marched about

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*The siege of Charleston commenced in March 1780 and the city surrendered on 12 May. The capitulation of over 5000 troops was the worst defeat suffered by the American forces in the Revolution and demoralized the Whigs. Many American history books tell about it so I won't.

**William Cunningham ("Bloody Bill"--see previous footnote) a cousin of Robert, and native of Virginia, lived in Ninety Six Dist by 1775 and was in the Whig militia 1775-6. After defecting to the Loyalists he was involved in a vengeance slaying of a Whig militiaman (Ritchie). When Charleston fell he became a major in the Loyalist militia and in 1781-2 he led a series of vicious raids through the Up Country. Upon the evacuation of Charleston he fled to East Florida where he joined a gang of bandits led by Daniel McGirth. He was captured by Spanish authorities in 1785 and deported to the Bahamas. The following year he was in London, and in 1787 he had returned to Charleston SC where he died. (His was an obvious case of neurosis due to war suffering!)

*** Richard Pearis was at that time acting as a Lt. Col. of the militia and directing the effort to disarm and disperse the backcountry Whig forces.

PEARIS FAMILY

12 miles to General Williamsons* at whitehall who commanded a fort with 14 Swivils and two companies of provincial Troops on our approach he met us within 3 miles of the fort attended by Several officers Requesting he might discharge the Troops and Receive protection for himself and them. we granted him what he Requested and took possession of the Fort and their arms which they piled up. atter that they moved Out of the Garrison--Three Days after that, Colo Pickins** with 300 men marched in and laid down their arms.

General Robert Cunningham of the Loyal Militia now took the command and formed a camp. we Kept scouting parties through the country and had many skirmeshes but none of consequence--after the British american Troops had taken possession of ninety Six I continued scouting on the Indian lines untill Colonel Innis*** forwarded his march up to Musgroves Mill on the Innoree River (Enoree). I then joined them with a party of 14 men. the morning following the Picketts were attacked by a party of Rebels. Colo Innis ordered us to advance and Support them, which we did. and followed them untill we arrived where the main body lay in ambush under the command of Colonel Williams. Colo Innis was unfortunately wounded with Several other officers.**** we engaged them for Some time and then Retreated about a mile and a quarter where we encamped and in the night marched off toward ninety Six under the command of Captain Depister.***** and the next morning I and my Small party Returned back to the Indian lines. We continued Scouting on the lines for sometime untill I met with Capt Parish of the British american South Carolina Regmt who gave me a list of Several Soldiers that had permission for to visit their friends in the country on the Return from Florida to ninety Six. I was Desired by him for to give them notice for to Join their Regiments and on this Expedition I fell in with Major Forgessons party which was Defeated five Days afterwards ****** The Rebels after this Begin to be numerous and troublesom and little or no Regulation amongst us. I made the best of my way back to Deep River in North Carolina where I Remained untill the month of February 1781. I was During this time discovering the disposition of the people being Informed that Lord Cornwallis was marching that way. (From here on out David Fanning, though experiencing a very exciting life, is no longer in the same vicinity as the Pearises.)

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*Andrew Williamson (d 1787) of Whitehall in 96 Dist, had a leading role in subduing the Loyalists in 1775. He commanded the siege of 96 & was defeated; but was later a SC commander in the forces crushing the Cherokees. Whig representative of 96 Dist in Congress 1775 & Gen. Assembly 1776-1780. Brig. Gen. militia by 1779, commanding a brigade in GA, at Briar Creek defeat. After this capitulation in 1780 he cooperated with British, said to have been called "Arnold of SC." Later captured & estate confiscated, but died by 1787.

**Andrew Pickens (1739-1817) PA native, settled on Long Cane Creek by 1765, justice of peace & militia captain before Rev. Was at siege of 96, as shown. It is said Pearis saved him then and he returned the favor years later when Pearis needed rescuing

Footnotes continued next page---

By 1778 Pickens was a Whig colonel of themilitia for 96 Dist and at Kettle Creek in 1779. After the fall of Charleston he surrendered and was paroled. When his plantation was pillaged he left parole. Following his distinguished service at Cowpens, he was commissioned a Brigadier General and remained actively engaged during Greene's campaign in North And South Carolina. After the war he served in the General assembly and a term in US Congress 1793-95. Pickens County is named for him. Many histories of the Revolution tell of his exploits.

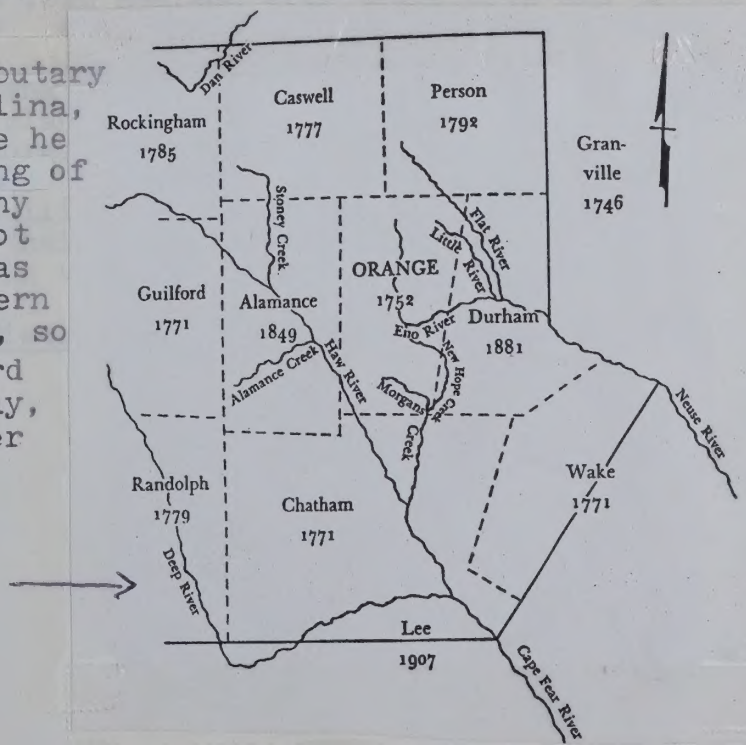
***Alexander Innes, a Scot, was an Asst, Commissary to Stuart with the Cherokees and was living with the Indians in 1777. He was a captain in the SC Royalists in 1779 and their colonel on 20 January 1780. After the fall of Charleston he became inspector general of the provincial forces in the South. Following the British evacuation he went to Nova Scotia.

**** Fanning's account of the Battle of Musgrove's Mill on 18 August 1780 is essentially verified by Whig sources. In fact, his journal sticks to the facts, does not exaggerate and contains no propaganda, making it a valuable resource for historians. What he lacks in spelling he more than makes up for with accuracy. In this battle, the Whigs were commanded by Colonels Elijah Clarke, Isaac Shelby, and James Williams. The Loyalists were drawn into a concealed ambush, and Innes was wounded at a crucial moment, causing his battle line to fall back.

*****Abraham Depeyster (1753-1799) from New York, was a captain in the New York Volunteers (Loyalist). He served in the siege of Charleston, Musgrove's Mill, and was second in command under Major Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain. After the war he went to St. John, New Brunswick, and was a colonel in the provincial militia and treasurer of the province.

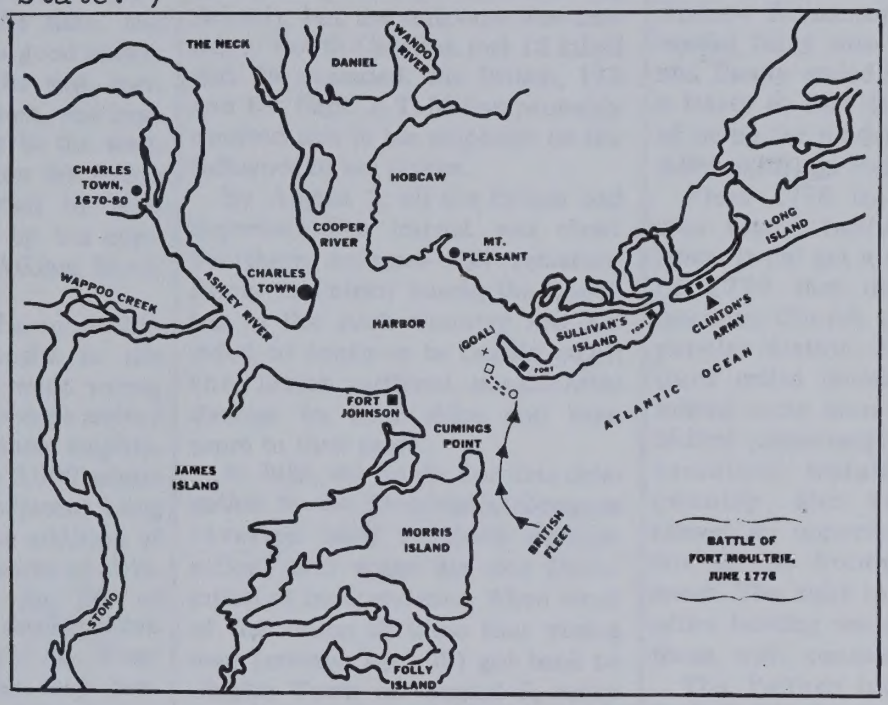
******The celebrated Battle of King's Mountain occurred on 7 October 1780 and resulted in the death of Major Patrick Ferguson and the destruction of his Loyalist corps by the frontier Whig militia. This was a turning point in the Revolutionary War, and soon became a rallying cry. Combined with other factors, it led to the defeat of Lord Cornwallis.

On his return to Deep River, tributary of Cape Fear River in North Carolina, Fanning was now in the area where he was born after the tragic drowning of his young father. He relates many more experiences, but they are not part of our story. Deep River was too far east to show on the Western Carolinas map on a previous page, so here it is. The Battle of Guilford Courthouse was fought not far away, and also the area of the Dan River where General Greene foiled Lord Cornwallis's attempt to cross into Virginia.



FRAZIER FAMILY

In spite of all those British Men-O-War sailing around Sullivan's Island, which Henry Laurens had mentioned as early as January 1776, in March the ruling Whig provincial government of South Carolina sitting in Charleston declared independence from Great Britain. On 28 June a rude palmetto fort, hastily constructed on that same island was able (despite detractions by such as the General Charles Lee) to withstand attack by absorbing the fire from British cannon which could not penetrate the spongy wood when bombarded by the fleet of Sir Peter Parker. (Ever since then, South Carolina has been known as the "Palmetto State.")



The British Strategy: "Planning to split the colonies by driving* a wedge through New York, they thought they could first use their time well, with so many Carolina 5th columnists to help, by bringing pressure on the south. Admiral Sir William Howe went to North Carolina with the fleet. Sir Peter Parker came from England with transports and troops under Charles Lord Cornwallis. Gen. Henry Clinton, to have command, came south from Boston. They would rendezvous at Cape Fear NC in February. Everything went wrong: Parker sailed late. Clinton arrived late in April, and the whole plan was spoiled by Patriots who clobbered Loyalists at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, so they picked a second target, selecting Charles Town. Its harbor would be a good base for operations--the new fort on Sullivan's Island was not completed. By 10 June they had arrived off their target where they faced 6,500 poorly-armed Patriots hoping in vain for Back Country support.

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*South Carolina--A Synoptic History for Laymen, Lewis P. Jones (1971) pages 104-6

The British strategy appeared sound: To hit the fort guarding the harbor from the land side with an amphibious force, and to sail the fleet into the southwest side of the fort and bombard it from its unprotected, uncompleted flank.

The American strategy was desperate: Hold what they could. President Rutledge sent word to Gen. Charles Lee, ordered to take command, "For God's sake, lose not a moment." It was good advice, with the British to the east, mercurial Tories to the west, and restless Cherokees farther to the west. Lee's strategy: Abandon the fort, a proposal bluntly vetoed by Rutledge and repudiated by the commander of the fort, William Moultrie.

It was probably the most dramatic battle ever fought in the state, but everything went wrong for the invaders. Some ships arrived late. Then they put their amphibious force of 2,000 to 3,000 ashore north of the fort on adjacent Long Island (which, with the addition of a pavilion and other marks of civilization, later became the Isle of Palms) and let them swelter there from June 8 to June 28. They blundered again: When they contemplated moving this force across from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, they had a good idea but then found the channel was seven feet deep, not 18 inches, and hence they could not wade as planned. (The Patriots were doubly lucky: Those facing this invading force numbered only 780, had 26 guns and 28 rounds of ammunition. Perhaps Gen. Lee may be excused his panic.) The Navy advised Gen. Clinton not to worry, however, since they would soon have the situation well in hand, whereupon they sailed off for that vulnerable southwest sector only to have some ships ingloriously run aground in front of the fort and end up participating in a frontal assault. There was bravery enough for both sides (Sgt. Jasper's rehearsal for the flag scene at Iwo Jima was equalled by the heroism of Capt. Morris of the Bristol), but the outcome was one-sided: South Carolina lost 12 killed and 25 wounded; the British, 115 and 65. Capt. A.T. Mahan probably omitted this in his emphasis on the influence of sea power.

By August 2, all the British had departed. The impact was clear: Southern colonies still remained firmly in Patriot hands; the Loyalists in the Back Country had decided to continue to remain quiet; the British suffered considerable damage to their ships and even more to their pride.

In July, the South Carolina delegation to the Continental Congress reversed itself (without authorization) and voted for the Declaration of Independence. When word of the action of these four young men (average age: 29) got back to Charles Town on August 5, many felt that they had acted too precipitously—that reconciliation was still possible. As late as April, the Provincial Congress had asserted that they did "still earnestly desire" an accommodation with Britain.

In 1776, the Carolinians faced a new threat, a second Cherokee War. Some English authorities urged Indian agent John Stuart to stir up such, but he acted more circumspectly and simply sought their neutral cooperation, knowing that once on the warpath the red men would not know a Redcoat from a Radical. (He also knew the Patriots held his wife as hostage.) Irked by many factors, including the constant encroachments of settlers, the Indians did not take much nudging to go into a wild slaughter as the whole frontier blazed up in July 1776. This time the settlers could not call on British regulars for help. Andrew Williamson then led a successful foray into Indian Country and finally ended the menace with a treaty at DeWitt's Corner (origin of name for modern Due West, six miles south) on March 20, 1777.

From 1776 to 1779, the state was spared further military violence. It did get a new constitution in 1778 that disestablished the Anglican Church and provided for popular election of the upper house (now called Senate). It also permitted some more blunders to the radical plutocracy: Representation remained unfair to the back country, and hence statesmen missed an opportunity to remove one of the frontier Tories' grievances. The right to suffrage and to office holding was still restricted to those with considerable property.

The Patriots blundered further during this interim by becoming increasingly intolerant of dissent. Now that the new state constitution specifically approved the Declaration of Independence, many began demanding an oath renouncing allegiance to George III, and by 1778 they were demanding positive allegiance to the Patriot cause on pain of possible persecution. Naturally this alienated many, and some emigres departed in the face of this witch hunt.

(Please excuse all this plagarism--but I told you in the beginning that this was a documentary, and you need to get both sides of the story, so as to understand it better.)

With all of the above going on, the Charlestonians realized their defenses needed beefing up. Moultrie's palmetto fort had served in a pinch, but it was not enough; though a 1779 attempt by Prevost, not mentioned above, was also repulsed. With so much to do, those Upcountry prisoners in the Charleston jail were a distraction.

Governor Rutledge urged the Council of Safety to release any prisoners who would sign a pledge of neutrality. Richard's son, Captain Robert, would not sign, but Richard was anxious to be back with his family and thought they needed him. Having been held incognito in irons in the jail, he was not aware of what had gone on in the last nine months, during his absence.

By the time he was released it was already September. He hurried home, anxious to see Rhoda and the other children. He was fortunate to have been under an order of protection from Rutledge, for some of the Whigs on route were ready to tear him limb from limb. But as he neared home he was broken-hearted to learn from neighbors about the inexcusable treatment of his family. On 16 July 1776 Rhoda, young Richard and the two girls had been forced by Thomas's troopers to march 25 miles a day, bareheaded in the scorching Carolina glaring mid-summer sun, without water and sufficient food, to Augusta GA, penniless and at the mercy of strangers. The plantation house, mill, and all the outbuildings had burned to the ground. His horses and livestock had been stolen to use for the sustenance of Williamson's army on their march to destroy the Cherokees.

As we have learned through David Fanning, Richard Pearis, burning with a desire for revenge, under those circumstances no longer felt himself bound to any pledge of neutrality to those who had tortured his family so shamefully. Working secretly in company with Lt. Fanning, Major Joseph Robinson and Captain John York, raised a company of about 450 men to join the British force in East Florida--unaware that one of the recruits was actually a Whig spy who betrayed them to their enemies. Some of them were able to escape, though Fanning and some of the others wound up in Ninety-Six jail. Pearis was able to flee (on foot it is said) through the wilderness. He managed to get to Pensacola early in 1777. There he joined up with the forces of his one-time nemesis, Colonel John Stuart and in January 1778 was Captain of Light Horse Troop, West Florida Loyal Refugees.

Letters of John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens*

February 1778--....Richard Paris & John Lindlay have again endeavored to enlist for the King. William has sent parties in pursuit of them. Eight or nine concerned in this treacherous act are in Ninety Six Goal--it is hoped Paris & Lindlay will soon be added to the Number and meet their just desert.....

8 May 1778--...Yesterday a Flag of truce returned from St. Augustine where she was sent with 45 prisoners..they sent back above one hundred. Capt. Hatter also returned upon his parole for (torn) Months, they would not exchange him as he had been guilty of an Act of piracy. however Governor Tonin writes to the president that he may stay if we will give in Exchange Capt. Robert Paris, who has been in Goal here ever since the Year 1775 among the rest of the disafected & refused to take the Oath, it is a Lucky Circumstance for Hatter no doubt he will be sent....two Vessels full of Tories are ready to Sail among them...

(Footnotes say Capt. John Hatter commanded the privateer Hope with a letter of marque dated Nov. 1776, and that Robert Pearis was one of the Loyalist officers captured by Richard Richardson in Dec. 1775.
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Americans and left for dead. Nealy recovered, however, and in 1779 he raised men for the British but was later captured and paroled. He joined the British again in 1780, and served under Col. Richard Pearis in the militia, rising to the rank of Major. At the evacuation of Charleston in 1782, he went to St. Augustine, afterwards he moved to Abaco in the Bahamas. He estimated his loss at 1527 pounds sterling."

The initial defeat of the Loyalists in the southern back country condemned them to the position of a persecuted minority, cut off from outside aid and constantly on the defensive before the Whigs, who instituted a program of loyalty oaths to the revolutionary governments along with terror, banishment, and confiscation to consolidate their position. In despair, some Loyalists, particularly those in the South Carolina Piedmont, fled to the British forces in East Florida led by Joseph Robinson, Thomas Brown, and Evan McLaurin. John York, Richard Paris, and Joseph Coffel of anti-Regulator fame led sizable parties during 1777 and 1778. These refugees brought word that a strong, persecuted minority in the upcountry was ready to assemble at a favorable moment.

The initial experience of the British forces invading Georgia and South Carolina in 1779–1780 seemed to confirm these reports. General Archibald Campbell reported that a considerable number of "irregulars from the upper country" under the denomination of "Crackers" had joined the British forces occupying Augusta. Fourteen hundred men swore allegiance to the King and were formed into twenty militia companies. But with every turn in the tide of war, the back settlers changed sides. Expediency and the need for survival, rather than principle or conviction, motivated most of them in the bloody partisan warfare that raged in the back country during the next two years. The British were never able to organize a dependable militia in the interior, and their own regular forces were too small to hold the vast area and at the same time cope with the Continental field army. By the end of 1781 they had begun to withdraw from the South. Many of the Loyalist militia in Georgia and South Carolina deserted to return home and protect their property, and on the way, enlisted in the Whig volunteers. Yet hundreds preferred to leave with the British army. Following the evacuation of Savannah, Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida reported that about fifteen hundred white refugees and one thousand slaves had joined the British. Although there were a few respectable families among them, according to Tonyn, they were chiefly "backwoodsmen." With the return of the Floridas to Spain by the terms of the peace treaty of 1783, some Loyalist refugees went to the West Indies, *

Our quote following this will be about Richard's one-time bitter adversary but by February 1778 or before, his ally, Indian Agent John Stuart. War, they say, makes strange bedfellows, as you will see. And he now trusts Richard with horses, having forgotten Cameron's old aspersion. And about saving Indians from rum!

*The Revolutionary Frontier 1763-1788 by Jack M. Sosin, 102

Originally I had not thought George Pearis Jr. went to North Carolina, where so many others had fled to, for his two sons, George III and Robert, were later in this same part of VA, or a little to the West. Now I'm not so sure. The following Surry County, NC Will Abstracts seem to hint a Pearis/Pepper/Burke/Griffith connection. Is it ours??

Book I;22. 16 Aug 1774. Bill of Sale from MartinArmstrong to George Parris lot #2 in SW sq. of Richmond where Parris now lives for 3 proc. Wit: Jno Armstrong. Rec. Feb. Ct. 1775.

I:26. 8 Aug 1774. Bill of Sale from John (J) Burke to Abraham Creson for L20 NC money an improvement of land & grist mill, livestock, personalty. Wit: David Enyart, Henry Speer. Rec. Aug. Ct . 1774.

I:55 27 Aug 1773. Peter Meiar & Mary (X) Meiar to Lanier & Williams for L30, land on Treces Crk where Jno Lowe now lives. Wit: Isaac Mabry, George Paris. Rec. Aug. Ct. 1775.

I:61a. 25 Mar 1775. William Shepperd has writ of fieri facias (execution) from Johnston Co NC to sell goods of James Obryant to satisfy suit by Isam Safold, sold 2 lotts in Richmond to John Snead as highest bidder. Wit: Jno. Armstrong. Bill of sale made over to George Paris by Snead.

I:132. Appraisement of est. of Isaac Garrison decd by Samuel Waggenor & Barne Farr totalling L122:18:0. Rec. May Ct 1779.

I:132a. 7 Aug. 1779. Inv. of est. of John Griffith decd. valued at L173:11 by Wm. Hall, Elijah Smallwood & James Mathews. Rec. Aug. Ct 1779. (Note: He was an Ensign in the 1774 Surry Co. militia. His name appears on the 1772 Surry Co. tax list and on the 1774 Surry Co. tax lists of Martin Armstrong. ....)*

I:179. 16 Nov 1784. Robert Poage of Montgomery Co. VA to Joseph Cloud of the same place, power of attorney. Wit: Jo. Williams, Wm Colvard, Rebekah Williams. Prvd. by Williams. (Note: the 1785 Surry Co. tax list of Capt. Gains shows Isaac Cloud with 267½ A in Surry & 1960 A in Green Co. 1786 tax list shows Jos. Cloud with 360A & 1 wp.....etc.)(I think this is Joseph Cloyd who was Capt George Pearis III's Major--see later pages this book. NZ)

2:1. Will of James (IB) Burke, 4 Nov 1782, Wife, Lucretia. children: Mary Murphew, Sarah Wilson. Joseph Burke, Neomi Pepper. Wife's dau: Lucretia Wilson. Grandson Thomas Burke gets negro girl Hannah when he is 21. granddau Honora Burke gets negro boy when she is 16. Son-in-law William Brookshire gets L10. Dau-in-law Mary Burke, and her living children, Josiah Burke, Samuel Burk, Elizabeth Burk, John Burk & Benjamin Burke get L5. Eldest son, James Burke - "I have just cause to deny him or his heirs any part." Granddau: Sally Oleman. Exr: Samuel Pepper of Botetourt Co., VA & Moses Baker of Surry. Wit: Andrew Speer, John Thos. Longino. Prvd by witnesses & rec Feb Ct. 1783 . (Note: Surry Co. Min. of the Court of P&QS 11 Feb. 1783 show the will was prvd by oath of Andrew Speer; on 13 May 1783 Samuel Pepper qualified as executor. On the 1774 Surry tax list, James Burke has 1 poll. 1782 tax list shows him with 220 A. The 1785 & 1786 tax lists of Capt. Carson show Lucretia Burk with 200 A & 1 wp.)(LucretiaBurke's first husband was Methusalem Griffith! See map on Page 13, Right half, for his residence. As of September 1998 I have not found those Griffith's connection to ours, but it appears more & more that there must be one!)

*Cousin Sylvan Griffith identifies this John Griffith as his ancestor, also Garrisons. NC Records generally drop the "e" in Pearis. Richmond, once Surry County seat, burned down & was never rebuilt.

PEPPER FAMILY SKETCH

Dr. Robert Pepper (ca 1690-17__) a surgeon, married Sarah Patterson in Ireland. They came to old Lancaster Co. PA about 1730. One son stayed in the east, but the others migrated to Pepper's Run, North Fork of the Roanoke (No. of present Blacksburg VA). His death date is not known, but Sarah lived to be about 100 years old, last living with son Samuel at Peppers Ferry near where, around 1800, she wandered into the woods, became disoriented, and died. Their children were:

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3. Robert Pepper, Jr. (ca 1724-7 Oct 1780) though wounded that day was not captured. He and a son Elisha were killed at the famous Battle of Kings Mountain-Revolutionary War. Son John lived in Guilford Co. NC. Catherine, his widow, on 5 Apr 1787 was living in Burke Co. NC when the census was taken by Capt. William Neil. Jonas Griffith, believed to have been our ancestor, was listed as a neighbor, and both families migrated to old Madison Co. KY the next year. (New River area tithes show a Jonas Griffith there in 1772 only, but long enough to get to know the Peppers and Pearises.) This data is highly important to us, for it suggests that the Pearises and Griffiths knew each other before going to Kentucky. They MAY have even been related. Was Catherine Pepper a Griffith? Or more likely, was Mrs. Griffith a Pepper? Or were both families related to a third, unknown family? I think they must have been more than just neighbors.
4. Sarah Pepper (25 April 1725- ca 1768?) married George Pearis, Jr., and they tried hard to raise three children in that very dangerous place. It appears they were plagued with disasters--see text.
5. Ruth Pepper (ca 1730?-) m. John Carson & lived in NC.
6. Samuel Pepper (20 Mar 1734-26 Oct 1804) b. Lancaster Co. PA, established Peppers Ferry across New River (present Radford VA). He was named in lawsuits involving his brother-in-law George Pearis. (Author Johnston said he married Malinda Pearis, daughter of Robert, probably a fallacy, for later Peppers can find no evidence this is so.) He did marry Naomi "Ami" Burke b. 1 Feb 1746, dau. of James Burke b. Limerick, Ireland, and Polly Bane. (Mr. Burke was discoverer of "Burke's Gardens, presently in Tazewell Co. VA and stepfather of Morris Griffith^{2}(Methusalem^{1}).

Data on the Peppers for this sketch was extracted from: History of the Pepper Family in America and Allied Families by Florence Pepper Raya (1974) pages 13-14.

PEPPER FAMILY

PEPPER FAMILY SECTION

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1. Joshua Pepper (18 Jan 1720/1-28 Dec 1808) m. Elizabeth McCauley and last lived on a farm near Georgetown, Delaware (Delmarva Penninsula) having been in Hampshire Co. VA in 1784. 3 children.
2. William Pepper (ca 1722/3- ?) m._____and received a land patent from Col. James Patton in March 1753 where he lived near sister Sarah and brother-in-law George Pearis, Jr. on No. Fk. Roanoke. On 25 June 1756 he was taken captive by Indians & never heard from again. (Some speculate that he was eventually released in Ohio where he raised a new family--unproven. The Indians killed Col. Patton.) His daughter Sophia later married a cousin.
3. Robert Pepper, Jr. (ca 1724-7 Oct 1780) though wounded that day was not captured. He and a son Elisha were killed at the famous Battle of Kings Mountain-Revolutionary War. Son John lived in Guilford Co. NC. Catherine, his widow, on 5 Apr 1787 was living in Burke Co. NC when the census was taken by Capt. William Neil. Jonas Griffith, believed to have been our ancestor, was listed as a neighbor, and both families migrated to old Madison Co. KY the next year. (New River area tithes show a Jonas Griffith there in 1772 only, but long enough to get to know the Peppers and Pearises.) This data is highly important to us, for it suggests that the Pearises and Griffiths knew each other before going to Kentucky. They MAY have even been related. Was Catherine Pepper a Griffith? Or more likely, was Mrs. Griffith a Pepper? Or were both families related to a third, unknown family? I think they must have been more than just neighbors.
4. Sarah Pepper (25 April 1725- ca 1768?) married George Pearis, Jr., and they tried hard to raise three children in that very dangerous place. It appears they were plagued with disasters--see text.
5. Ruth Pepper (ca 1730?-) m. John Carson & lived in NC.
6. Samuel Pepper (20 Mar 1734-26 Oct 1804) b. Lancaster Co. PA, established Peppers Ferry across New River (present Radford VA). He was named in lawsuits involving his brother-in-law George Pearis. (Author Johnston said he married Malinda Pearis, daughter of Robert, probably a fallacy, for later Peppers can find no evidence this is so.) He did marry Naomi "Ami" Burke b. 1 Feb 1746, dau. of James Burke b. Limerick, Ireland, and Polly Bane. (Mr. Burke was discoverer of "Burke's Gardens, presently in Tazewell Co. VA.)

Data on the Peppers for this sketch was extracted from: History of the Pepper Family in America and Allied Families by Florence Pepper Raya (1974) pages 13-14.

PEARIS FAMILY - Insert pg 117 ff

Jan - April 1759 - post spec the capture of Fort Pitt. Text overlaps Chapter Ten.

Mrs. Pearis was with him at the fort! Was she a Cherokee??

25 Feb. 1759 (when Denny met Mrs. Pearis). The time frame here is in accord

The highlight of this is in shorts

JAMES KENNY'S "JOURNAL TO Y^e WEST-WARD," 1758–59.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

In the January and April numbers of the PENNA. MAG., we printed the "Journal of James Kenny, 1761–63," which describes his journey over the route through this state to Pittsburgh, with local incidents during his sojourn there. His "Journal to y^e Westward," 1758–59, was made over a different route, via York, Frederick, Cumberland and Braddock's Road to Pittsburgh, during which he encountered many vicissitudes, and his residence there, following so closely on the success of the expedition against Fort Duquesne under Gen. Forbes, is filled with data of much interest.

A Journal to y^e Westward by Jam^s Kenny.

1758 12^mo 10^th.—This morning received a letter from Israel Pemberton signifying that I might come to Town to Speak with y^e Commissioners for Indian Affairs upon which I went y^e same Day & put up at Joseph Ways.

11^th.—Was invited by my friend Is^r Pemberton to take my horse to his stable & come & lodge at his house, informing me that as he thought delays might be dangerous to y^e publick interest in not sending goods in due time to y^e Westward; he was determin'd to send a quantity to meet y^e General to be apply'd as he would think best amongst y^e Western Indians & as some person must go to see y^e goods deliver'd he would send me as one for that purpose in Case I agree'd not with y^e Commissioners & y^e Comiss^s being for having me engage certain for a year as assistant to one not being a Friend I choose to go first more at Liberty so I concluded to go with y^e said goods for Israel Pemberton.

12^th–13^th.—Help'd to pack up some goods & engaged to go see them delivered—helped to put up goods until evening & loaded two wagons y^e drivers being directed

—to pg 406—

Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography Vol 37

Citation supplied by assistant, Mrs Billie Pringle, after she received her copy of this book.

R. Daniels

This is one of the most precious references we have found because it mentions over 60 Great Grand mothers, Mrs. Pearis, [Rhoda (Billie + me). If Generation back (from Billie + me) was written about women in those days.

Back then, it was not unusual for officers to bring their wives and children to live at the fort with them, even during wartimes, but by 1759 the French had been defeated & Indians had died in that area, though it was vitally important to settle the Fort Pitt region to secure it. Col Bouquet did have to settle Indians there & few years after

Note: James Kenny, a Quaker, called months 1-2-3 etc, not believing in calling months after pagan gods.

—went home with Jn° Ridgeway & stayed all night, being on my way back toward Frederick.

5th.—Dined at Mendenhalls & fed my lame horse and bought a keg of Butter.

6th.—We rest this day waiting for y^e^ other wagon and on

7th.—Samuel set off to get Tho^s^ Kenton & packhorses to carry y^e^ goods to Pittsburg, having received letters to that purpose last night & we have taken a lease of a house at Cumberland.

9th.—This Day Connoly & his wagon was to come by appointment but it rain'd almost all y^e^ day, so I expect him tomorrow. I went to y^e^ ferry this evening but no account of y^e^ wagon coming; y^e^ ice broke up & very high flood in y^e^ River.

10th.—I made ready to go after y^e^ wagons into Virginia & might meet Connoly if coming to receive y^e^ load, but Henry Paulin just coming over y^e^ ferry was in danger of being drowned, y^e^ ice runing so thick & y^e^ river so high he discouraged to attempt it. As I had my horse saddled & was for setting off Geo. Clark persuaded me it was double y^e^ distance to go y^e^ road y^e^ wagons went, & that by staying a day or two y^e^ creeks might be passable on this side of y^e^ river; it being about 60 miles & my horse still lame, I concluded to stay & take y^e^ nighest course y^e^ wagons having so long a start of me.

11th.—Made an invoice of y^e^ goods that remain here, & left a copy thereof with Doctor Henry Hain's being commander here at present, taking his receipt for y^e^ same & leaving a receipt & article for Connoly to sign, if he came with his wagon for y^e^ goods, for y^e^ Doctor to have from him for Samuel, against his return.

13th.—Wet most of y^e^ night; y^e^ creeks very high & my horse lame. Set off this morning to Tho^s^ Mills about 4 miles from Frederick, but y^e^ bridge being broke by y^e^ flood, it was in y^e^ night when I got to Mills's. As my hatchet was lost I bought a tomahawk.

Feb 1759

14th.—Lodged at Mills; last night it thundered, rained & lightened. Before morning fell a Snow about ankle deep & y^e^ bushes all covered with it. I crossed Liking Creek, being very high, early this morning & kept along a path until I came into y^e^ road. Having no company I set out alone but could not go much out of a walk. Some miles distant I missed y^e^ old road & keeping y^e^ new, which was not finished I came to a gut by y^e^ river, which was very high with back water, and the bridge over it not finished. I sounded it at y^e^ fording with a long pole I cut, & found it so high I concluded to head it, led my horse up a steep hill above it & then along it some distance I found y^e^ old Road. In crossing big Chinnalawas my horse blundered, and y^e^ water got into one of my boot-tops. About noon sat down by a tree & fed myself & horse, y^e^ wind being high & blowing snow showers. I came to Sidling Hill, it is very steep & high & only a foot path along it & a smart creek runs close at y^e^ foot so that in case a man should stumble off y^e^ path, unless he could be caught by some sapling or bush could not stop until he went into y^e^ creek. My horse lame & y^e^ snow balling his feet made his passing something doubtful, but I lead him along & got safe across, but in swimming y^e^ creek y^e^ water got into my boots & saddle-bags. I emptied y^e^ bags & walked until I was warm. Some miles further on met some packhorses from Pittsburgh; y^e^ men told me it was 19 miles to Col Cressap's & I must swim y^e^ creek. It being late, and about 4 or 5 miles further, I began to look for a lodging place, which I found under y^e^ side of a great mountain in a hollow stump. After I cleared y^e^ snow out & made a floor of bark & a great fire at y^e^ door, I lodged with more comfort than I expected & slept some.

15th.—After feeding my horse & refreshing myself proceeded, but took y^e^ advantage of y^e^ old town creek so as not to swim it. Being very cold I walked turn

about & rode until I came to Cressap's, where I stayed & put my horse to hay that night, as I heard y^e^ wagons had not yet crossed y^e^ river. Was very kindly used by y^e^ Colonel.

16^th^.—Got to Cumberland about noon, it being about * 15 miles from Cressaps. Delivered Sir John St. Clair's letter to y^e^ Commandant, who said they would assist us all they could. He came with me to our rented house, got it cleared of two drunken women, and a soldier that helped to clean y^e^ house, making too big a fire in y^e^ hearth, y^e^ chimney being very foul, it took fire which cleaned it well, without damage. It proved a timely warning to me before y^e^ goods came.

17^th^.—I walked up y^e^ river with Lieutenant Linn, who commanded in Cap^t^ Paris's absence & wrote to my employer.

18^th^.—Being y^e^ first day of y^e^ week, y^e^ wagons came this afternoon. I received y^e^ goods according to y^e^ invoices, y^e^ officers & many spectators by. The wagoners complain much of their bargain being cut down by y^e^ rains, I sent for a quart of liquor to y^e^ Commissary & gave it to those that tarried all night, they being wet. One of them had an invoice of y^e^ most of his load which they had weighed at home, as he said by a pair of stilliards that on one side weighed 112 lbs. to y^e^ hundred, by which that weight overrun ours, but I told him I believed they had a wrong notion of ye stilliards & I cast up their invoice allowing only to be 100^lb^ to each Hundred & it fell some what short of our weight, however, I missed nothing.

19^th^.—Opened some things that had received some wet & put them in a position for drying. Being asked to dine with y^e^ officers I went, but did not tarry long. Rain much of y^e^ night.

20^th^.—Lodged here. Last night Magnus Tate came from Pittsburgh, being an old acquaintance in Youghland & Isaac Baker came back & lodged in y^e^ Fort. I sent a long letter with him to my employer.

21^st^.—The end next y^e^ fort of y^e^ Bridge over Wills's Creek fell by y^e^ flood washing y^e^ bank away, was mended today.

23^d^.—My horse missing this morning, & after hunting this side of y^e^ creek & over y^e^ bridge in vain, I found his track over y^e^ Ford below y^e^ bridge & followed it along up y^e^ hill, and about one mile from y^e^ fort toward home, another track with it. They left y^e^ road toward y^e^ river & I lost it, but took a course about a mile further down toward y^e^ river, where I came upon him & a mare of y^e^ Captains lying down in y^e^ woods; brought both back.

24^th^.—Cap^t^ Paris spent awhile with me, & I provided some firewood y^e^ rest of y^e^ day.

25^th^.—Being asked I went to dine at y^e^ Captain's; being my countryman I presented him with y^e^ little book wrote by y^e^ New England man & y^e^ paper y^t^ was printed in Philadelphia in regard to gaining y^e^ Indians to our interest, & I gave his wife some of my dried Apples. Was persuaded by y^e^ Captain to draw some provisions & not buy bread which is so dear, altho our biscuits had come.

26^th^.—As my oats was almost exhausted & y^e^ officers persuading me that my horse would in all probability be stolen from me, especially if I took him to Pittsburgh, I sent him off by a Dutch baker that was going home to Conestoga, in Pensilvania, to be left at W^m^ Joliff in Hopewell, with a letter.

27^th^.—Came here today Lieut. Scott with a reinforcement of about 20 men from Raystown. He is a young man from Bucks County, also two of my former scholars who were born in y^e^ Valley & another acquaintance from y^e^ same place, all seeming glad to see me.

3^mo^ 2^d^.—Caught a mess of Trout & Fall fish just below y^e^ house in y^e^ River, and y^e^ Captain dined with me.

* Other sources say Cresap lived on the Potomac about 15–20 mi from Fort Cumberland (on Wills Creek & Potomac Streets in Maryland near PA)

4th.—Being asked to dine at ye Captains I excused myself being indisposed. Snowed some this morning.

6th.—Very cold; I keep close at the house but cannot keep warm enough.

7th.—Very Cold; as I dined today, ye Doctor called & took a share.

8th.—Some of Geo: Clark's company that had been at Pittsburgh with goods & liquors, called here today, they say they suffered much from ye Cold.

13th.—One of my old scholars being a soldier came & made me a pot-pie of part of half a quarter of Venison I bought & some of my beef.

14th.—My friend Samuel Lightfoot came this evening; he left ye pack-horses at Sidling Hill, of which I am very glad.

15th.—Employed Adam McCarty, an old trader, & Jno Slater to help pack ye goods & one Campbell helped me to bend ye lead.

16th.—It rained almost all this day, but we packed ye goods in ye house, ye packhorses lie about 4 miles down ye river on ye far side, at a place called ye Swan ponds, where there is pasture.

17th.—We sent a lad two days since after a man who had engaged to Samuel to come with 12 packhorses but ye lad has brought a letter from his Son, that ye father was gone to Winchester & he knew nothing more concerning ye affair—ye river so high that ye packhorses cannot get over.

18th.—We cross'd ye river in a little canoe (that ye Maryland soldiers had made to desert in but were stop'd) & Samuel went down to see how they fared, there being three young men Friends in ye company Viz. Joseph Wright, Jno Mickle & James Hammond from York County.

19th.—Having loads enough ready packed for ye 34 horses employed, we projected to go down with ye canoe & ferry over ye goods & swim ye horses, which was executed, so got ye horses loaded about 2 of ye clock. Thos Kenton came whilst loading, but as he must return to Philadelphia, was rejected from coming after us. Set off about 2, I went about a mile to convey them but must tarry to receive ye goods to come by James Long from Frederick & remain until ye packhorses return to take them a second trip, it being concluded to take them this time no further than to a certain place on ye Monongahela where Samuel is to proceed & get a bateau or two, to come from Pittsburgh there & receive them.

20th.—Last night Samuel returned here having forgot somethings and stayed 'till morning, ye horses going but about 4 miles distant yesterday. It rained in ye night & some this morning; Samuel set off again and carried a tarpaulin they had forgot.

22d.—This morning Lieut. Linn called to see me, & having borrow'd Barcleys Apology of me before, he found how much we were against excess, & calling ye days & months by ye Heathen names, & strove to vindicate both, arguing that ye use of many things that we counted excess helped to promote trade & augmented ye Revenues of ye Crown; but upon telling him that such excesses was a means to deprive ye subjects of an Heavenly King would be no means of gaining a blessing, & on reasoning some concerning ye names of ye months & days he gave out & went away.

23d.—Jno Slater, although he is no soldier, received 250 stripes this day & was drumm'd out over ye bridge not to be seen here any more after six days time, upon ye penalty of receiving 500, for carrying off some old Copper hoops & old mountings of guns, which I hear he says he bought of a man that brought them from Pittsburgh.

24th.—Returned, Joseph Wright one of our packhorse men in quest of six of ye horses that stray'd from ye company ye 22d at night about 34 miles from here, they

being within about 8 miles of y^e^ first crossing of y^e^ Youghogany. Having exhausted most of their foreage they have he says, divided 5 of y^e^ lost horses's loads, leaving one load of Lead & carried y^e^ rest along—fell some snow today.

25^th^.—We wait for Adam M^c^Carty & a man of Geo. Clark's that went out to seek two horses of Clark's & a load of skins that was left near y^e^ first crossing of y^e^ Youghogany who promised y^e^ young man that is to come, to look for our horses as they have not returned here.

26^th^.—We went up Wills's Creek along Braddocks old road to where it comes through y^e^ mountain but could see nothing of y^e^ horse tracks. M^c^Carty & y^e^ other man returned with their load of skins, but have no account of their own horses nor ours; they say that y^e^ snow that fell on y^e^ 24^th^ is very deep out about y^e^ Little Meadows & the mountains.

27^th^.—I engaged Adam M^c^Carty to go back with Joseph Wright tomorrow to hunt our horses, but as it rained much in y^e^ night & this morning, they judged y^e^ creeks to be too high.

28^th^.—We took a walk near two miles up y^e^ river & it beginning to rain, turned up y^e^ mountains above y^e^ river & went across into y^e^ road that goes to Pittsburgh & so returned, but no sign of y^e^ horse tracks coming this way; it thunderd & is exceeding warm, y^e^ creeks too high.

29^th^.—It has continued to rain all y^e^ night & this day & night to about 12 of y^e^ clock it also snowed some. The river rose from about dark until midnight y^e^ matter of 4 feet. I was under some concern of mind relateing to y^e^ goods that are on their way coming from Frederick & the people out toward Pittsburgh, their being so much rain & y^e^ river very high so that y^e^ most of y^e^ bridges on Wills' creek is swept off. I could not sleep until near 12 of y^e^ clock, when I heard Adam M^c^Carty,

Jn^o^ Trotter & Slater and their wives talking & busy out of doors, they moving into an out house higher up on y^e^ bank, y^e^ river having overflowed into their houses, but not having y^e^ good nature to accquaint their neighbours. I being suspicious got up & opening y^e^ door, saw y^e^ water coming in at y^e^ gate before y^e^ door, made haste & got my clothes on, & my boots, & aroused y^e^ young man that came back after y^e^ horses, who was asleep, lighted a candle & got all y^e^ goods that lay on y^e^ lower floor, upon y^e^ loft, only some lead & y^e^ cask of biscuit, which we put on y^e^ top of an empty cask; put my bed & blankets up stairs & laid our chest on y^e^ bedsteds with some other things. By this time y^e^ water came in at y^e^ door of y^e^ house, we waded out about middle leg deep and went to y^e^ house where was about half of our powder that was left. I went in & set y^e^ kegs on y^e^ top of some coal that lay high up, & so we got to a house where y^e^ water did not reach & tarried until morning with several others that I called up.

30^th^.—The river rose suddenly & fell as quickly; about ten today y^e^ water abated out of y^e^ house, doing us no damage save carring off some firewood out of y^e^ yard.

4^mo^ 1^st^.—Got a horse of Lieutenant Jam^s^ Gorrell to carry y^e^ men over y^e^ creeks & carry their provision & blankets & sent them off this afternoon as y^e^ weather seems pretty fair-like, to hunt y^e^ horses. This evening came William Clemmens, one of y^e^ canoe men that James Long sent with our goods & informed me that on y^e^ 29^th^ of last month, at night, y^e^ river rising so high and y^e^ canoe lay in a gut by one of Cressap's Bottoms & they fastened it with a long rope, as y^e^ Rain was so constant and went to Cressap's themselves & tarried that night. The back water surrounding y^e^ Bottom made an island, that they had to wade out from y^e^ Bottom where y^e^ canoe lay. Next day as they went to see it with a canoe of Cressap's they found in overset,

by reason of some trees driving down with y^e^ current. Two of y^e^ small bales, y^e^ cask of shot lies in y^e^ gut & may be got out, and 2 saddles, 12 tin kettles, y^e^ Gridiron & more lies in y^e^ Bottom there yet.

2^d^.—Upon this account I let y^e^ man have some provisions as they were out, & was for returning home & carrying what of y^e^ goods they had found back to James Longs, so I borrowed a creature & went down to y^e^ canoe & helped to search y^e^ gut but all was found that lay in it before I came. One of y^e^ men that I sent off from Cressap's to stay by what was found whilst I dined striped before I got there & waided through y^e^ gut & found sundry things. I charged them to put y^e^ things they had found to dry, & search diligently for y^e^ rest, for they were liable to suffer y^e^ damage of what was not found. I took particular account of what they had found & let them know what was missing, so about dark returned to Cressap's & stayed all night. The young man that had been sent to look up y^e^ horses had returned & followed me to Cressap's as I had ordered, having found four of y^e^ horses, for I was in y^e^ mind to stay some days to help look for y^e^ goods, notwithstanding I did not reccon it should be my employer's loss.

3^d^.—Returned home & made ready to set off y^e^ next day to look up y^e^ other two horses, as we had horses now to ride. Cut up a hide we had in soak for ropes & put them to stretch & dry. I had in view of taking four loads of lead, but declined as I judged it would hinder us to hunt y^e^ horses.

4^th^.—Employed Adam M^c^Carty to go with us, & not much pasture being here we took y^e^ 4 horses with us making y^e^ 4^th^ one to carry our blankets & provisions, searched each side of y^e^ rode & lodged at y^e^ Little Meadows.

5^th^.—We searched up & down y^e^ Meadows this morning & I walked as far as y^e^ Little Youghagany, taking another course back, but no late signs of horses. About

noon we set off to y^e^ place y^e^ horses had strayed from M^c^Carty taking off y^e^ Road on one side & I on y^e^ other looking for tracks & dung as we went, letting y^e^ young man keep y^e^ road; very intricate place I pass'd through, up hills and down deep Vales, & runs with swamps y^e^ young man stop'd until we overtook him & so we proceed'd to y^e^ place our party lay y^e^ night y^e^ horses left them. I found a man's skull with y^e^ teeth in y^e^ upper jaw, lying in a swamp.—I called y^e^ place Golgotha.

6^th^.—This morning found a horse of Geo. Clark's that was left some miles from here in y^e^ Winter he failing with a load of skins; 10^s^ being bid for taking him up. I told M^c^Carty to bring him along & get y^e^ 10^s^; so we brought him & on this side of George's creek, coming on y^e^ tracks of y^e^ horses coming down. Returned to Cumberland in y^e^ night.

7^th^.—Being informed by Cap^t^ Paris that y^e^ goods was to come to day, such as were saved with y^e^ canoe, I tarried at home & cut up a hide into ropes, having another cut & drying, in order to have these goods made into loads against y^e^ packhorses return & sent M^c^Carty & Joseph Wright up Wills's creek about six miles, to look y^e^ two horses as y^e^ other four that we found made that way, but they brought no intelligence of them. Y^e^ Canoe came before they return'd & had found all y^e^ goods only 1 of y^e^ 4 small bales, y^e^ 2 casks of Tobacco & a large cask with sundries, 1 keg of Pipes, my saddle & 3 Pounds of Tobacco, 1 Shirt &c.; y^e^ saddles being y^e^ most damaged of any y^e^ rest I took them into my care, letting them have a receipt according as they seemed to deserve.

8^th^.—Had busy work in sending Joseph Wright off with y^e^ 4 horses that was found of y^e^ strays, with y^e^ remainder of y^e^ Bar Lead, y^e^ Hatchets & about 100 cwt. of Shot, each horse having about 150 lb. for a load. Ordered him to proceed until he met y^e^ packhorses &

hide his loads there & return with them, with y^e^ same horses & when he was gone had y^e^ blankets all of y^e^ large Bale that was wet to spread out, likewise y^e^ contents of three of y^e^ small bales, it being a warm day.

9^th^.—M^c^Carty & I packed up goods to day, made 9½ loads up, in order to have them ready when y^e^ horses returns which I expect now soon, as I heard that Samuel was got to Pittsburgh this day week in order to get a bateau up to receive y^e^ goods that went out. Here has been odious work to day amongst y^e^ soldiers with drunkenness & fighting & y^e^ women also. Some officers being come to 'list y^e^ Marylanders into y^e^ Royal Americans & as I believe sent some men with liquor before them, they 'listed I heard nine of them to day. Thunder & rain this night.

10^th^.—Adam M^c^Carty & I finished packing y^e^ goods this evening & I paid him for two days packing 6^s^ & for three days hunting y^e^ horses 6^s^. I think I can pack better now than him, for I shewed him methods that he prefered to his own.

This evening returned & came 31 of y^e^ packhorses, leaving 2 by y^e^ way, viz. 1 of James Hammon's roan, & 1 of young Jacob Bales gray, that gave out. Received a letter from S. L. dated y^e^ 6 inst. at y^e^ mouth of Redstone creek, on y^e^ Monongahela.

13^th^.—One of y^e^ drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y^e^ journey out again, & y^e^ drivers generally insisting that some more of y^e^ horses are like to fail, having no food but y^e^ young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14^th^.—As we had y^e^ loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap^t^ Paris's wife have one of y^e^ little Brass Kettles, which weighed 2½^lb^, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y^e^ least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.

15^th^.—This being a good day I sent off y^e^ horses with all y^e^ goods only 2 kegs of Pipes & 19 packsaddles; sent to Cressap's for 6^lb^ of Sugar as Samuel ordered to get some at any rate. Richard Cocks's mare gave out about noon.

16^th^.—This morning returned y^e^ man from Cressap's & brought me only 4^lbs^ of Sugar. Today is very wet & our drivers will ly by.

17^th^.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam M^c^Carty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y^e^ Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18^th^.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after M^c^Carty, but no account of him I returned & got y^e^ Captain's wife to engage to take y^e^ cow if he brought one, & pay us y^e^ money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y^e^ packhorses & walked y^e^ most of y^e^ way, so kept on until I got to y^e^ Little Meadows, some time about y^e^ middle of y^e^ night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19^th^.—In y^e^ morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y^e^ company in about four miles farther, so they got loaded & proceeded to y^e^ Great Bear Camps within Seven miles of y^e^ Big Youghogany. Four loads of Lead being left there; y^e^ Wolves having destroyed y^e^ ropes we were obliged to encamp there.

20^th^.—It Rained a good deal in y^e^ night & this morning, but abating awhile we got up y^e^ horses & loaded them, covering each load. It rained smartly whilst we were loading, but I was for getting over y^e^ Big Youghogany least it should rise too high for us; but we got over safe, one blanket falling off as we crossed & it floating down about 40 perches one of y^e^ drivers Thomas Mercer stripped all off & waided up to his armpits & brought it out, & so we encamped near y^e^

river upon a little creek-side, as there was no more good pasture until we go to y^e^ Great Meadows. This evening James Hammons & John Mickle killed a bear, which is good eating.

21^st^.—Proceeded to y^e^ Great Meadows. Three of y^e^ creatures gave out about ½ of y^e^ way, but I tarried behind & brought them along. Put two loads on my own horse, so got them all to y^e^ Meadows, where is good pasture. One of them belonging to William Underwood died in y^e^ night; he could not swallow grass when he chewed it, but put it out.

22^d^.—Cristy Miller killed two Turkey cocks this morning. Its concluded to lie by here today to let y^e^ creatures rest & feed or else we cannot get y^e^ goods to Redstone Creek, as all of them are loaded.

23^d^.—As y^e^ pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y^e^ horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y^e^ loads along without y^e^ horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y^e^ dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y^e^ officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y^e^ lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24^th^.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y^e^ letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y^e^ other road.

25^th^.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y^e^ goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

26^th^.—Came to y^e^ mouth of Redstone Creek upon y^e^ Monongahela & piled up our goods & covered them; it rained in y^e^ night.

27^th^.—We spent this day in making a bark canoe. It thundered & rained this night.

28^th^.—Like for a wet day y^e^ lads killed a deer & a cub Bear. We have made y^e^ canoe so that I intend to set off tomorrow if so be it is not very wet. I am to take down some strouds & saddles according to Samuel's letter.

29^th^.—Set off down y^e^ river this morning with one of y^e^ hands; took three bundles of Strouds & three Saddles; got as far as ye mouth of ye Youhogany; struck up a fire & tarried until morning.

30^th^.—Got to Pittsburgh about ten of ye clock this day, where I found Samuel sick of ye Measels.

5^mo^ 1^st^.—This evening got y^e^ skins & furs made up & got y^e^ grant of bateaus & men to carry them up to y^e^ mouth of Redstone & bring down y^e^ goods.

2^d^.—Bateaus set off this morning; one of our packhorse drivers entrusted to return w^th^ y^e^ goods who is to stay here as he can talk y^e^ Indian tongue. Several Indians have been here dealing, who seemed well satisfied.

6^th^.—Here was an Indian who had a white woman, he seemed glad to see y^e^ Quakers & y^e^ woman mentioned that she wondered at y^e^ esteem y^e^ Indians professed for y^e^ Quakers.

10^th^.—Here was y^e^ Crow Indian & family; they are very difficult to deal with & record thievish.

14^th^.—Delaware George being lying on y^e^ Island over y^e^ River rescued a prisoner that had made his escape, & hollowing to be brought over, y^e^ young warriors wanted him & was going to kill him.

15^th^.—Some of y^e^ soldiers being out hunting over y^e^ Monongahela, were fired on by some French Indians one killed & 2 missing. A party sent out, who buried

y^e^ man & found y^e^ blood of two Indians that was killed or wounded & carried off.

16^th^.—A party gone in quest of y^e^ enemy; some of y^e^ Indians that lay here gone likewise & very eager to come up with them as y^e^ white men relate. I am about making a dictionary of y^e^ names of goods in y^e^ Delaware tongue.

17^th^.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y^e^ care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18^th^.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came as Packhorse Master. The Indians took y^e^ other 2 bullocks off in y^e^ night, as they tracked them.

19^th^.—It rained smartly & y^e^ packhorses with a command of men have gone back. The Colonel hired 2 Indians today to go on some errand, but returned having met some French & Indians coming this way.

20^th^.—This morning two strange Indians hollowed to be brought over y^e^ river, but upon confessing that they came from y^e^ French & one of them a Tawa, they were denyed being sent for, but told to come in another canoe that lay in the far side, which when they found we would not send over, they came in y^e^ canoe, desiring to be taken to y^e^ Colonel & see y^e^ Fort, but he sent them victuals & a dram, signifying that as they came from y^e^ French they must not see him. So they were sent over again by a party of men & a bateau.

21^st^.—Being almost out of provisions, there was some hints that we must soon eat horses & dogs, if relief did not soon come.

22^d^.—Here came a command of men today with packhorses & provisions of which we were not out of y^e^ need amongst y^e^ garrison, tho' we did not suffer. Samuel received some letters & wampum. I wrote to Humphrey Marshall, my brother & Geo. Carter.

23^d^.—Today y^e^ command returned; consisting of about 50 men; Thomas Kenton & horses being pressed & in y^e^ same company.

24^th^.—We had some dealing this day with y^e^ Indians, here was John & Beaver's son. The Colonel & about 60 men, have been over y^e^ river some miles.

25^th^.—Here was Philip Powel & 2 of his brothers & another man who had skins & furs to some considerable value. Philip being my old acquaintance was glad to see me; he was like to be wronged out of 15^s^ by Kennedy. The old trader talking about stealing said he hoped to God he should never be guilty of stealing.

27^th^.—Came last night from Ligonier, an express that brings account that some of y^e^ last command from here, were cut off & some from Bedford coming with wagons & provisions were destroyed. Pescattame here to day & states that y^e^ peace will be promoted amongst them.

28^th^.—Last night y^e^ soldiers that lay out were all ordered into y^e^ fort. A party of about 160 gone off to meet some that is coming. I have been setting Pisquetims raisors this morning; he says he is y^e^ brother of Shingas y^e^ Beaver & that they will do all they can to make peace.

29^th^.—Some Indians being over y^e^ Monongahela say they were where some of y^e^ enemy had crossed y^e^ river to this side. No trade to-day, only a little Mingo man for cash.

30^th^.—Returned Thomas Kenton & y^e^ pack horses being pressed again. Six men of y^e^ company killed as they went to Ligonier & almost all being eat by y^e^ wolves when they returned, so buried them.

31^st^.—It rained most of y^e^ day. Andrew Montour came today w^th^ some Indians about y^e^ 3 Mingoes that had been waiting here being set off home.

6^mo^ 1^st^.—Killbuck & John y^e^ son of Teedyuscung came here, & Montour has sent out several messengers to invite y^e^ Indians to a treaty. Killbuck is to go to see

From Pennsylvania archives
Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography
974.8 Volume 37

from Billie Pringle 7/6/2004

In 1758 James Kenny had charge of the trading store established by the commissioners of Indian affairs of the Province.

He was a Quaker from a Chester Co. Family, ~~His~~ residing at Kennett Square. His mother lived there.

Closely following success of the expedition against Ft. Duquesne under General Forbes, Israel Pemberton wrote a letter to Kenny asking him to speak to the commissioners of Indian affairs.

Israel was concerned that delays were dangerous to public interest, in not sending goods in due time to ye westward. He wanted to send a quantity of goods to ye General to be applied as he would think best among the western Indians. and someone must go to see ye goods delivered (to the general). He would send me (Kenny) to see ye goods delivered.

Notes from Billie inferring me of this reference - precious because it mentions our meeting first friend met.

James Kenny's "Journal to ye Westward 1758-59 via York, Frederick, Cumberland, and Braddocks Road to Pittsburgh" edited by John W. Jordan.

article begins on pg 395 and goes well beyond 416

Here are a very few excerpts from the Journal (chosen by me, (Billie Pringle) that paint a picture of the ruggedness of the area and the travel and living conditions. Plus all the references to Capt. Richard Peries and his Indian wife. 7 excerpts, short but precious.

Some Journal Entries

14 Feb. 1759 p 407 Lodged at Wills; last night it thundered, rained & lightened. Before morning snow, about ankle deep — — — — — etc — set out alone, crossed Liking Creek being very high. came to ye road etc, etc etc. In crossing Big Chinnalainas CHINNALAINAS my horse blundered — water in boot tops. About noon set under tree fed self and horse. Came to Sidling Hill, steep and high, only a foot path. Creek close by, if a man fell he could not help tumbling into water. Horse lame and snow balling his feet etc etc etc — came

7th april Informed by Capt. Paris ye goods was to come today (such as was saved) with the Canoe (not ye goods was coming by pack animals and canoe) Canoe tipped over once

*14th april I let Capt Paris have ye MESS p416 have one of ye least Brass Kettles which weighed 2½ lbs. Let Ross's wife have one of ye least tin kettles as we buy milk from her.

*17th april message from Lieut Linn at Cumberland; our cow had arrived and is in care of Capt. Paris' wife.

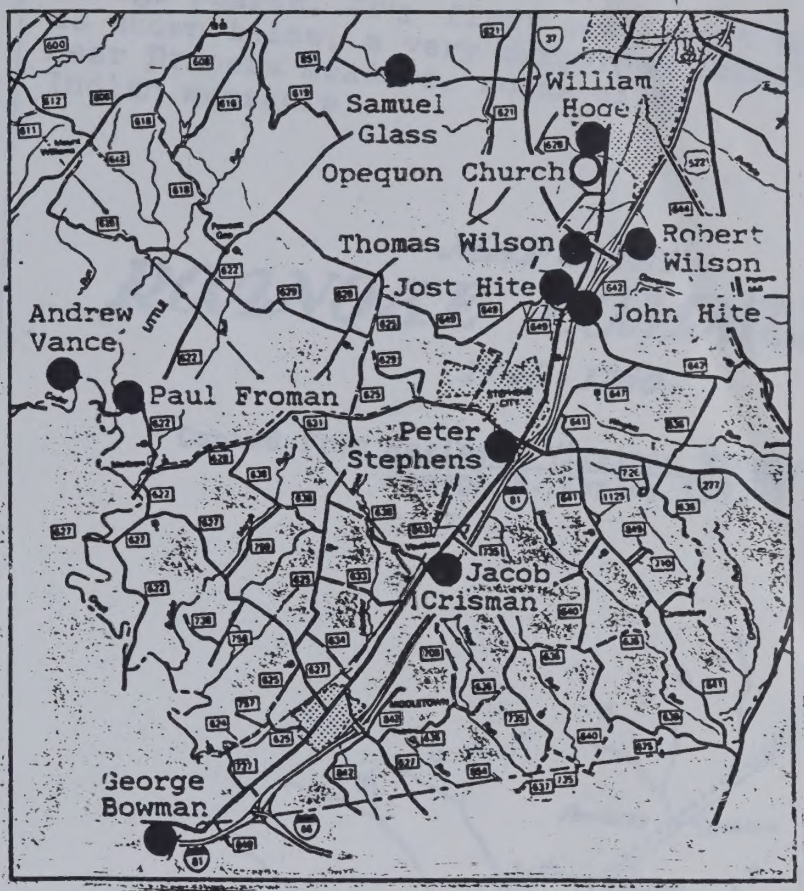
30th april Frightful rumors of being attacked here. This morning Captain Clayton* by ye colonels orders came to all of use store keepers advising to be ready to carry our goods into fort in case of attack.

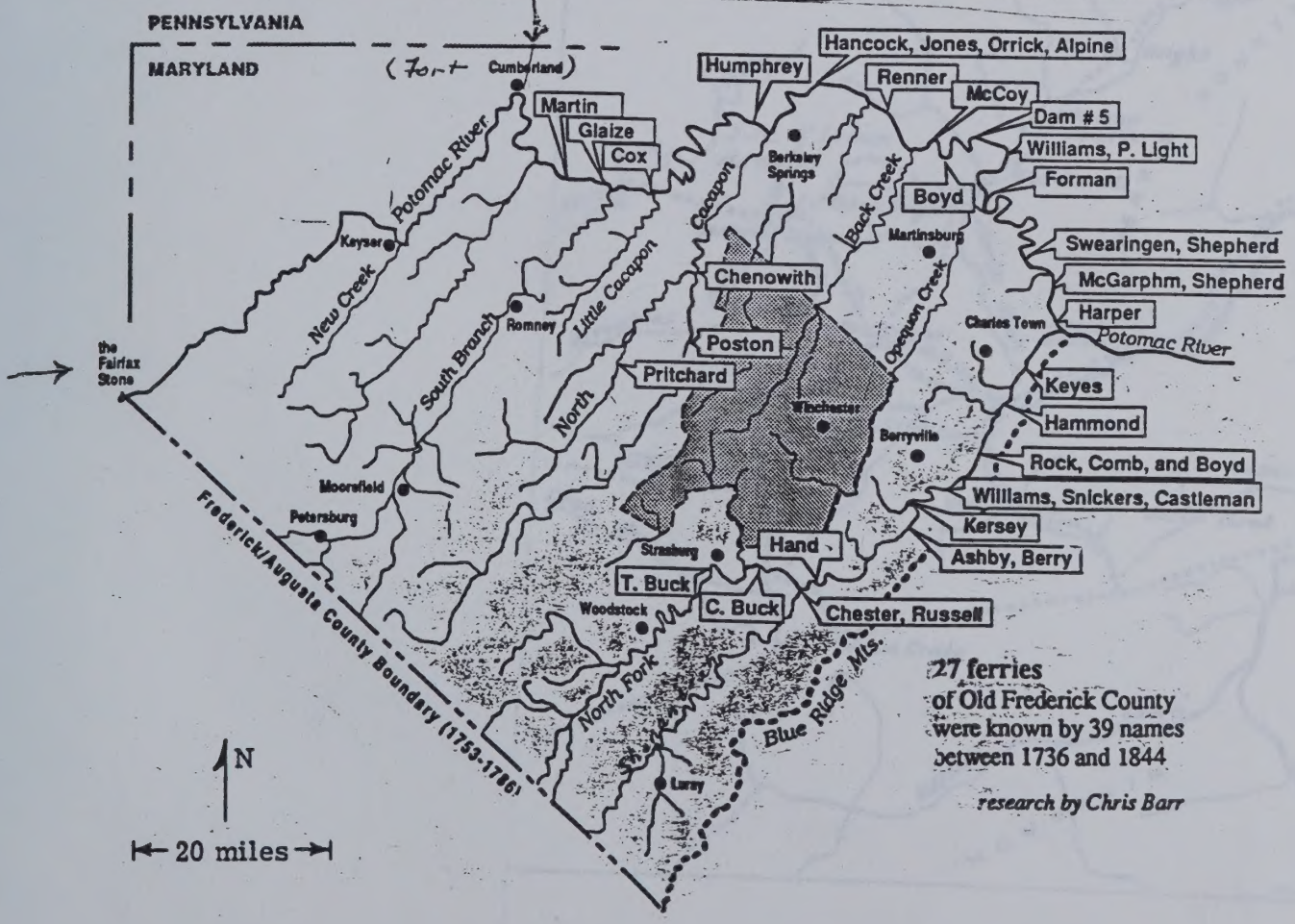
my brackets BP (Capt Clayton from ye Jersies)

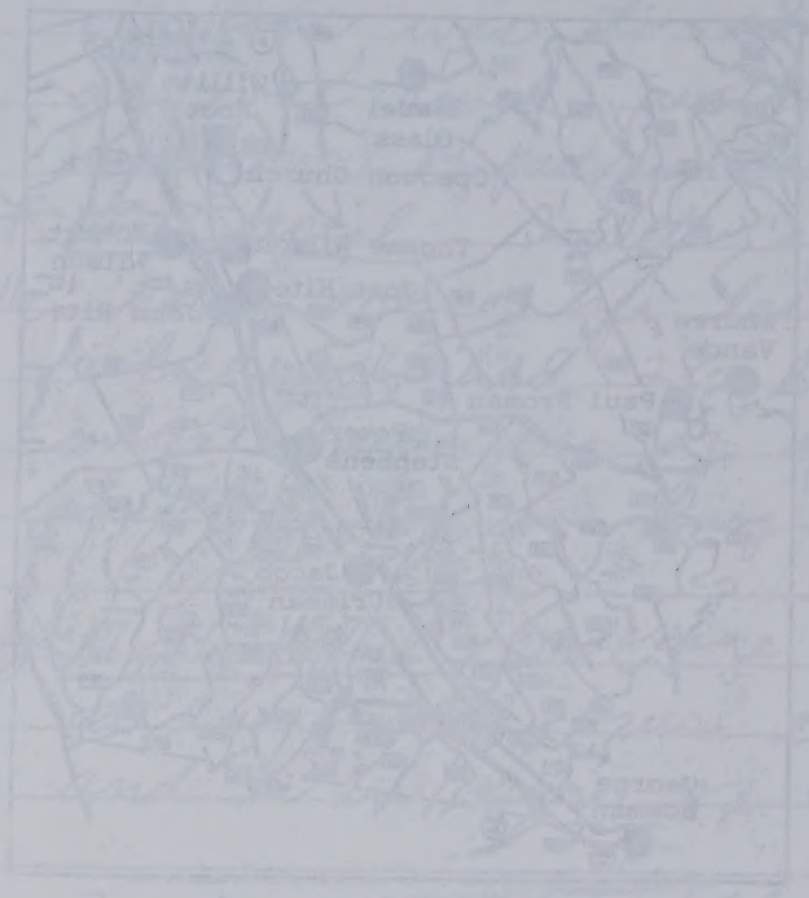
needless to say, much more did follow but there are no more references to Capt Paris or his wife. Billie P. Following much, including a couple cuts of serious illnesses, James Kenny finally completed his mission and arrived home "My mother was very glad to see me." (His mother & Brother had heard he died)

PEARIS FAMILY

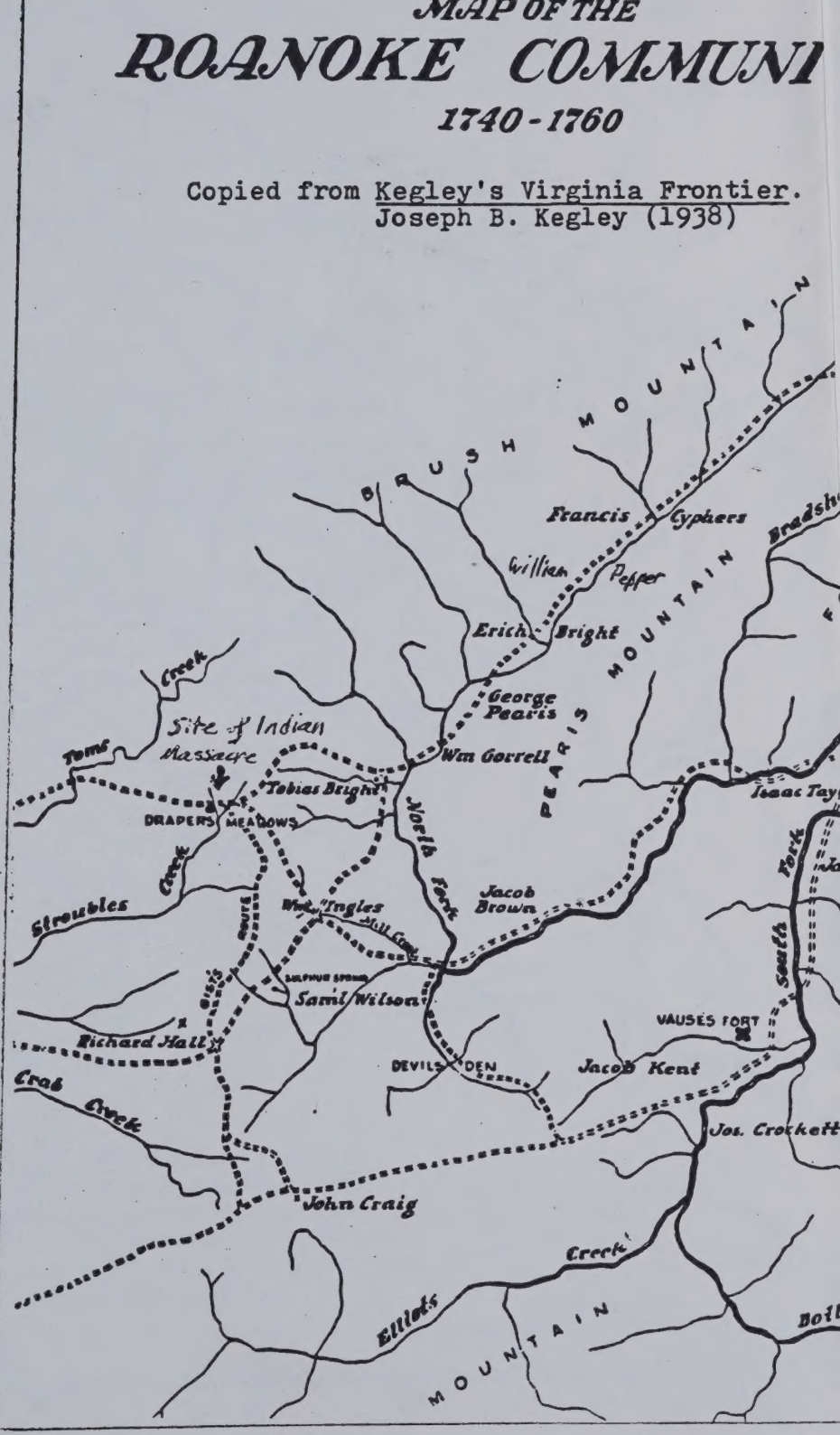
Illustrations from:
The Story of Frederick County
a collection of essays by various local writers. This was copied at Family History Library, Salt Lake City Utah
US/CAN 975.5991 H25
Right - Homesteads of some of the very earliest settlers. Bowman, Froman & Chrisman were Hite sons-in-law. Pearises were very involved with the Hoges & Hites.
Below - Ferry locations, some early, some much later, also show many of the rivers. As early as 1738, Jeorg Dieter, whose son married Sarah Pearis, was among the petitioners for a road from Jost Hite's mill to the Ashby's bend ferry located on the Shenandoah. In 1761 Richard Pearis and Lewis Peirs or Pearce/Pearis owned a mill on the Opequon.
Capt. Pearis & Teter brothers stationed at Fort Cumberland.



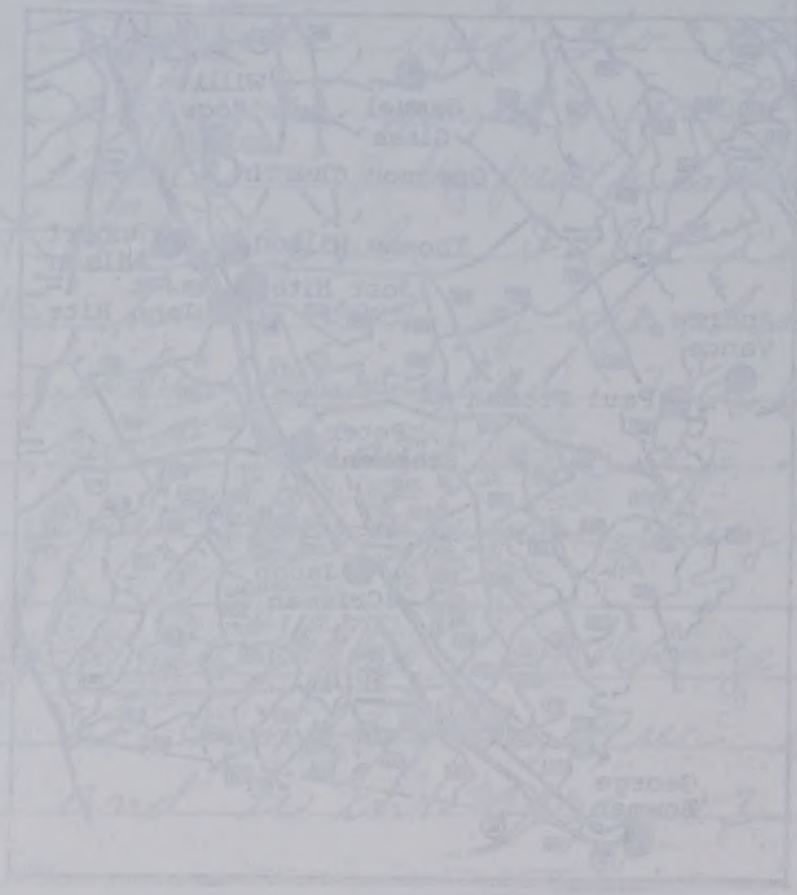




George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.



Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)



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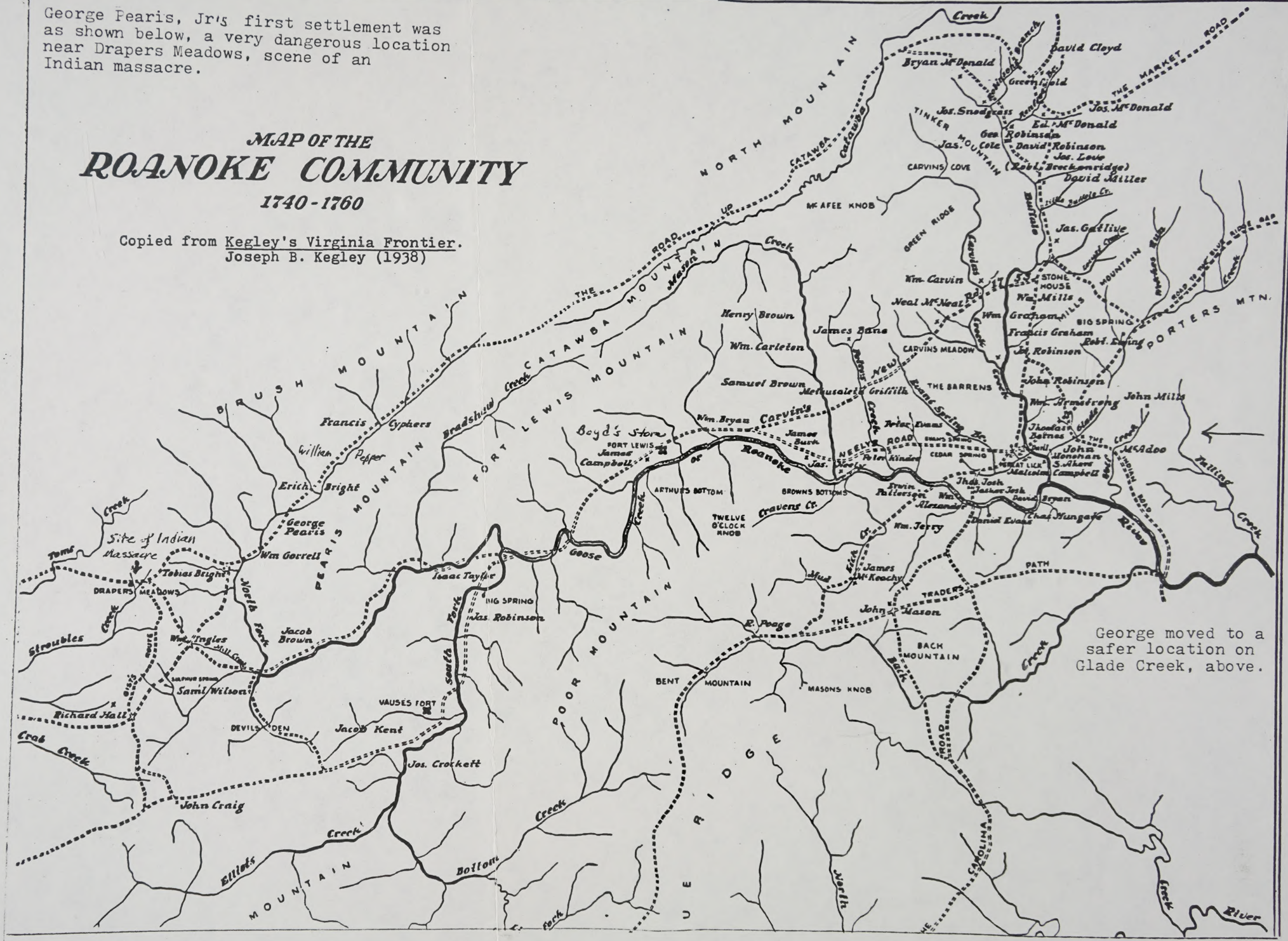
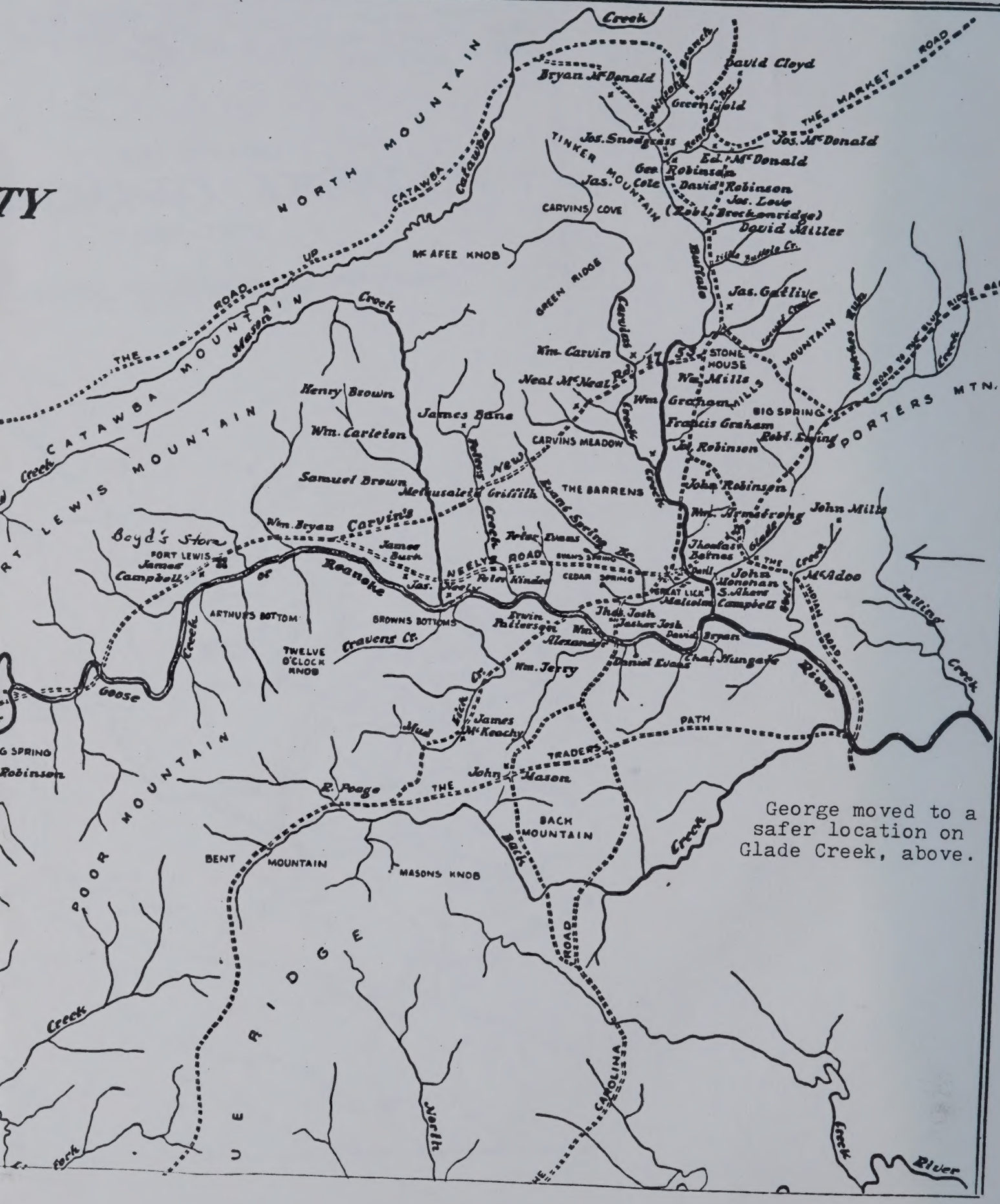


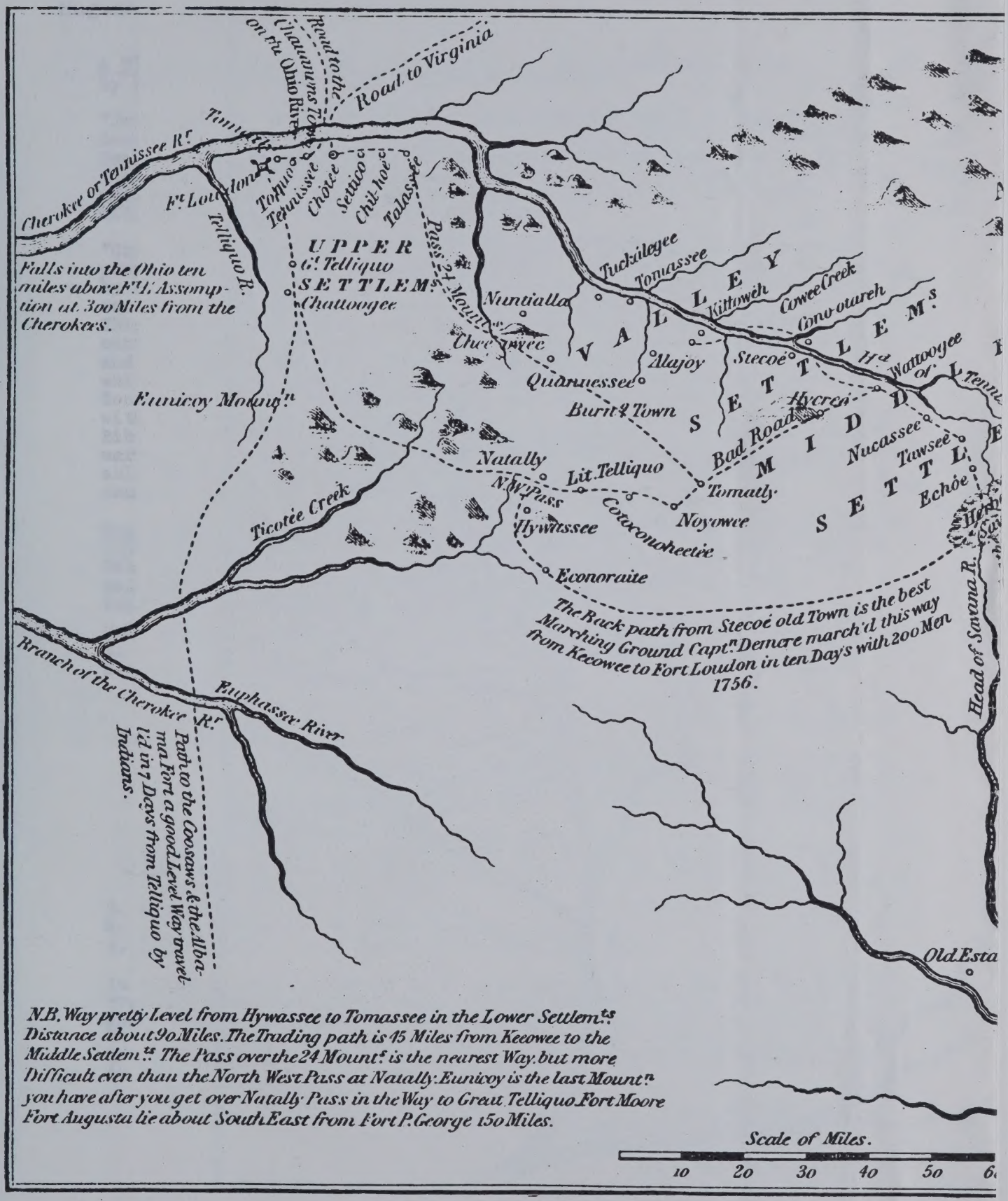


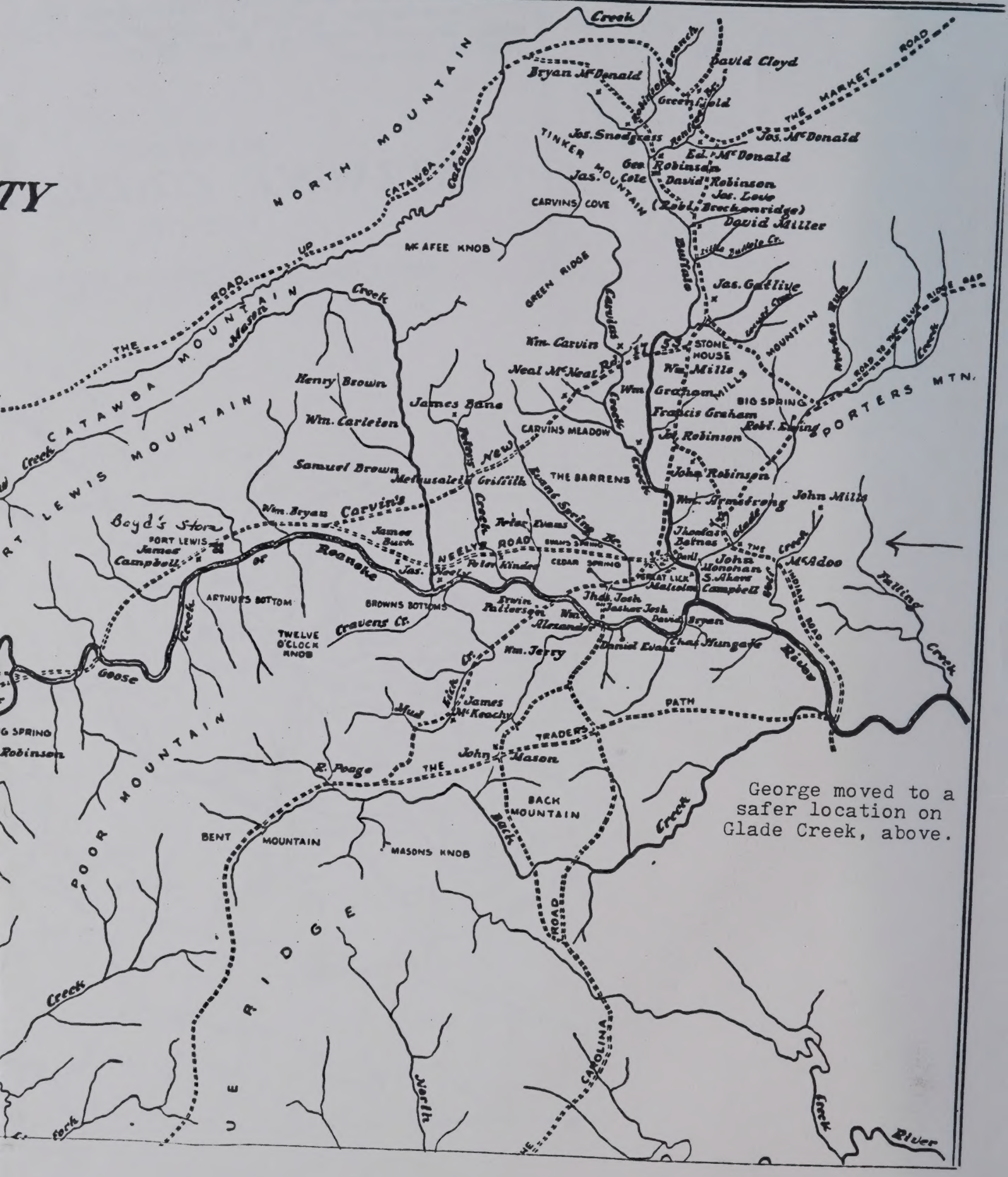
George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.

PEARIS FAMILY

4646

This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina.


Road to the Chauanons on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tennissee R.r
Tunnissee
Ft Loudon
Toquo
Tennissee
Choiee
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Pass of Mount.s
Telliquo R.
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above Ft. Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
UPPER
G.t Telliquo
SETTLEM.s
Chattoogee
Eunicoy Mount.n
Ticotee Creek
Tuckaleegee
Tomassee
Nuntialla
Cheowee
VALLEY
Kittowah
Cowee Creek
Cono-otaeh
SETTLEM.s
Alajoy
Stecoe
Hd of Wattoogee R.r
Quanussee
Burnt Town
Hycrei
Bad Road
MIDDLE SETTL.
Nucassee
Tawsee
Natally
Lit. Telliquo
N.W Pass
Tomatly
Echoe
Cotexonocheetie
Noyowee
Hywassee
Econoraite
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this way from Keeowee to Fort Loudon in ten Day's with 200 Men 1756.
Head of Savana R.
Branch of the Cherokee R.r
Euphasaw River
Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travel'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.
Old Esta
N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlem.ts Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 45 Miles from Keeowee to the Middle Settlem.ts The Pass over the 24 Mount.s is the nearest Way, but more Difficult even than the North West Pass at Natally. Eunicoy is the last Mount.n you have after you get over Natally Pass in the Way to Great Telliquo. Fort Moore Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.
Scale of Miles.
10 20 30 40 50



George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.

PEARIS FAMILY

46

This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina.

A SKETCH OF THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY,

being a reduced copy from a map in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR

Bancroft's History of the United States

by G. G. Smith.

Road to the Chaunees Town on the Ohio River

Road to Virginia

Cherokee or Tennissee R.r

Tennissee

Fort Loudon

Telliquo R.

Falls into the Ohio ten miles above Fort Assumption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.

Tomotley

Tennissee

Choté

Settico

Chil-hoe

Talassee

Pass of 24 Mountains

UPPER G.t Telliquo SETTLEMs

Chattoogee

Eunicoy Mountain

Natally

N.W. Pass

Lit. Telliquo

Ticotee Creek

Hywassee

Cotocoucheetie

Econoraite

Apallachee Mountains

Tuckalegee

Tomassee

Killowee

Cowee Creek

Cono-otareh

Nuntialla

Cheerowee

Quanassee

Burnt Town

Alajoy

Stecoé

Hyco

Watoogee

Bad Road

Hyercé

Nucassee

Tawsee

Echoé

Tomatly

Noyowee

Old Stecoé

Spring

Head of Savana R.

Here begins the Middle Settlements

The Back path from Stecoé old Town is the best Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this way from Keeowee to Fort Loudon in ten Day's with 200 Men 1756.

Branch of the Cherokee R.r

Euphasee River

Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travelled in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.

Old Estatoe

Toogeloo

Toogeloo or Savana River

Keeowee River

Chee-wo-heh

Tomassee

Best Path

Oostasteh

Toxoway

Old Estatoe

Estatoe

Parachee

Sugar

Old Wm Path

Keeowee

Road to Ninety Six

Fort P. George

Charles Town and

Estatorie

Old Field

LOWER SETTLEMs

Wattoogee or 20 Mile River

Keeowee Riv.r

SETTLEMs

12 Mile River

18 Mile Riv.r

26 Mile Riv.r

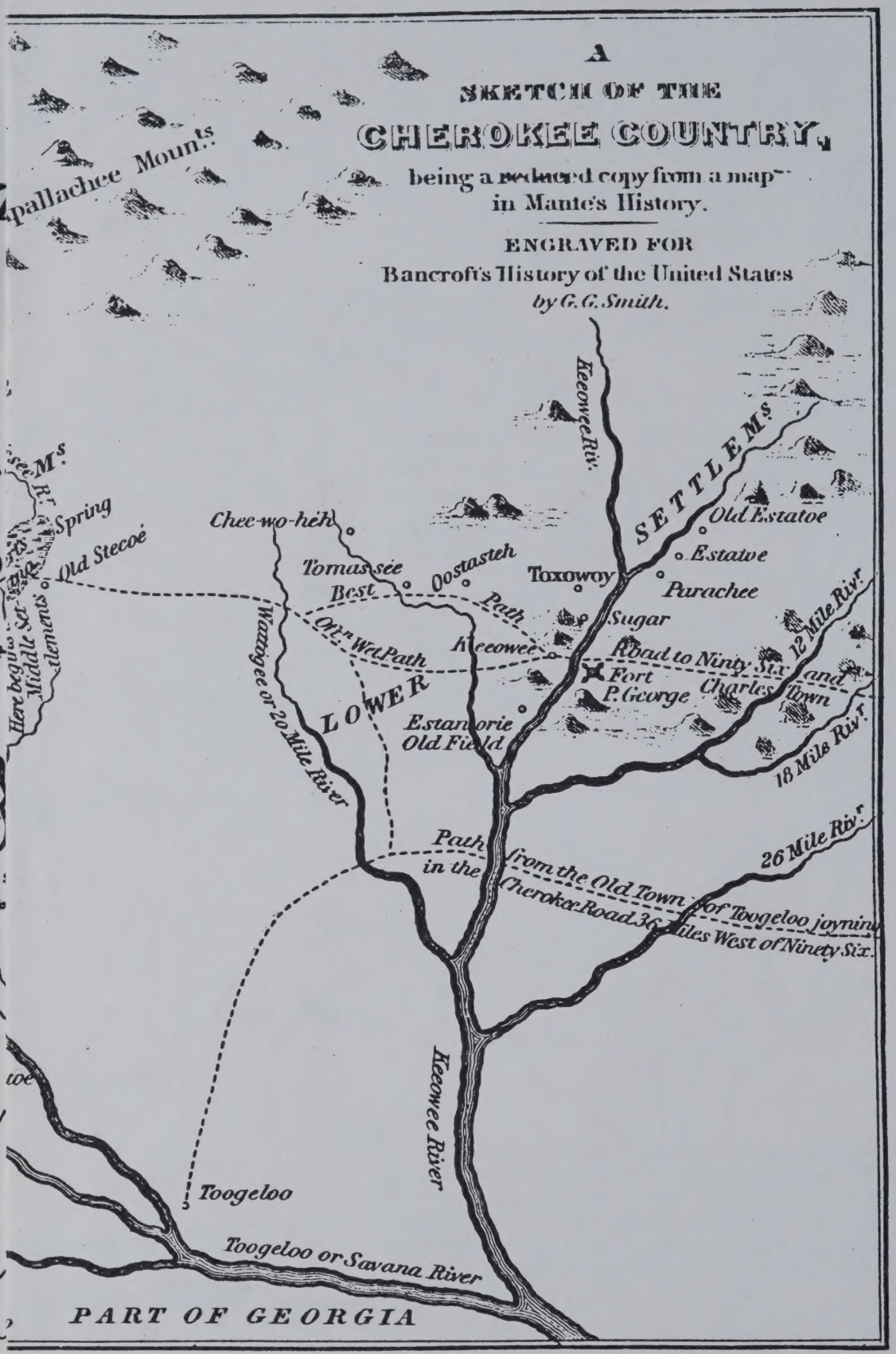
Path from the Old Town of Toogeloo joyning the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.

N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlem.ts Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 45 Miles from Keeowee to the Middle Settlem.ts The Pass over the 24 Mount.s is the nearest Way, but more Difficult even than the North West Pass at Natally. Eunicoy is the last Mount.n you have after you get over Natally Pass in the Way to Great Telliquo. Fort Moore Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.

Scale of Miles.

10 20 30 40 50 60

PART OF GEORGIA


A
SKETCH OF THE
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by G. G. Smith.
pallachee Mountⁿ
Keeowee Riv.
SETTLEMⁿ
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Chee-wo-hee
Tomassee
Oostasteh
Toxoway
Best Path
Sugar
Keeowee
Road to Ninty Six
Fort P. George
Charles Town
12 Mile Riv.
18 Mile Riv.
Old Stecoe
Spring
Waxaugee or 20 Mile River
LOWER
Estatorie
Old Field
Path in the Cherokee Road
from the Old Town for Toogeloo joyning
26 Mile Riv.
miles West of Ninety Six.
Keeowee River
Toogeloo
Toogeloo or Savana River
PART OF GEORGIA

The following short review refutes historian David E. Johnston's claim that the Southwest Virginia Pearises were of South Carolina Huguenot descent.

A History of Middle New River Valley and Contiguous Territory by David E. Johnston (1906) page 445, says -

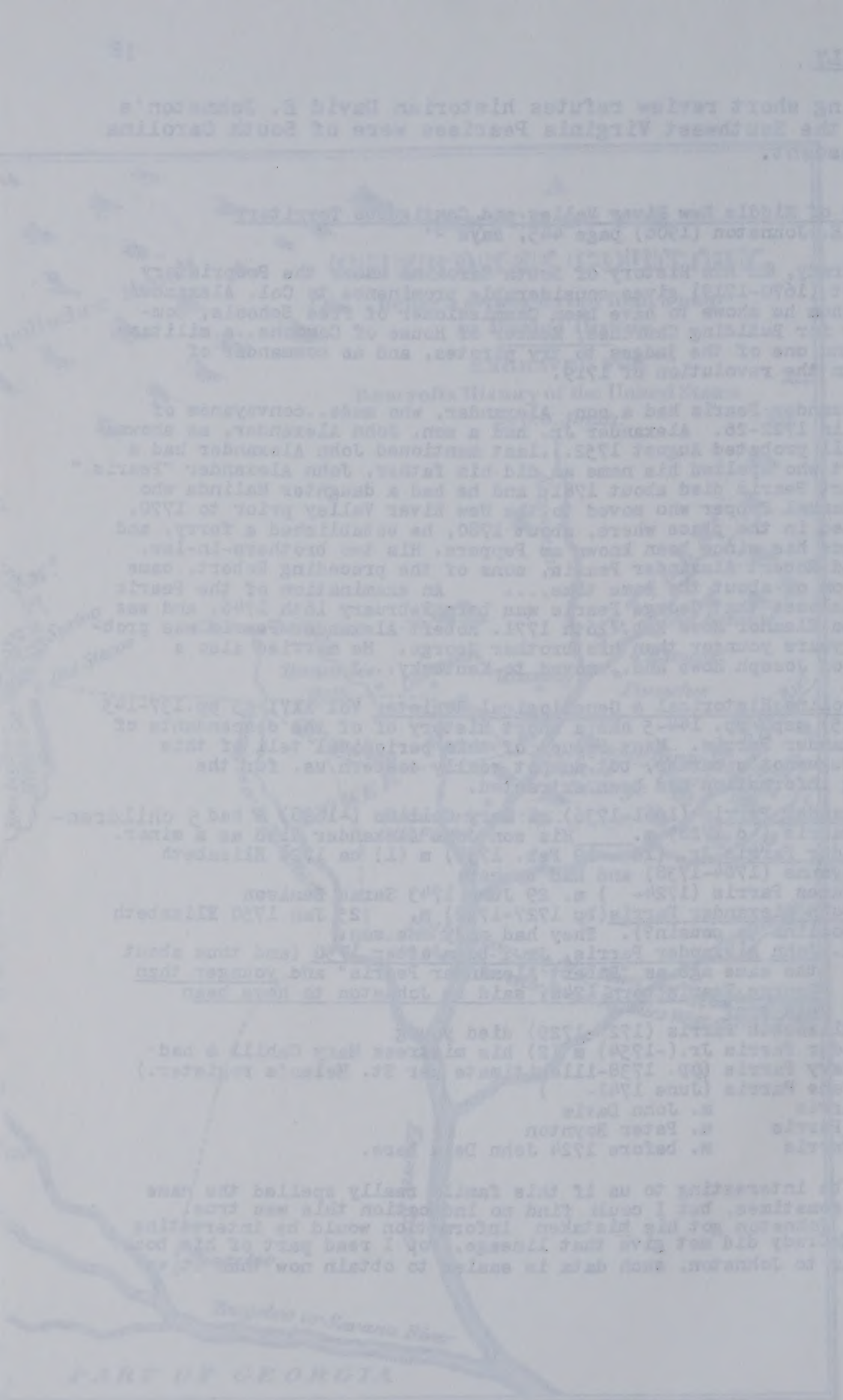
"John McCrady, in his History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government (1670-1719) gives considerable prominence to Col. Alexander Pearis, whom he shows to have been Commissioner of Free Schools, Commissioner for Building Churches, Member of House of Commons..a military officer and one of the judges to try pirates, and as commander of militia in the revolution of 1719.

"Col. Alexander Pearis had a son, Alexander, who made..conveyance of property in 1722-26. Alexander Jr. had a son, John Alexander, as shown by his will probated August 1752...last mentioned John Alexander had a son Robert who spelled his name as did his father, John Alexander "Pearis." This Robert Pearis died about 1781; and he had a daughter Malinda who married Samuel Pepper who moved to the New River Valley prior to 1770, and located in the place where, about 1780, he established a ferry, and which place has since been known as Peppers. His two brothers-in-law, George and Robert Alexander Pearis, sons of the preceding Robert, came with him on or about the same time.... An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born February 16th 1746, and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26th 1771. Robert Alexander Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe and...moved to Kentucky..."

South Carolina Historical & Genealogical Register Vol XXVI #3 pp.137-145 (July 1925) esp. pp. 144-5 has a short history of of the descendants of Col. Alexander Parris. Many issues of this periodical tell of this gallant Huguenot's career, but do not really concern us, for the following information has been extracted.

Col. Alexander Parris (1661-1736) m. Mary Collins (-1698) & had 5 children-
1. John Parris (d.1728) m.____His son John Alexander died as a minor.
2. Alexander Parris Jr. (16 -19 Feb. 1754) m (1) ca 1720 Elizabeth Stanyanne (1704-1738) and had by her:
   I. James Parris (1724-) m. 29 June 1743 Sarah Benison
   II. John Alexander Parris(bp 1727-1752) m. 25 Jan 1750 Elizabeth Collins (a cousin?). They had only one son:
      A. John Alexander Parris, Jr., born after 1750 (and thus about the same age as "Robert Alexander Pearis" and younger than George Pearis born 1746, said by Johnston to have been his son!
   III. Elizabeth Parris (1727-1729) died young
   Alexander Parris Jr.(-1754) m (2) his mistress Mary Cahill & had
   IV. Mary Parris (bp. 1738-illegitimate per St. Helen's register.)
   V. Jane Parris (June 1741-)
3. Ann Parris m. John Davis
4. _____Parris m. Peter Boynton
5. Jane Parris m. before 1724 John Dela Bere.

It would be interesting to us if this family really spelled the name "Pearis" sometimes, but I could find no indication this was true. Where Mr. Johnston got his mistaken information would be interesting to know-McCrady did not give that lineage, for I read part of his book. To be fair to Johnston, such data is easier to obtain now than it was in 1906.



Many people were taken in by that book, including DAR Members, as one can tell from lineage books. (e.g. Vol 129:285, entry #128,905) Even the scholarly Mrs. Kellogg quoted it in one of her books. * The Peppers, through Mrs. Raya, corrected two mistakes but accepted the Huguenot premise because so noted an author said so; but they recognized that George's sons were his, not some Robert Alexander Pearis's, whom they did not trace. (They were tracing Peppers, not Pearises.) Also, they could find no Malinda Pearis, said to have been that man's daughter and to have married Samuel Pepper--pretty ridiculous, for that would have been her own uncle! They knew whom he really did marry.

Please pardon me for being ANGRY because of all the time I wasted searching for the mythical Huguenot ancestor brave or dumb enough to buck the tide of people coming south, and migrate north to rocky mountain valleys on the then Indian-invested Southwest Virginia frontier when there was so much fertile, cheaper, safer unclaimed land waiting for the taking for hundreds of miles in between there and eastern South Carolina, where he was supposed to have come from.

If Johnston had lived long enough to read Kegley's Virginia Frontier (1938) he would have known better. He did do a pretty fair job of telling about later generations, for after the Revolutionary War some very good local records were kept. Both he and the Peppers also consulted family Bible records. Much more was told about son George than son Robert, because the latter moved to Kentucky taking his Bible with him, which they could not then consult.

George Pearis III (16 Feb 1746-4 Nov 1810) unlike his unlucky father, became a leading man in his community. The middle name "Nealy" which he gave to his son George IV is added proof he was indeed of our family, and was commemorating some descendant of his aunt Christian (Pearis) Nealy. Now I will quote Johnston's account of him, putting some incorrect or questionable data in brackets. He gives some fascinating Revolutionary War data about him, pages 445-6:

> "Samuel Pepper removed to New River Valley prior to 1770 and located to the place where about 1780 he established a ferry..which has since been known as Peppers. His two (brothers-in-law) George and Robert (Alexander?) Pearis (sons of the preceding Robert) came with him, or about the same time. At the date of the coming of the Pepper and Pearises, in fact before that time lived..a gentleman by the name of Joseph Howe, who had some pretty daughters, and it did not take long for these young (Huguenots) to fall in love with these girls, at least two of them.

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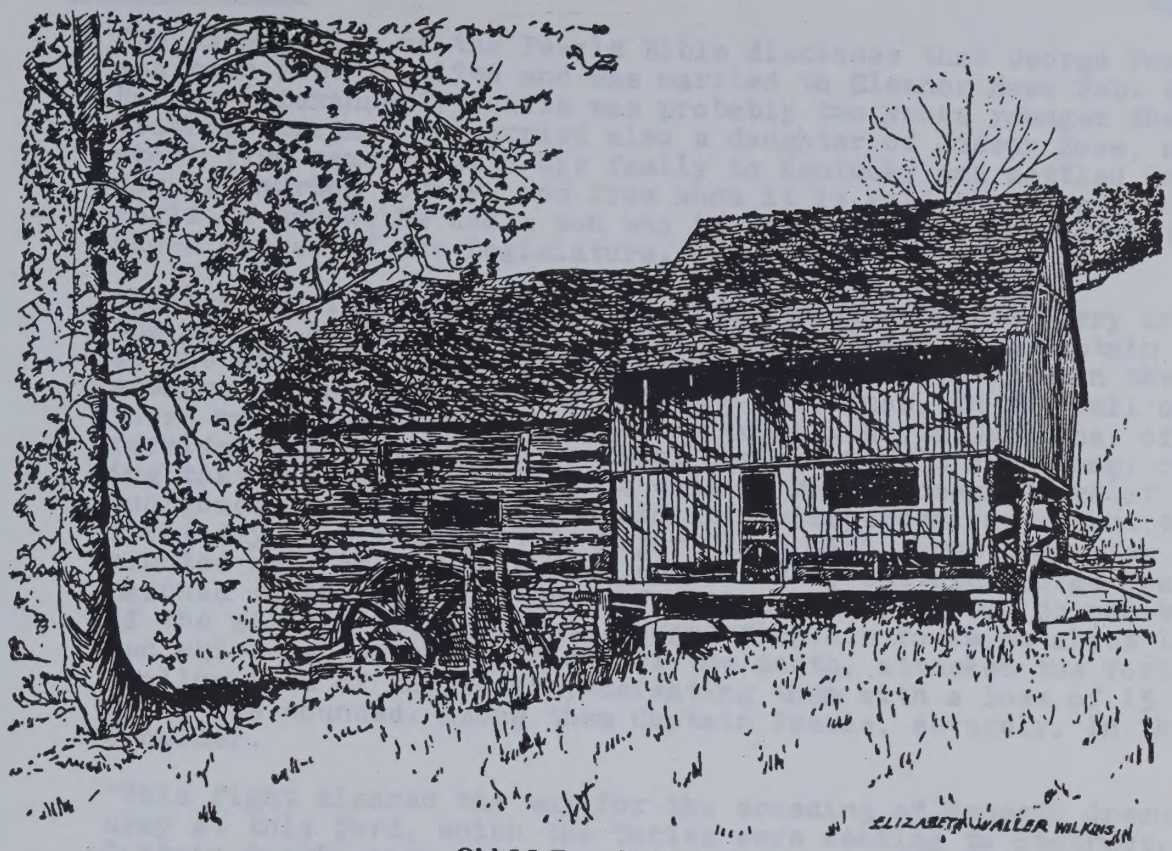
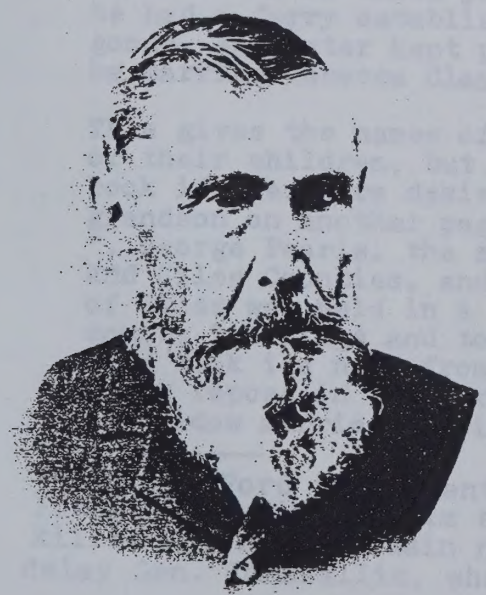
*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779 by Louise Phelps Kellogg (1916) pages 274-5, prints a letter of 4 April 1779 from Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming in which he mentions Major Cloyd, also "I am doubtful if Pearis's Fort on the River will be evacuated." (This was during a perilous time when British-inspired Cherokees and Tories were actively raiding the area. But she quotes Johnston in a footnote, calling Pearis a Huguenot.)



Old McDonald Mill

This old mill was situated on North Fork of Roanoke on property of Joseph McDonald acquired 9 Oct 1754. His farm separated those of brothers-in-law William Pepper and George Pearis, Jr.
-Kegleys Virginia Frontier page 616.



CAPT. GEO. W. PEARIS

LINEAGE OF THE MAN AT LEFT

1. George Pearis I (ca 1690-1752)
   m. in Ireland Sarah_____
2. George Pearis II (ca 1720-ca 1786)
   m. ca 1744 Sarah Pepper
3. George Pearis III (1746-1810)
   m.(2) 5 Oct 1784 Rebecca Clay
4. George Nealy Pearis IV (1786-18__)
   m. 9 Apr 1808 Elizabeth Howe
5. George W. Pearis V (1810-1898)
   never married. He is the man in the photograph.

Photo From Johnston, History of Middle New River Valley & Contiguous Terr. (1906)

"An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born Feb. 16, 1746 and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26, 1771. Robert (Alexander?) Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe, and about 1790 removed with his family to Kentucky and settled in what now is Bourbon County, and from whom it is said that the town of Paris is named. He had a son who in the early history of that state was a member of the Legislature.

"George Pearis remained in the vicinity of Pepper's Ferry until the spring of 1782; prior to that he had been made a Captain of one of the militia companies of the County of Montgomery. On the advance of the British Army into the Carolinas, in the fall of 1780, there was a Tory uprising in Surry County, North Carolina, of such formidable proportion as to impel General Martin Armstrong, commanding that military district, to call on Major Joseph Cloyd of the Montgomery County militia to aid in its suppression. About the first day of October, 1780, Major Cloyd with three companies of mounted men, one of which was commanded by Captain George Pearis, marched to the State of North Carolina, where he was joined by some of the militia of that state, augmenting his force to about 160, men which he, on the 14th day of the month, attacked the Tories at Shallow Ford of the Yadkin,*defeating them with a loss of 15 killed and a few wounded, among them Captain Pearis, severely, in the shoulder.

"This fight cleared the way for the crossing of General Greene's army at this ford, which the Tories were seeking to obstruct. Captain Pearis returned home wounded and, in addition to his suffering from his wound, had the misfortune to lose his wife by death in a few days after his return, she dying November 14th. Captain Pearis' wound disabled him from performing further military service and, having purchased from Captain William Ingles about the year 1779 for L70...a tract of 204 acres on the New River, whereupon is now situated Pearisburg...in the spring of 1782..erected his dwelling there...two or three years after Captain Pearis made his location, he had a ferry established across the New River and had a stock of goods, and later kept public entertainment. On October 5, 1784, he married Rebecca Clay."

This gives the names of his children of the two marriages and some of their children, but that is beyond our scope. One can read the book if these are desired--but you can look at the photo of his grandson on another page for any family resemblance. This adds "..George Pearis, the settler, was long a magistrate of Montgomery and Giles Counties, and sat in the courts of both...The first court of Giles was held in a house belonging to him. The land for the county buildings and town was given by him, and the town of Pearisburg took its name from him. He died on November 4, 1810, and his ashes repose in the burying ground of the farm on which he died... His widow married Philip Peters & died April 15, 1844."

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* Shallow Ford is presently near Huntsville, Rowan Co. NC on the Forsyth Co. line. It is said that during that battle, Capt. Pearis killed a Tory, a cousin named Burke, with his own sword. They did delay Gen. Cornwallis, who was pursuing Gen. Greene.

CHAPTER FOUR - CAPTAIN ROBERT PEARIS

Robert Pearis, born about 1727 and still living in the 1770's or later was the youngest son. Less is known about his descendants than those of his brothers, for he moved to Carolina in 1764, where such records are sparse. Most likely there was a son George and maybe an Ely, perhaps others. He would have been the kind of ancestor one could have been proud of--brave, enterprising, and successful, and a captain in the French & Indian War.

After his father's will was proved in court in 1752, in which Robert inherited the family homestead and was entrusted with his mother Sarah's care, Robert does not appear in the record until three years later. By that time he was married to Elizabeth Lemon and possessor of a valuable, strategically-located 7-acre commercial lot in Winchester, fronting on the famous Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the south. The road bifurcated when it neared the Roanoke. where a gentle slope crossed the Blue Ridge. The east branch went south to Carolina. The west branch continued southwest up the valley until it reached Long Island of the Holston. Business on such a heavily-traveled road could not have helped being brisk, with all the people needing provisions. He sold beef and other foodstuff, what else I don't know. His father-in-law, James Lemon, owned two lots there, willed to his two sons.

As told in the previous chapter, when Braddock's Army was defeated on the Monongahela in early July 1755, the vengeful savages poured in waves down upon the settlers through every road or path and every opening in the mountains. A sketch following shows that an extension of Braddock's Road went through Winchester on its way to Cumberland, Maryland, crossing Babb's Run, Pearis Run, and Hogue Creek as part of the route. Northern Indians led by French officers took quick advantage of this easy access to plunder goods and livestock, burn homes, and murder the terrified populace. At this point in time hordes of frightened settlers fled, either to Carolina or back to more populated areas farther east.

Governor Dinwiddie reacted by appointing Colonel George Washington as head of Virginia Colonial forces, his headquarters to be in Winchester, as the worst-hit part of the frontier closest to the enemy. The Colony was totally unprepared for this crisis, with antiquated laws that obstructed the Colonel's duties in recruiting and maintaining an effective army. (Space does not permit a long discussion of that topic here, but many of the problems are told in the Teter Family story, a companion to the Pearis Family.) Published writings of Washington show that in October 1755, Robert Pearis was employed to do scouting work. He was also paid small amounts to provision troops. as shown in several quotations on a following page*

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*The Papers of George Washington (1983) by W. W. Abbott, editor Vol 2 page 119 and Vol 3 pages 122-3, 230-1, and 384. Also see Vol 2 pages 234-8 and repeated in this present book engagement with the enemy on Cacapeon River, possibly about him instead of brother Richard.

Garrison Orders by Washington

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggons (except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the Light-horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr. John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid de Camp.

Footnote says "Philip Babb (1731-1762) amd John Dow (d. 1763) were both residents of Frederick Co. At time of death, Babb owned the plantation Great Marsh, and a home and lot in Winchester. Dow lived in the town. The home of Robert Pearis, an officer in the Frederick Co. Militia, was a few miles NW of Winchester. GW ordered march of the cattle guard put off a day on 17 Oct. and again on 18 Oct."

Memorandum Concerning the Militia - Winchester 13 May 1756

An express came from Colo. Peyton informing that a Sergt & 14 men deserted last Night from him at Paris's Fort and desireing a Reinforcement. I was oblig'd to Countermand the Orders to King George Militia &..send them to join him with orders to remain in Ashby's Fort...Many complaints from the officers of Militia about insufficiency of allowance of provisions for their men, (tho they have 1lb. meat & like qty of flour wch is same as the soldiers have)...

Footnote says "Pearis's (or Paris's) fort was probably the home of Capt. Robert Pearis of Frederick Co. militia. Pearis owned land and a substantial house a few miles west of Winchester near a gap in the mountains. The fort was..near the new road to Hog-creek, a tributary of Back Creek. The 1754 printing of the Fry-Jefferson map shows "Paris" in this area."

Orders - Winchester Monday 28 June 1756

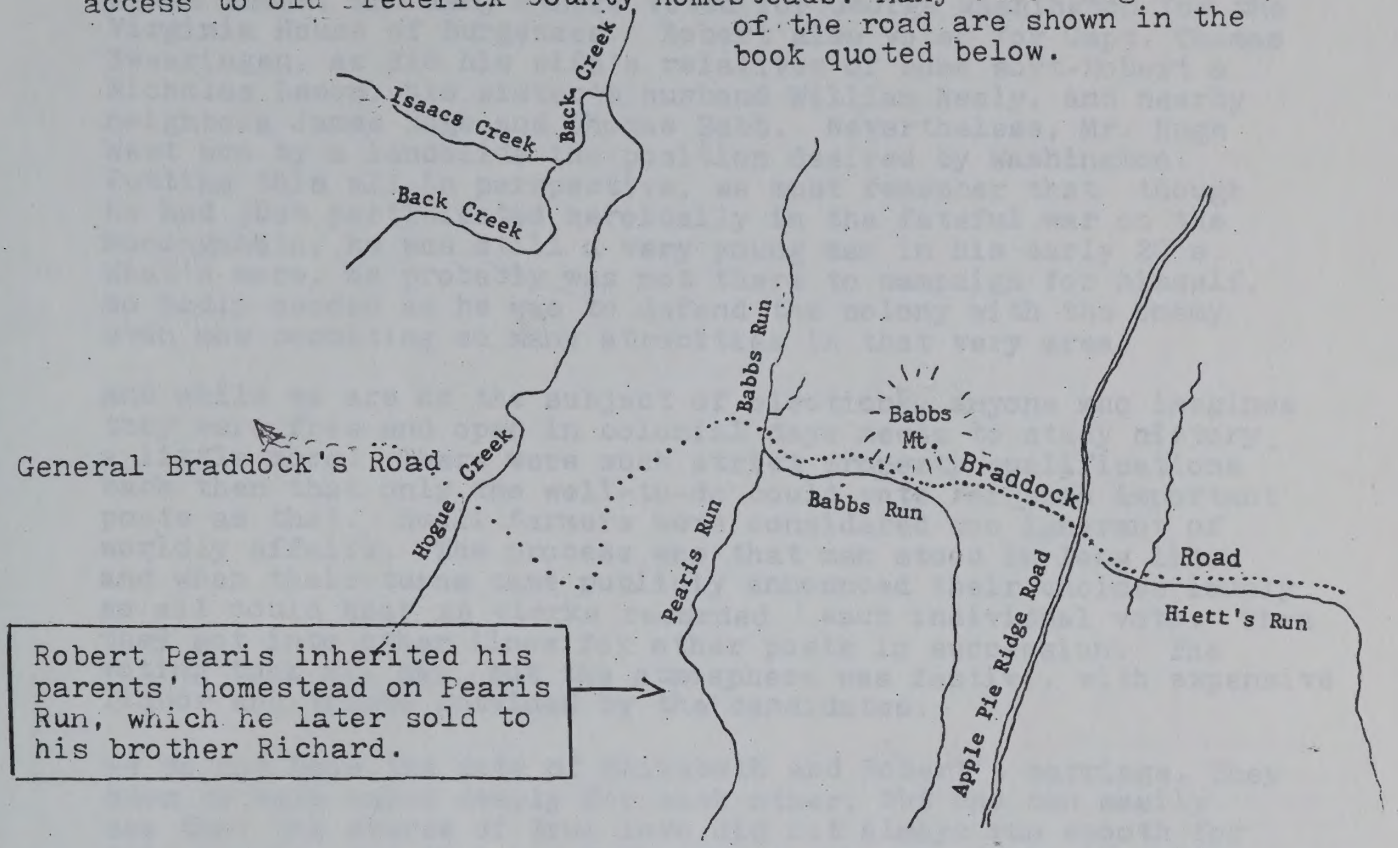
The troops are not to march until to-morrow morning at five o'clock... A Court of Enquiry, to consist of all the Captains in town and subalterns to sit immediately to examine into the dispute between Adjutant Livingston and Commissary Rutherford--Ensign McCarty and Mr. Paris. All evidences to attend--the Court will sit at ten of the clock....

Footnote says "Although it is not known what was at issue or how the men divided, it is not surprising that Denis McCarty was involved He clearly was the most contentious officer ..from the time he volunteered in fall 1755 until he resigned his commission in Nov 1756."

From Thomas, Lord Fairfax - Sep. the 1st 1756

Yours I receivd last night with the melancholly account of the People on Potomack deserting their Plantations. I had ordered Captain Paris to relieve Cap. Caton with 36 men from several companies..as I had notice of disagreement between him & Captain Sweringen....Cap. Paris is to meet his detachment at John Hytes on Friday next to proceed to Potomack..

This sketch demonstrates how the French & Indians had such easy access to old Frederick County homesteads. Many other segments of the road are shown in the book quoted below.

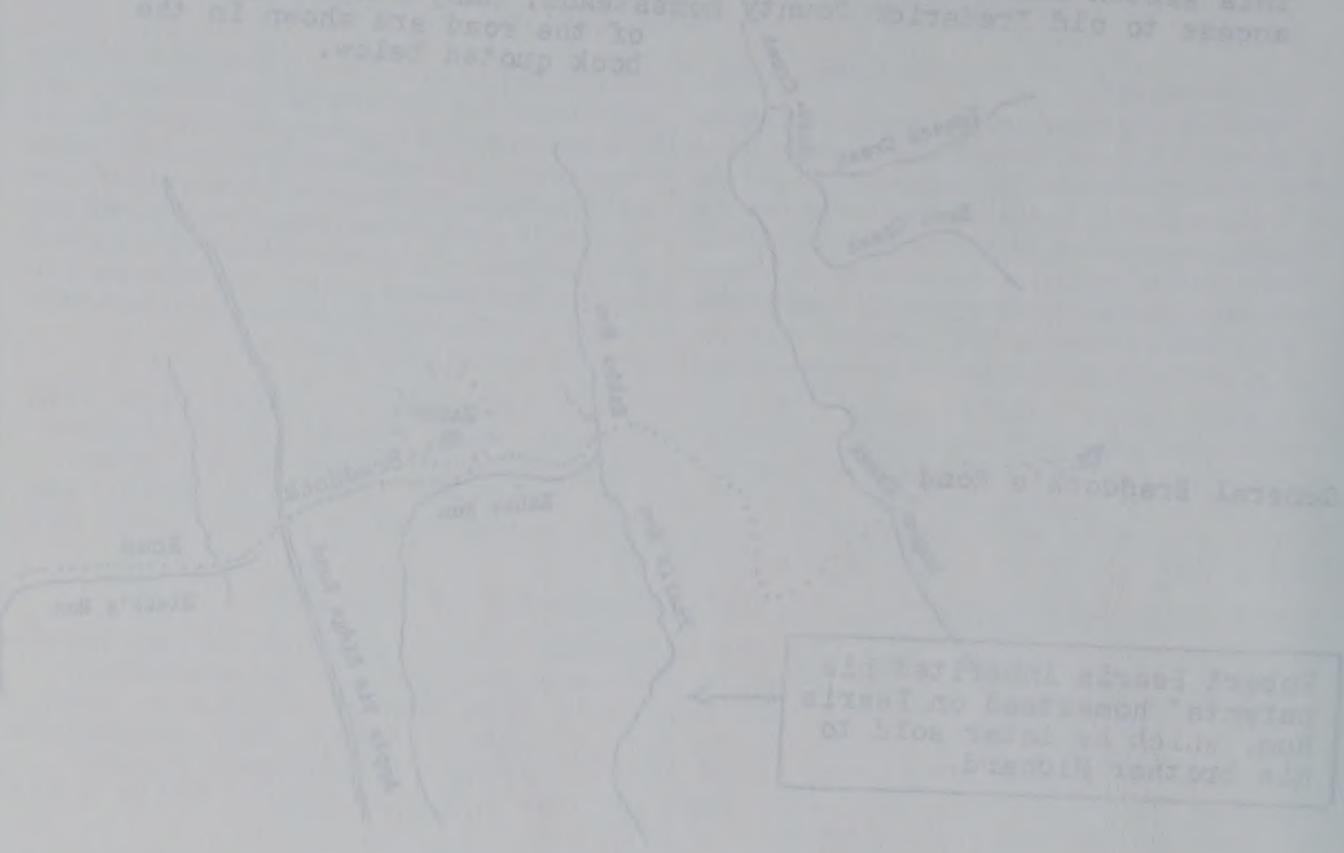


From: Braddock's Road Through the Virginia Colony - by Walter S. Hough (Vol. VII, Winchester-Frederick County Hist. Soc Publ 170)
Pages 44-6

"Before the road to the West was officially opened it was traveled by early settlers going into the wilderness. In Frederick County the road was known as "The New Road," "The Great Road," and later "Red Stone Road"; the latter referred to its use by Friends (Quakers) on route to their first meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains, namely Westland and Red Stone near Red Stone Creek a few miles east of Brownsville. After Braddock's Expedition it was sometimes called "Sir John's Road."

"Washington no doubt traveled the road when he went over the Allegheny Mountains to the Forks of the Chio on a mission sent by Governor Dinwiddie in the autumn of 1752. He states, "From thence (Alexandria) we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek."...On May 27, General Braddock ordered a captain's guard and 30 wagons to return from Fort Cumberland to Winchester to get provisions that were previously stored there. It is highly probable that the wagon came into Winchester by the shortest road available from Back Creek, namely the Wappacomma road through Indian Hollow. This might account for the frequent repeated legend that Braddock's army went through Winchester and Hollow. It is probable that the arriving Seamen used that road to get into Winchester Aug. 5 when on their way back to embark at Hampton. The Wappacomma road is the only road leading to the west from Winchester shown on the Jefferson & Frye Map issued in 1754 ... Braddock's army marched westward from the Gainesboro area over a road opened only a few years before 1755.

"Babbs Run and Pearis Run Confusion seems to exist in naming Pearis Run and Babbs Run...Pearis Run has been known as "Parrish" Run, Parletta Run and now at the bridge where US 522 crosses the strea is a highway sign calling it "Babbs Run."..Babbs run turns eastwardat a point near the south end o present artificial Lake St. Clair. It passes Cedar Grove and Babbs Mountain before turning south and does not extend to the highway. Babbs Run gets it name from Thomas Babb, one of the earliest landowners, 600 acres, along its banks. His will was probated Nov. 4, 1760. Pearis Run continues southward from the artificial lake, crosses US 522, and originates on the farm formerly known as the County Home, hence the name "Parrish" Run. Pearis Run derived its name from one of the earlies settlers along its drains, George Pearis who died in the early 1750's."



An old voting list shows that on 11 December 1755 Robert Pearis, James Lemon, and many others voted for George Washington for the Virginia House of Burgesses. Robert also voted for Capt. Thomas Swearingen, as did his wife's relatives of some sort-Robert & Nicholas Lemon, his sister's husband William Nealy, and nearby neighbors James Hoge and Thomas Babb. Nevertheless, Mr. Hugh West won by a landslide the position desired by Washington. Putting this all in perspective, we must remember that though he had just participated heroically in the fateful war on the Monongahela, he was still a very young man in his early 20's. What's more, he probably was not there to campaign for himself, so badly needed as he was to defend the colony with the enemy even now commiting so many atrocities in that very area.

And while we are on the subject of elections, anyone who imagines they were free and open in colonial days needs to study history a little more. There were such strict property qualifications back then that only the well-to-do could vote for such important posts as that. Small farmers were considered too ignorant of worldly affairs. The process was that men stood in long lines and when their turns came publicly announced their choices loudly so all could hear as clerks recorded each individual vote. Then they got into other lines for other posts in succession. The voting took all day, but the atmosphere was festive, with expensive liquor and treats provided by the candidates.

We do not have the date of Elizabeth and Robert's marriage. They seem to have cared deeply for each other, but one can easily see that the course of true love did not always run smooth for this couple, and that her father was much put off by the situation. James Lemon, like George Pearis, Sr., seems not to have been long-lived. We can tell his demise must have been rather sudden and caught him off guard, by the dates shown, unless war had something to do with it. (Though King's probate does not coincide with O'Dell's on next page.) The will abstract shows: *

LEMON, James
Will, 1 June 1757, proven 9 June 1757.
Wife Lucy to have one-third of the furniture and one dozen silver spoons. To son Thomas (oldest) a plantation. Youngest son William to have a lot in Winchester. Daughter Elizabeth Pearis to receive 100 pounds of currency. If Elizabeth returns to her husband, Robert Pearis, then 100 pounds currency to youngest daughter Mary.
Executors: Wife and son Thomas Lemon
Witnesses: Thomas Carroll, Robert Lemon, Isabel Lemon

Robert and Elizabeth did make up, and I suppose the money which would have supported her had she stayed single went to Mary. It seems James Lemon must have previously made provisions for his heirs through wedding settlements, etc., not mentioned in the will.

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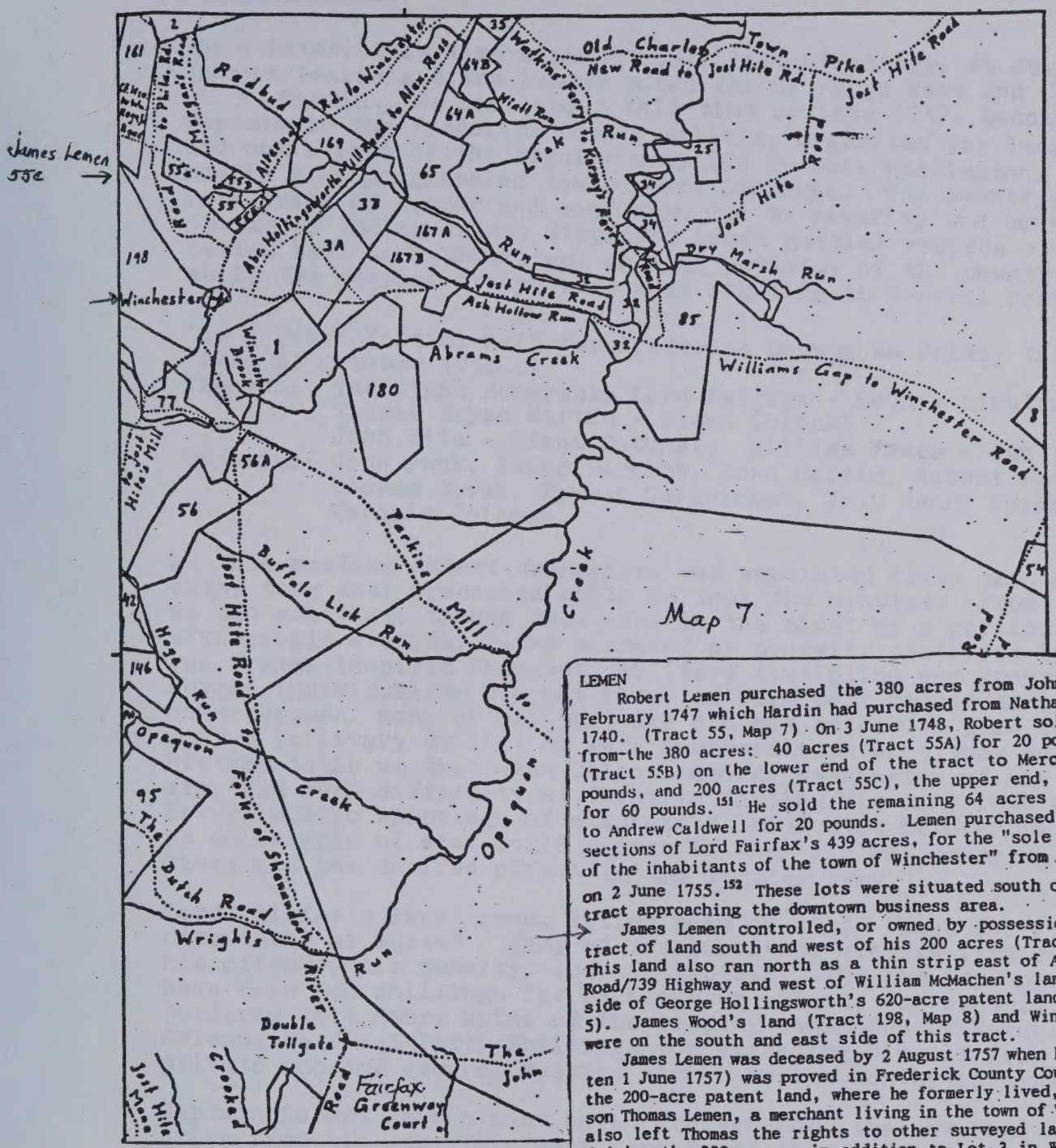
*Abstracts of Wills, Inventories & Administrations of Accounts of Frederick County, Virginia 1743-1800, J. Estelle Stewart King (1982) GPC page 20



From- Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia
by Cecil O'Dell (1995)
The homestead of James Lemen, father-in-law of Robert Pearis is indicated in the plat map, top left just north of Winchester (tract 55c + strip.)

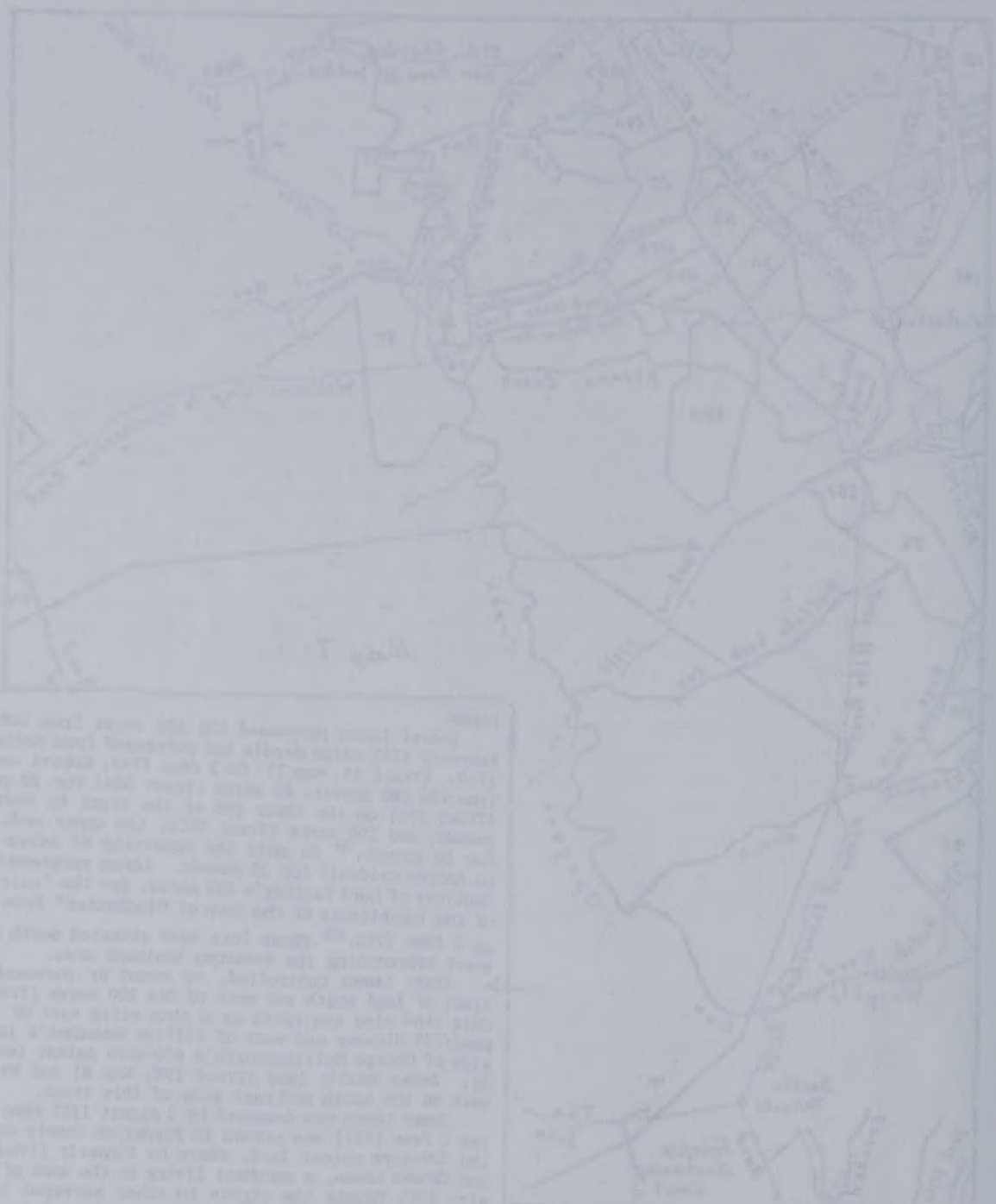
LEMEN

Robert Lemen purchased the 380 acres from John Hardin on 24 February 1747 which Hardin had purchased from Nathaniel Thomas in 1740. (Tract 55, Map 7) On 3 June 1748, Robert sold three tracts from the 380 acres: 40 acres (Tract 55A) for 20 pounds, 80 acres (Tract 55B) on the lower end of the tract to Mercer Babb for 42 pounds, and 200 acres (Tract 55C), the upper end, to James Lemen for 60 pounds.[151] He sold the remaining 64 acres on 3 June 1755 to Andrew Caldwell for 20 pounds. Lemen purchased Lots 7 and 28, sections of Lord Fairfax's 439 acres, for the "sole use and benefit of the inhabitants of the town of Winchester" from Andrew Caldwell on 2 June 1755.[152] These lots were situated south of the 380-acre tract approaching the downtown business area.

James Lemen controlled, or owned by possession, a 529-acre tract of land south and west of his 200 acres (Tract 55C, Map 7). This land also ran north as a thin strip east of Apple Pie Ridge Road/739 Highway and west of William McMachen's land to the south side of George Hollingsworth's 620-acre patent land (Tract 2, Map 5). James Wood's land (Tract 198, Map 8) and Winchester Common were on the south and east side of this tract.

James Lemen was deceased by 2 August 1757 when his will (written 1 June 1757) was proved in Frederick County Court. He willed the 200-acre patent land, where he formerly lived, to his eldest son Thomas Lemen, a merchant living in the town of Winchester. He also left Thomas the rights to other surveyed land (529 acres) joining the 200 acres, in addition to Lot 3 in Winchester. He willed a one-half acre lot with improvements where he (James) lived, and a five-acre lot[153] to his youngest son William after "he becomes 21 years of age." He left 100 pounds to his eldest daughter Elizabeth Pearis with the stipulation that if Elizabeth returned to her husband Robert Pearis, the 100 pounds would be paid to his youngest daughter Mary Lemen. He appointed his wife Lucy and son Thomas as executors.[154]

Thomas Lemen of Pennsylvania received a Fairfax grant on 30 August 1762 for the 529-acre inherited land.[155] He and his wife Margaret mortgaged the lots, houses, the 200 acres and the 529 acres to John Glassford and Company (merchants in Glasgow, North Britain) on 9 April 1760 to cover a debt of 459 pounds, 2 shillings, 7 pence half-penny sterling currency of Great Britain owed to Glassford.[156] Thomas and Margaret Lemen of Pennsylvania sold the 529-acre tract to Thomas Lord Fairfax for 200 pounds on 22 October 1762.[157]



On a later, this time alphabetical, list of voters, 24 July 1758, Robert Pearis and the Lemons voted for Mr. Hugh West and Colonel F. B. Martin. He had, about this time or late 1757. become a captain in the Frederick County militia, organized for local defense and not a part of the regular army led by Col. Washington, even now in slow progression toward Fort DuQuesne. The countryside was in a state of terror and confusion due to severity and constant threat of Indian raids. Misplaced court martial records of that period have been uncovered, showing activity of the county militia while the regular troops were away fighting in General Forbes' army.

"At a Court Martial held for Frederick County on Friday the 27th of October 1758..
Present: The Right Honorable Lord Fairfax - County Lieutenant
Thomas Bryan Martin - Lieut Colonel
John Hite - Lieut Colonel, William Vance - Gentleman Major
Captains: John Funk, Isaac Parkins, John Hardin, Robert Pearis, Thomas Speak, Thomas Swearingen, Jr., Henry Spears, Marquis Colemus.

At this meeting Robert Rutherford was appointed clerk and took the oath, then they proceeded while he took the minutes. From them we can see that, though they were in the midst of a perilous war, with people everyday being murdered or property destroyed by marauding French-inspired Shawnees, military discipline and frontier rugged individualism did not mix. If farm work needed done, or any other excuse, many of military age did not bother to show up for muster (military drills) or were insubordinate when they got there. History tells us that even Colonel George Washington of the regular army had much difficulty at first in forcing his army into shape. Severe public whippings of miscreants, conducted before new recruits as an example of what could happen if they did not shape up, sometimes had the desired effect in the regular army.

Lord Fairfax's local group relied more on stiff fines for non-attendance at muster. Many of the surviving minutes list each man, his offense, his penalty, and his captain. The penalty appears to have been ten shillings for each muster missed, for example, "ordered that Henry Hains of the company commanded by Marquis Colemus be fined Forty Shillings for absenting himself from Three private and one general Musters wirhin twelve months last past."

Captain Robert Pearis must have received more than average cooperation from his men, for fewer were fined than in most companies. Sample entries were, "Ordered that Richard Sturman of Captain Robert Pearis's Company is fined three shillings for appearing at the last General muster without a Gun." and "Ordered that David Forbes of Capt. Robert Pearis's Company, on motion of the sd. Capt., be discharged of further duty at Muster."

But all of this was a huge improvement over the minutes two years before, when Robert was not yet a captain. The minutes read. "The 11th April 1756. Present: The Right Honble the Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant. John Hite, Major. Captains: John Lindsey,

Richard Morgan, Edward Rodgers, Thomas Caton, Isaac Parkin, Samuel Odell, Jeremiah Smith, Paul Long.

"Proposals having been sent to the several Captains of the Militia signed by the Commanding Officer of the said Militia & dated 7th April 1756...and the said Captains, finding the Number of Men insufficient to go out against the Enemy..its Confident that the Men be Discharged being only Fifteen." It is unfathomable why Fairfax's eight captains would raise only fifteen men, for at that very time the Indian attacks were so brutal and frequent the whole populace was in terror, many fleeing permanently leaving their life-savings behind.

One of the captains, Jeremiah Smith, next to last on that list, vowed to do something on his own , and raised a 20-man militia, apparently from the Hoges Creek-Back Creek area, that very spring. Samuel Kercheval tells about this battle in his book, History of the Valley of Virginia (1833). He and his militia surprised a company of French officers with a number of Indians, a much greater force than they. Smith killed a French captain and found a valuable intelligence note in his pocket telling where to meet a party of 50 men who were to assist in blowing up Fort Frederick. Several lives were lost on both sides, but a great many frontier lives were saved by their brave encounter, as well as the fort.

It is supposed that Captain Jeremiah Smith is the balding man in the upper right of the picture, preparing to swing a tomahawk.

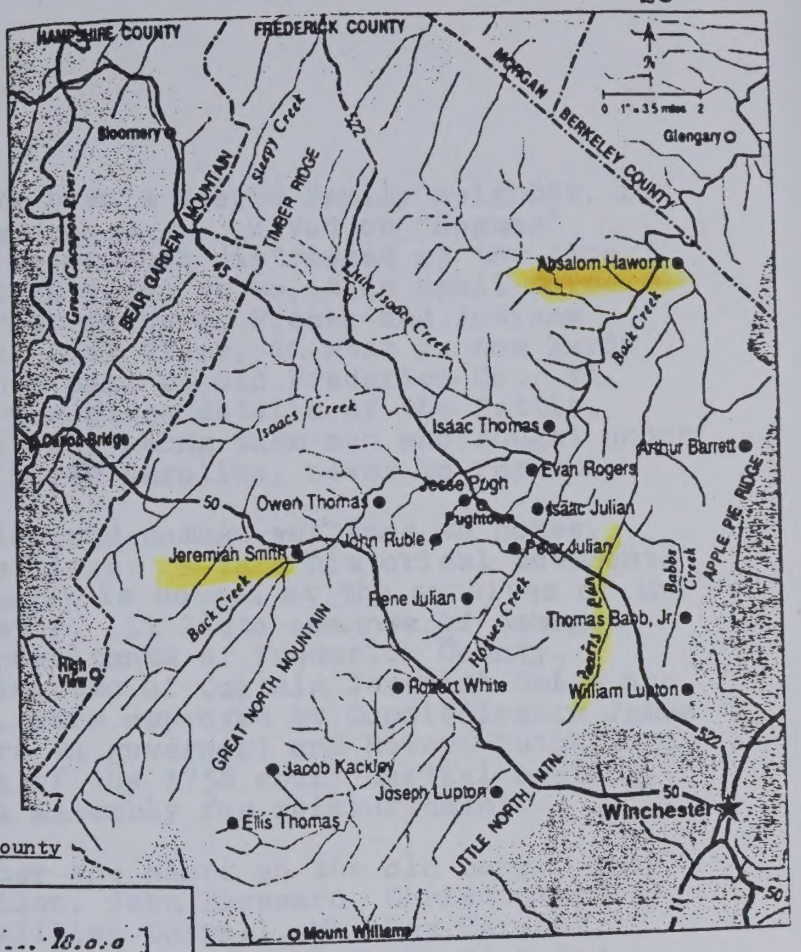
Captain Smith Wins French and Indian War Battle at Lost City

Photograph courtesy of West Virginia National Guard

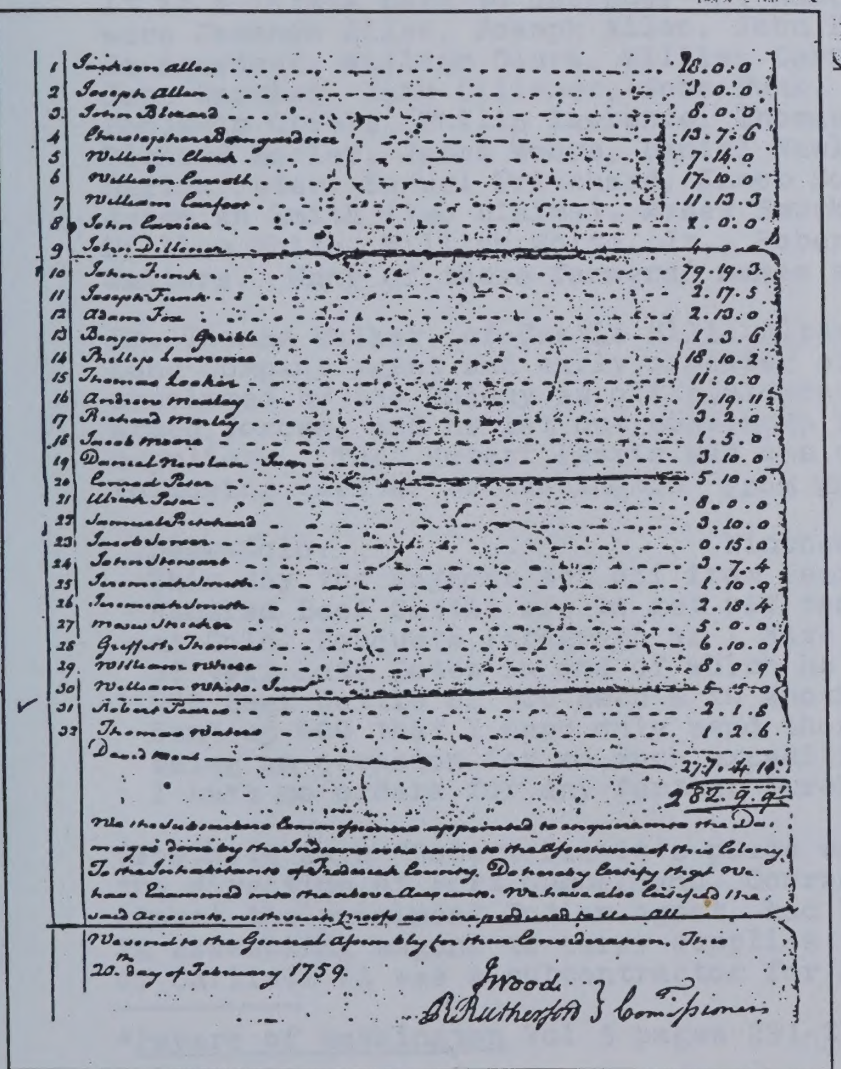
PEARIS FAMILY

This shows where Jeremiah Smith lived. His militia are thought to include John Ruble (killed), George and Peter Ruble, Azariah Pugh, James McCoy (killed), Daniel Pritchard, George Potts, William Harvey, Robert White, Jr., William Harry, and five Julians.

The Julians were of French Huguenot descent. A few Presbyterians, Lutherans & Reformed also lived in the area shown, but the great majority of the people there were Quakers--mostly of Welsh descent, but a few English.



French & Indian War Claims in Old Frederick County



1	Jackson Allen	18.0.0
2	Joseph Allen	3.0.0
3	John Bland	8.0.0
4	Christopher Bangueduc	13.7.6
5	William Clark	7.14.0
6	William Cunath	17.10.0
7	William Confoot	11.13.3
8	John Cunice	1.0.0
9	John Dillener	
10	John Funk	79.19.3
11	Joseph Funk	2.17.5
12	Adam Fox	2.13.0
13	Benjamin Gruble	1.3.6
14	Phillip Lawrence	18.10.2
15	Thomas Lockie	11.0.0
16	Andrew Manley	7.19.11
17	Richard Manley	3.2.0
18	Jacob Moore	1.5.0
19	Daniel Newlan Jun	3.10.0
20	Conrad Pore	5.10.0
21	Ulrick Pore	8.0.0
22	Samuel Richard	3.10.0
23	Jacob Sower	0.15.0
24	John Stewart	3.7.4
25	Jeremiah Smith	1.10.4
26	Jeremiah Smith	2.18.4
27	Mary Stricker	5.0.0
28	Griffith Thomas	6.10.0
29	William White	8.0.9
30	William White. Junr	5.5.0
31	Robert Tunis	2.1.8
32	Thomas Waters	1.2.6
	David Wood	277.4.10
		282.9.9

We the Subscribers Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Damages done by the Indians unto the Inhabitants of this Colony. To the Inhabitants of Frederick County. Do hereby Certify that We have Examined into the above Accounts. We have also Certified the said Accounts. with such Proofs as were produced to us. All

We present to the General Assembly for their Consideration. This 20th Day of February 1759.

Jno. Wood
B. Rutherford } Commissioners

Some Back Creek Area Quakers included Thomas, Pugh, Lupton, Babb, Rogers, and Haworth among them.

Absalom Haworth was an ancestor of Rebecca Haworth who married Quincy Monroe Averill, brother of my Great-grandmother, Sarah Jane (Averill) White in Kansas over a hundred years later, making a good Quaker out of him.

Lower Left - list of claims of citizens whose property was destroyed by enemy Indians during the French & Indian War. This is hard to read. See text for list of names, including Capt. Smith, Capt. Pearis, and others.

Illustrations this & prev. pg. from Settlement & Some First Families of Back Creek Valley by Wilmer L. Kerns PhD (1995)

Jeremiah Smith appears to have been a Pearis Family neighbor, for several of his men (see preceding map) lived on "Hogues" Run of Back Creek, this area being much distressed at the time. Though Jeremiah raised only twenty men or so, this small force was able to defeat a much larger force of French and Indians during a fierce encounter near Lost River, in what is now Hardy County, West Virginia, but then part of Old Frederick Co., VA. A roadside marker near there now gives details of the Battle. Five Hogues Creek Julian families, among them men who fought under Smith that day, soon fled to North Carolina, never to return.

During the war much destruction and damage was done to homes, barns, and cattle of early settlers. A rare historical document, (see photocopy on previous page) is housed at the archives of the Historical Society at Winchester. It lists amounts of damages done by Indians to several inhabitants of Frederick County. Some of these claims, including two of Captain Jeremiah Smith and one of Captain Robert Pearis, were approved by Commissioners James Wood Sr. (ancestor of a future VA governor) and Robert Rutherford, mentioned previously as clerk of the 1758 court martial meeting, and submitted to the Virginia Assembly for reimbursement.

It is a little hard to decipher the names on the old copy. They were Jackson Allen, Joseph Allen, John Blessard, Christopher Baumgardner, William Clark, William Carroll, William Carfoot, John Carrier, John Dillener, John Funk, Joseph Funk, Adam Fox, Benjamin Grible, Philip Lawrence, Thomas Looker, Andrew Mackay, Richard Morley, Jacob Moore, Daniel Newlan Jr., Conrad Peter, Ulrick Peter, Samuel Pritchard, Jacob Soneer, John Stewart, Jeremiah Smith (two claims), Moses Smucker, Griffith Thomas, William White, William White, Jr., Robert Pearis, and Thomas Walters. Many of these farmers' names sound German.

Dr. Thomas Walker, of Castle Hill, Albemarle County VA, Loyal Land Company agent and early explorer of Kentucky, had early been appointed by the Colony as official provisioner of food for the armed forces, and he let out contracts for beef to various suppliers. That Robert Pearis was one of them is implicit in the following letter to Washington from Walker:*

> Dear Colo: Winchester August the 14 1758
> This day the Waggons set off from Pearises and about five Hundred Beef Cattle are to set off tomorrow. I am surprised at Colo. Bouquets Paragraph as I have Letters from Mr Hoops of very Late Dates in one of which he writes that he has 600 Beef Cattle of 500 Each & in another that Yeiser has Sent up 400 that I need only send those gathered there not being an occasion for so much expedition as he had desired & I have no orders for any further Purchase as yet.....

(Footnote says "Robert Pearis's place was outside Winchester in the direction of Fort Cumberland. Conrad Weiser (spelled Yeiser above) the prominent Indian agent, had been active in Berks Co. PA assembling wagons to carry supplies to Raystown. Adam Hoops of Carlisle PA was a subcontractor for Forbes's forces.")

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*Papers of Washington Vol 5 pages 291-2

Richard would have been in a position to have given his brother's career a boost if Robert had needed it, but it appears he did pretty well on his own. Many families and businesses soon sprang up at the site of future Pittsburgh for the convenience of the garrison there. Bouquet Papers* show that on 14 April 1761 there were 160 houses there, mostly at the "Lower Town" and the "Upper Town" plus a few outlyers. Robert "Parris" had a house on Lot 15 in the Upper Town, in which dwelled two males and two females, no children mentioned as such. Whether his wife Elizabeth was one of the women, or he lived officially in Winchester and had helpers dwelling in that house cannot be determined without more data. The population, not including military personnel, was 219 men, 75 women and 38 children in the small but rapidly growing village.

This source says, "Robert Pearis was Capt. Richard Pearis's brother ...He was paid small amounts for provisioning and scouting work by Washington during the October, 1755 operations that covered the frontier after Braddock's defeat and in 1758 he was in the Frederick County, VA military company. He was appointed in June 1761 by Bouquet to be one of two militia captains at Pittsburgh. It seems to have been Robert, not Richard Pearis, who was associated with William Thompson and George Croghan in a sub-contract from the official provisioners, Plumsted and Franks, for meat at Fort Pitt in 1762."

The French & Indian War wound down in Maryland and Virginia and other southern states sooner than in Pennsylvania (by 1762 if not earlier soldiers were let go) but the situation in Pennsylvania was precarious for many years after the 1763 peace treaty signed by the European participants. Indians across the Ohio River did not lay down the hatchet for decades later, but we wont go into that since it is not part of our story. Robert was still doing business with Thompson in November 1762 and probably later, but was winding up his affairs in Spring 1764 in preparation for relocating to North Carolina.

Seems strange Augusta County Court became involved in the following unless by change of venue because some parties relocated. Perhaps their company had operations with SW Virginia garrisons as well as the one at Fort Pitt? It might help to know "Mr." Charles Lewis was also a military officer (later a Col. who died at the Battle of Point Pleasant) and brother of Major Andrew Lewis (later a general in the Revolution) Richard's first commanding officer. David Robinson was a one time Botetourt Co. Lieutenant. William Thompson was an early settler in Beverly Manor on the Forks of the James River.

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*Papers of Henry Bouquet Vol. V pg 404, which also cites Pearis's Receipts to Washington 10 May & 22 June, 1756 in George Washington Papers, Series 5 Vol. 8 pp. 26,31, Lib Cong; Chalkey, ed. Records of Augusta County I 325, 485; Crozier, ed, Virginia Colonial Militia 72; Plumsted & Franks to Bouquet 15 May 1762 B.M.; Add MSS 216-48 f. 156.

Augusta Court Order:

March 1764 (B)
Lewis & Robinson vs. Pearis & Co. - Capt. Robert Pearis & Co. to Mr. David Robinson & Co., debtor.
9 November 1762.
to 15,113 beef @ 28/ per hundred. P. C. £211.11.7.
Contra: same date, by George Elder's* pay as manager at slaughter house, six days @ 5/; by William Bills, a butcher, six days @ 3/9 a day; by William Marshel, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by Stephen Allinger, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by a corporal and four privates @ /6 per day for six days; by cash at Hoit's (Hite's?); by cash at Fort Pitt; by cash paid John Fleming's expenses; by cash advanced at Staunton.
Captain William Thompson (is to?) pay the bearer hereof, Mr. Charles Lewis, the sum of 138 pounds Pennsylvania money, which we stand indebted to him, and place the same to the account of your humble servant.
(Signed) Robert Pearis. Teste: (witness) John Stewart,

It appears that after credit was given for cash payments at "Hoits" (at Winchester?), at Staunton in the Valley, to John Fleming, and more cash at Fort Pitt including wages. Robert agreed to pay a net of 138 pounds remainder and proceeded to do so. (This is an interesting example of the cost of living in the 1760's, and what they ate. Though pork became increasingly popular on the Frontier, the English then and now have always loved their beef. And how would you like to pay28 shillings per hundred pounds for beef TODAY? We would all become great beefeaters.)

This lawsuit had commenced in November 1762, after the disbanding of the army on the ending of the War; but wars cost money and leave the economy in recessions. The French & Indian War was typical in that respect.

And in America, until there was no longer any new territory to be had, the ends of wars usually coincided with a surge in migration, Robert, by no means a poor man, had the money to pay the debt and paid it, though evidently it took this lawsuit to resolve just how much he actually owed. Still, like others, he was looking for greener pastures.

Robert had already sold most of his considerable real estate in Frederick County Virginia to his brother Richard by March 1764, and he and his wife Elizabeth were now citizens of the new trading town of Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina. They expected business would be more profitable in the "Province of North Carolina."

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*Bouquet Papers V:404 says at one point during early 1760's George Elder was employed as forage master at the post of Stony Creek and worked for Pearis & Co. at Fort Pitt in Nov. 1762. He was an early settler of what became Hopewell Twp., Huntington Co. PA. He died Mar. 1800 in Bedford Co. PA

FREDERICK COUNTY DEED BOOK ENTRIES - Regarding Robert Pearis

Bk 9, pg. 95 - 25 Oct 176-
WHEREAS Robert Lemen and Isabella his wife by their Deeds of L and R the 2nd & 3rd Sept. 1762.. Sold unto William Heath..a certain Tract of Land in County of Frederick containing one Hundred and Sixteen Acres..Isabella Lemen now releases Right of Dower to same../s/ Jas. Keith
2 Dec 1763 - Elizabeth Lemen relinquished her Right of Dower to said land.
Recorded: 7 Feb. 1764 Wit: Rich. Pearis, David Shepherd

Bk 9, pg. 106 - 2 Feb 1764
KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that I Robert Pearis of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina for Divers Good Causes and Considerations..appoint Richard Pearis of Frederick County in Colony of Virginia my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name..
Wit: Wm. Fowler, Robt. Wm. Kendrick
Recorded: 6 March 1764 Robert Pearis

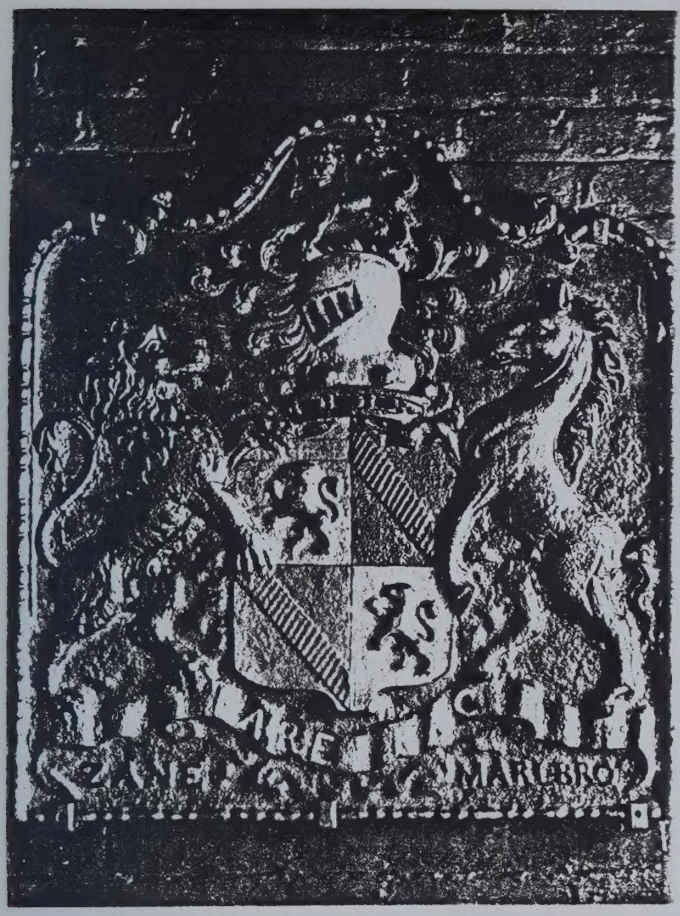
Bk 10, pg. 1 - 3 Feb 1764
(Lease) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of Five Shillings..four Sundry Tracts of Land situate lying and being in Frederick County..beginning at the Tract of Land sold George Pearis by Wn. Hog and said George Pearis to said Robert ..Containing 200 Acres., another of the said tracts containing 325 Acres for which said Robert Obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck November 9th 1752...another of said Tracts containing 229 Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck Nov. 9th 1752..the other Tract of Land containing four Hundred and forty one Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 12th April 1753..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said term..
Wit: William Fowler, George Neilly, Robt. McKendrick
Recorded: 4 Sept. 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 2 - 4 Feb 1764
(Release) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of One Thousand Pounds.. Four Tracts of Land (same as above)..
Wit: same as above
Recorded: 4 Sept 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10. pg. 54 - 18 Oct 1764
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsburry (sic) Town Rowan County in Province of North carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker in the Town of Winchester County of Frederick..consideration of five Shillings..a Certain lot of Land Situate lying and being in Town of Winchester known by the No. 7..being 19,740 square feet..part of a Tract of Land Granted to James Wood dec'd by Deed from the Proprietors Office and by him devised in his last will and Testament to Mary Wood who sold and Conveyed said Lott of Land to said Robert Pearis by Deed the 1st March (illegible Roman numerals)..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn at last day of said Term..
Wit: Adam Haymaker, 1 wit. signed in German, Archd. Wager
Redorded: 4 Dec. 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 55 - 19 Oct 1764
(Release) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsbury Town Rowan County and Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker of Town of Winchester..consideration of Thirty Pounds.. Lot No. 7 in Town of Winchester (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Robert Pearis
Recorded: 4 Dec. 1764.

As shown above, at time of removal, our Robert Pearis owned 1195 acres of rich land, and he bought all of it from Lord Fairfax except the 200-acre inheritance. His father had bought that and other land from Hite or indirectly from Ross. But Robert and Richard, astute businessmen, took no chances.



The Fairfax Coat of Arms
Made by the Zane Iron Works at Marlboro near Winchester, Virginia, before the Revolution

FAIRFAX STONE: Junction of Grant, Preston and Tucker Counties, 2 miles off US 219, 4 miles north of Thomas, Tucker County. The stone is one of the oldest markers in the United States. In 1681 Charles II of England granted Lord Hapton 6 million acres in this area. The grant was inherited by Lord Fairfax in 1722. Although Fairfax Stone was intended to delineate the westernmost boundary of the land grant, it is misplaced. In 1746 the original stone was set 1 mile south of its present location. Five stones have been placed in the area, the last one in 1957. The spot marks the boundary between Maryland and West Virginia and is a state park.

As early as King William's War (1689-1697) it had become apparent to Virginia Colony that western defenses were becoming increasingly urgent due to expansion of French and Indian alliances in the Ohio Valley. Something must be done to protect the populace, then seated east of the mountains and primarily on the tidewater, from the impending threat. Settlement of armed men was the purpose of a 1701 act passed by the House of Burgesses for the better strengthening of the frontier. Though fully aware of an old royal proprietary grant (inherited in 1719 by Lord William Fairfax) that land was being settled sparsely, if at all, in huge tracts meted out by its agents chiefly for speculative purposes, with the result that it could not be defended by actual inhabitants and could even be infiltrated by the enemy to attack the colony.

A controversy rested on various interpretations of the early Northern Neck charters. The first charter of 1649 had defined the proprietary as "bounded by, and within the heads of Tappahannocke als Rappahanocke and Quincough or Patawomecke Rivers.." No one, however, knew where either river originated. The entire Shenandoah Valley was at stake. Fairfax's agent insisted that the Potomac originated in a source deep inside the Appalachian mountains and that the south branch of the Rappahannock was the main channel of that river. The colony claimed that the Potomac headed on the Blue Ridge at its confluence with the Shenandoah, that the Potomac's north branch was a distinct river called the Cohongarooton; and the Rappahannock's north branch was that river's main channel. If the

colony could substantiate its claim, the proprietary would be a narrow band of land reaching no farther west than the Blue Ridge. If the proprietary prevailed, not only would it be much wider, but it would also include an immense triangle of Appalachian land including the whole lower (northern) valley.

Alexander Spotswood, Lt. Governor 1710-1722, took the first steps to encourage dense settlement west of the Blue Ridge. After a well-known trek with the "Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe," announcing possession of the transmontane area with many toasts of various liquors and firings of a cannon, followed later by the formations of two new counties (one of which, Spotsylvania, included the later Frederick) movement there was encouraged by an act of deferment of payment for land, plus remittance of quit-rents (taxes) for seven years.

It was his successor, Sir William Gooch, however, who implemented these changes by making the area attractive to settlers. most of whom he realized would be non-Anglicans, by reassuring them that "no interruption shall be given to any minister..as long as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration." In 1730 he began issuing large grants to recipients such as Jost Hite/Robert McKay, Alexander Ross/Bryan Morgan, et al, who would enter the valley and settle at least one family on each 1000 acres within two years. These grantees could sell the land at bargained-for amounts, but the settlers must cultivate and improve three acres out of every fifty within three years before a patent could ensue. Gooch realized the area would be more thickly populated if settlers took up only the amount they could cultivate quickly to meet the requirements. Both Hite and Ross arrived about 1732 and were very proficient in their endeavors. Ross's people catered to a Hopewell Quaker congregation but included others, while in Hite's settlement Germans, many of whom could not speak English, and Scotch-Irish predominated.

Fairfax's proprietary grant had up to now been badly mismanaged, especially by his relative, Robert "King" Carter, who had usurped much of the land for the benefit of himself, son-in-law Mann Page, and various others. Carter died that year and upon inspecting the records and hearing of the Colonial grants, Fairfax decided to set sail for America, where he designed to straighten the affairs out himself and run his property like a feudal manor. First, however, he secured an order from the English Privy Council in November 1733 instructing Governor Gooch to adopt a moratorium and cooperate in solving the boundary dispute.

While a commission surveyed the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, Fairfax traveled across the Blue Ridge to the valley and hammered out his own land policy. The atmosphere must have been tense at Jost Hite's house on 24 April 1736 when he met with many settlers who now realized Hite could no longer deliver on his promise of land patents. Fairfax assured his listeners that he was desirous of having his land settled, and that the consequences of a victory by him would be only a change in landlords. Finally, on 11 April 1745 the Privy Council confirmed the Proprietary's definition of land boundaries, not the Colony's, but deemed that grants already issued by the colony would have to be recognized. Fairfax had already made that concession. The litigation in the courts went on and on until made moot by the Revolution, but the 1745 decision remained essentially in effect.

The Fairfax Coat of Arms
Made by the Zane Iron Works at Marlboro near Winchester, Virginia, before the Revolution

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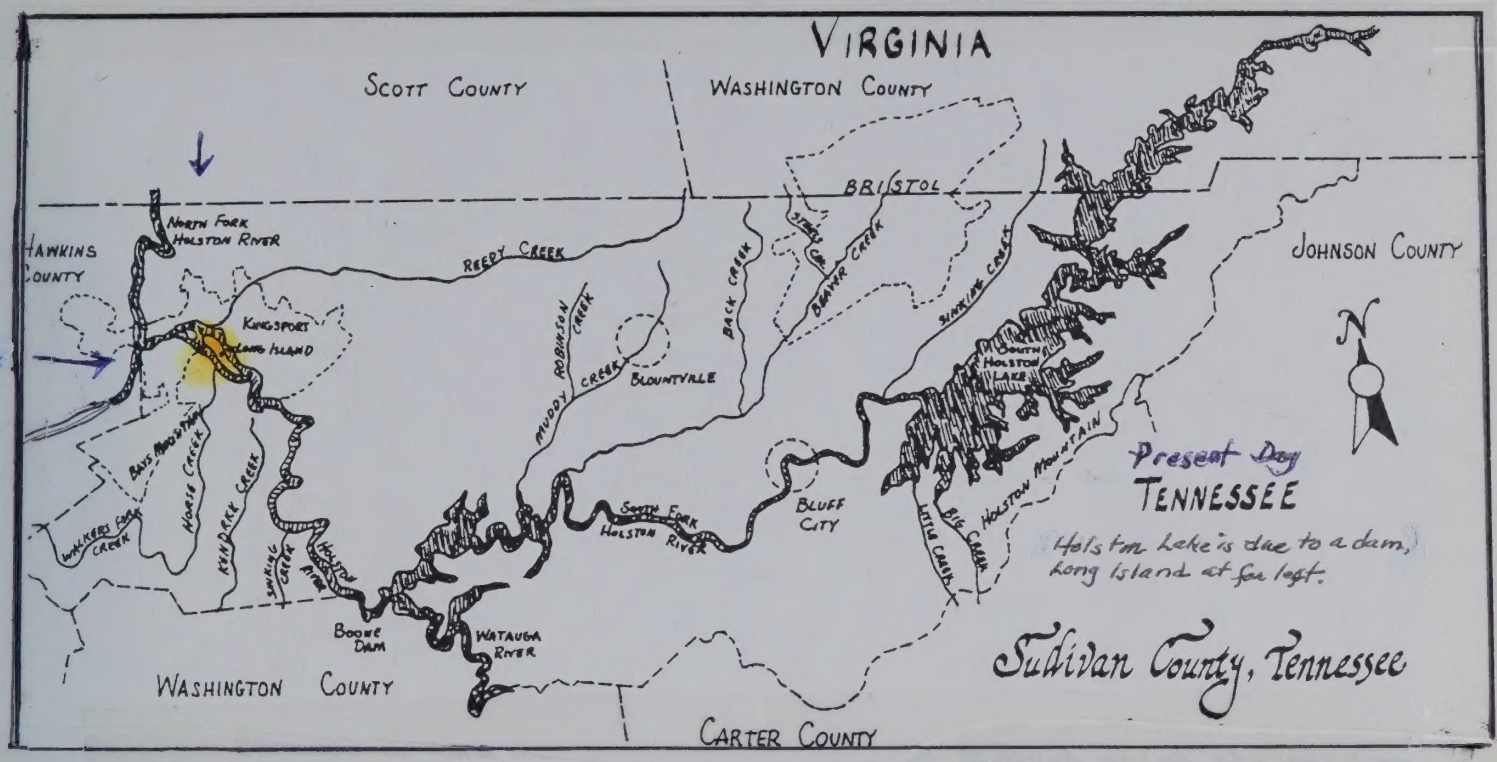
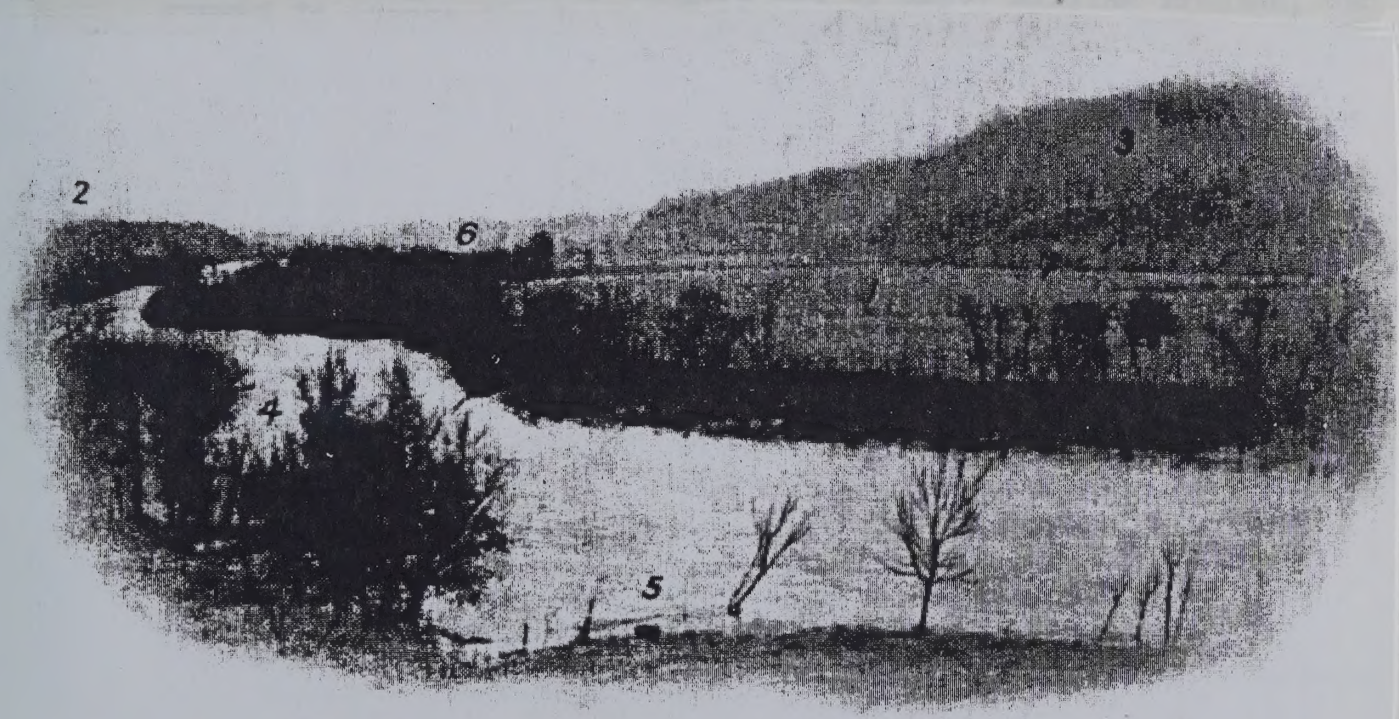
Reproduced from painting in Smithsonian Museum - based on engraving in the British Museum by Isaac Basire, after Markham's painting.

Cherokee Indians brought to London in 1730 by Alexander Cuming. Left to right - Onacarona, Categusta, Caulunna, Oukah Olah, Tathowe, Clogoitta, and Ukwaneequa, who later grew up to be the great chief, Attakullakulla also called the Little Carpenter because of his diplomatic ability of bringing people together, a builder of good will. (Onacarona carried a small saber, cut off in this reproduction.

The finery they are wearing consists of gifts, not native costume, except that a chief might really wear feathers on his head.

Though designed to show the "Lost State of Franklin" during the Revolution, one can see on this map the locations of Long Island, Chota, and Fort Loudoun.
The Tennessee River in its upper part is called the Holston, originating in three branches in the hills of SW Virginia, coming together in far NE Tennessee, two of them forming Long Island, where Richard Pearis had his Indian-trading House.
Chota
Fort Loudoun
Long Island
Cumberland Gap
LINE
Clinch R.
Holston R.
Tennessee R.
Little Tennessee R.
Hiwassee R.
Chickamauga R.
Cumberland Mts.
Walden's Ridge
Powell Mts.
Clinch Mts.
Big Creek
Cane Fork.





HISTORIC LONG ISLAND

1. The Island
2. Island Flats and Fort Patrick Henry (beyond the ridge)
3. Bay's Mountain
4. Tilthammer Shoals
5. Tilthammer Rock
6. Indian War Path
7. Sluice of Holston River

CHAPTER SIX - THE BIG SANDY EXPEDITION

"Ingles and Draper, brooding in their sorrow at Dunkard's Fort* had no chance to organize a search for their missing families... At last men made a trip to the friendly Cherokees on the Tennessee and conferred with Virginia traders there, particularly Richard Pearis, a favorite among the Overhill Indians, as the settlers called the Cherokee. They also laid their troubles before Chief Attakullakulla, who was always well disposed toward the English when other chiefs had been noncommital or hostile. The distraut men offered to employ Cherokee emissaries to go to the Shawnee nation to ransom their wives and children."

Now Gov. Dinwiddie (in spite of Washington's misgivings that the scheme might backfire) conceived the notion of sending an expedition including Cherokee warriors down the Sandy River (presently part of the Kentucky boundary) to attack the Shawnees on the Scioto River, on the opposite bank of the Ohio. The plan looked fine on paper. The actual distance was about what he estimated; but because it had not been fully surveyed they failed to take into account the ruggedness of the terrain or wildness of the river with its steep banks, mountainous in stretches they didn't know about, with no game to be had in emergencies. The men were inadequately provisioned for such a difficult mission. Worst of all, they set out when the river was swollen from late winter thaw and the current swift and uncontrollable.

Because of his knowledge of terrain through which the raiders had come, Ingles was selected as a scout, organized by Major Andrew Lewis in charge. Thirty rangers led by Capt. William Preston, who avowed to avenge the death of his uncle, Col. James Patton, arrived first. Capt. Peter Hogg had 40, Capt. John Smith 30, Samuel Overton 30, Obediah Woodson 40. Other captains were Robert Breckenridge, Archibald Alexander, John Montgomery, and __? Dunlap. On the first night out, those coming from up the Valley stayed at the farm of Francis Cyphers, close neighbor of George Pearis. The frontiersmen gathered at a fort just west of present Salem, Virginia. When they reached Dunkard's Fort they were joined by a hundred Cherokee and 30 Chickasaw warriors under the leadership of Chief Ostenaco (also called Outacity or Judd's Friend) and Captain Richard Pearis, the Virginia trader.

"The expedition left the Fort on 19 February 1756 for the long, hard march through the mountainous country penetrated by the Big Sandy River and its tributaries. Known in pioneer history as the "Big Sandy Voyage," it proved a disastrous failure."

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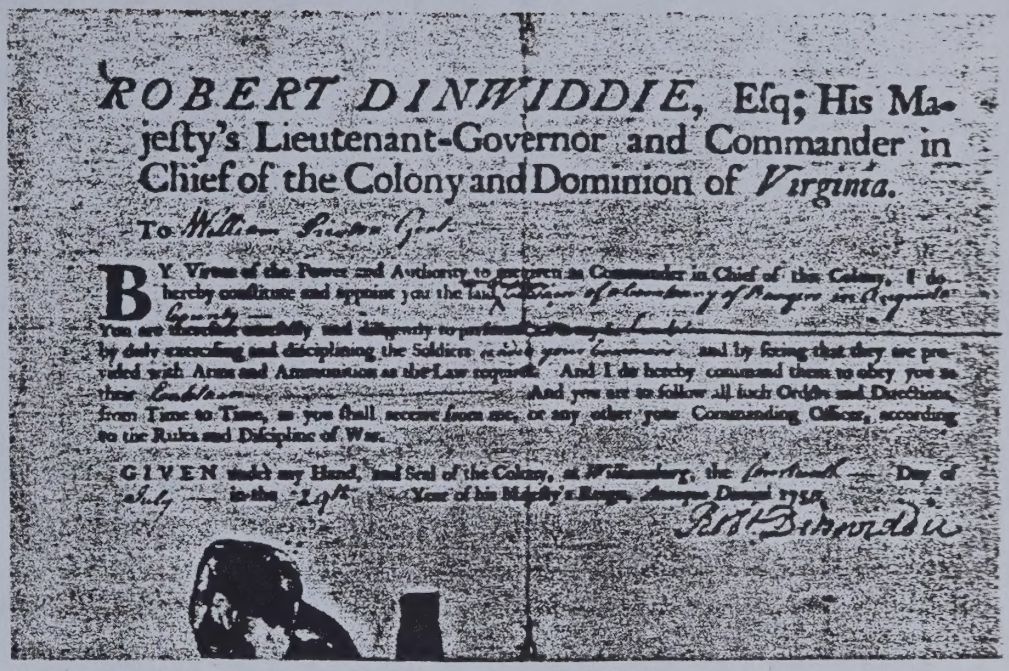
*Materials used for this chapter include
The Wilderness Road, Robert L. Kincaid, pages 57-62
History of Southwest Virginia , Lewis P. Summers, pages 60-1
and especially Kegley's Firginia Frontier, F. B. Kegley, Chapter 6
with short borrowings from a few others.



ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of *Virginia*.

To *William Preston Gent.*

BY Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Commander in Chief of this Colony, I do hereby constitute and appoint you the said *William* a Captain of a Company of Rangers in the County [illegible]. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the Duty of a Captain by duly exercising and disciplining the Soldiers of your Company and by seeing that they are provided with Arms and Ammunition as the Law requires. And I do hereby command them to obey you as their Captain. And you are to follow all such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from me, or any other your Commanding Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War.

GIVEN under my Hand, and Seal of the Colony, at Williamsburg, the fourteenth Day of July in the 29th Year of his Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domini 1755.

Rob't Dinwiddie

Wm. Preston's Commission as Captain, 1755

Above Left -Contemporary shadow image of Major Andrew Lewis, Capt. Pearis superior in the Virginia Regiment. Above Right- Richard Pearis and the other officers, including Cherokees, received commissions identical to the one of Capt. Preston, above. Below- 1930's photograph of William Ingles' old homestead. All taken from Kegley's Virginia Frontier, Chapt. 6

The Ingles Homestead, North Fork Roanoke

This petition followed the report of the unsuccessful expedition against the Shawnees. The letter of Major Andrew Lewis, dated at Roanoke March 28th, inclosing a copy of the minutes of a council of war held at Sandy Creek on the 15th of March, reached the Governor soon after the news of the return and was presented to the house on April 6th. A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men.—Journals 1756–58, Page 356.

April 15, 1756. The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men employed in the late expedition against the Shawnees reported that they had examined several witnesses and agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that the ill success thereof was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers, and of the Volunteers. Whereupon it was ordered that an address be made to the Governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith and Montgomery, and that the officers may never more be employed as officers in his Majesty's service.—Journals 1756–58, 369.

September 23, 1758. In reference to the action of the House in regard to the conduct of Captain Smith, Captain Woodson and Captain Montgomery while on the Shawnee Expedition, Captain Smith represents that he had no opportunity of clearing up his conduct at the time of the censure, being at a great distance on the Frontiers, but when he heard it, he waited on the Governor and so far satisfied him of his innocence that he was pleased to continue him in the service. He now has witnesses in town that would fully clear him of any misbehavior on that Expedition.

Upon hearing these witnesses the committee reported that the said Smith never shewed any backwardness to proceed in the Expedition or encouraged any mutiny or Desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed on with ten men, provided the Cherokee Indians would go with him.

It was resolved that the said John Smith did not misbehave himself in the said Expedition against the Shawnee Indians, and that he ought to receive his pay.

Ordered that the committee appointed to settle the militia accounts make an allowance to the said John Smith for his pay during his service in the said Expedition.—Journals 1758–61, Pages 20 and 26.

In the case of Obediah Woodson against the House for censuring his conduct on the Shawnee Expedition, the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. October 9, 1758.—Journal 1758-61, Page 37.

An item of expense for provisions for the troops on this expedition is shown in a receipt of John Smith to John Bingeman on New River for beef.—"Received of John Bingeman 861 weight of beef for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians at 10/ per C., £4/6/3¼, and more to cash upon the same account, 18/, per me. John Smith."—Chalkley I, 486.

April 21, 1756. Richard Pearis represented that he was ordered by the Governor last September to go to the Cherokee Nation in order to bring a number of them to the assistance of this Colony; That he was there much impeded in his solicitations by the North Carolina traders, who endeavored to persuade the Indians that he only wanted them to hunt till they got deer-skins enough to pay him a debt they owed him of 2586 lbs. deer-leather; upon which, to remove all doubt, the petitioner told them he would forgive them the debt and burn his books, which he accordingly did; and thereupon 82 of their warriors marched with him and joined Major Lewis in the expedition against the Shawnees.

Upon consideration of this petition the committee which had it in charge reported that the said Richard Pearis should be allowed the sum of £100 towards reimbursing his loss.—Journals, Pages 379, 381.

John Allen represented that he accompanied Mr. Pearis to the Cherokee Nation and that he lost his horse worth eight Pistoles and that he also lately lost in the service a pair of Pistols.

Samuel Overton and James Gunn said that they were sent out upon the late intended expedition against the Shawnees and that before their return, they each of them had lost their guns and several other things of considerable value.

On information of Major Lewis there were not arms enough provided for the people that went on the expedition. Mr. Overton carried two guns that he borrowed, one of which was lost by a canoe's oversetting in crossing a river and the other was, by the direction of Major Lewis, given to an Indian Warrior.

Mr. Gunn carried with him a valuable gun which was lost.

Mr. Overton left his horse, bridle and saddle with a sick man who has not been heard of since. John Allen left his horse at Fort Frederick when he went on the Expedition and could not find him on his return.

Samuel Overton ought to be allowed £8/1/3 for his two guns and the sum of £13 for his horse, saddle and bridle.

James Gunn, the sum of £5/7/6 for his gun, and £8 for horse.

John Allen, nothing for his horse.

Alexander Mackie furnished Captain Woodson, Smith and Pearis with sundry necessaries for the expedition. He should be paid £103/14/2 for goods furnished and the hire of two wagons from John Thompson for the use of the expedition.

PEARIS FAMILY

At the outset of the Big Sandy Expedition, Major Lewis was commissioned to command the forces and was sent blank commissions for other officers to be filled out as necessary. He was to consult with Lt. Richard Pearis, who then became a Captain, about people to attend the Indians. There would be about 350 colonial soldiers and it probably would take no more than six weeks. Each man would carry 5-days' allowance of bread in the form of corn or wheat flour. A supply of 150 small arms, 10 lbs gunpowder, a ton of shot and 91 blankets for the Indians was sent up. Major Lewis was to arrange for clothing. Lt. William Fleming was to be surgeon.

Preston's group led off with personnel and a wagon with a ton of dried beef. He was followed closely by Capt. Peter Hogg's company. When they got to New River they marched by the camp of the Cherokees and saluted them by firing off guns, which was returned to them with great joy and a war dance followed.

Next day they heard a sermon and Major Lewis reviewed the troops. He gave Captains' Commissions to two head warriors named "Yellow Bird" and "Round O." The day they departed, Capt. Preston led off with 27 loaded pack horses. That night they got to William Sayers' (on Reed Creek?) and camped on his barn floor. The next morning he "switched" one of the soldiers for swearing, which disgusted the Indian chiefs present. Some of the Indians deserted as a result, but Lewis and Pearis found them and talked them into returning. On Sunday they marched seven miles. On Monday on their march over the mountain they lost several horses, but on Tuesday at Burke's Gardens the soldiers gathed up many potatos from the deserted fields. They afterwards crossed another mountain and Clinch River and by Saturday they reached the head of the Big Sandy and their troubles began in earnest.

Many horses gave out from frequent crossing of the swollen creeks with loads made heavy by soaking, and were left behind; but they did see signs left by enemy Indians, and thought Stalnaker and other prisoners with him had been taken that way. More signs were seen in the coal lands, but by then the troops had to be put on half rations, and the mountains closed in on them on both sides. Many horses wandered off and could not be found. The river was so deep and had to be crossed so often both man and beast almost expired and the Captain lost his fourth horse.

By then another week was gone, the men faint from hunger, no game in the mountains. A request to kill horses for food was denied. The Indians made bark canoes for themselves, and Major Lewis had a large one made for ammunition and provisions. An attempt to cross the ridges was not possible. By March 10th the men decided to desert and go home. They were too weak to fight the enemy, though by then they were near the planned destination. Some of Capt. Smith's went first. Preston disarmed some of his by force. The canoes were wrecked in the river and everything of value lost. The men had to swim for their lives.

In a last-ditch effort to save the expedition, Major Lewis had each captain call his men together to hear a speech--all who were willing to share his fate could go with him. All officers, about 25 privates, and all of the Cherokees remained. Montgomery's volunteers marched off followed by Smith's, Preston's and Dunlap's companies. Fearing a rout, the Major then ordered a retreat, realizing that so few men would be ineffective against a much superior force.

Hardships of the men during the return through trackless mountains were even more extreme. After soaking rain the weather turned bitter cold, a heavy snow fell, and their provisions were gone. Game being especially scarce in winter, they nearly starved to death. Upon reaching the present site of Warfield, they took hides of buffalo they had hung in trees on their outward march, cut them into strips (called "tugs") and boiled them to eat. That is how Tug River, now also part of the Kentucky border, got its name. By that time all military discipline was gone. Men scattered foraging for food, reaching home as best they could. Some froze or starved to death or were killed by enemy Indians who followed them on their tragic retreat. Broken and discouraged, survivors filtered back to the valley forts, biding their time for another effort at revenge.

The Great Sandy Expedition which had looked so fine on paper and so promising, using Indians against Indians, had been a big fiasco. Not a shot was fired on either side, but after that the Shawnees were even more daring with their depredations. Washington had been right--the scheme did backfire. He had warned that the Indians "were very humorsome and should be handled with great delicacy," but incidents happened in the backwoods which could have cost the friendship of the entire Cherokee nation. The warriors who had shown great discipline and much creativity in times of danger, without complaining, started home on foot, having lost their horses during the venture. Then, finding some horses running loose in the Woods on the way home (as they supposed roaming free on the range) took them for the long journey home, feeling entitled to them. After all, their own had been lost in a white man's war for which they had not even received their promised pay!*

The rough frontiersmen saw it just the opposite. One thing they hated most of all was horse thieves. Some men gave chase, killing several of the warriors, including braves of note. "The natural antagonism between the raw whites and redmen flamed into conflict. Thus at a fateful moment the allegiance of the Cherokees was put to strain. It was with difficulty that the chiefs in the Indian towns held the young braves in leash." All this in contrast with the generous incentives being offered by the French!

Up to this point all of this warfare had been going on without being official. War was formally declared by Great Britain against France on 7 May 1756, though the declaration was not known in America until late July, and later yet on the frontier. This meant that Richard Pearis, who had been commissioned a captain for purposes of the Big Sandy Expedition, was now Captain Richard Pearis of His Majesty's Armed Forces, Virginia Regiment.

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*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel C. Williams, page 146

Even while the Expedition was going on, Dinwiddie had become disenchanted with packhorse and trader diplomacy. With cooperation from the bluebloods in the House of Burgesses, he decided to use "gentlemen of standing who should carry a handsome present" to the redmen to conclude a permanent league with them. William Byrd and Edmund Randolph were appointed commissioners. Abraham Smith was dispatched to Old Hop, inviting the headmen to meet with them on 5 March 1756 at the juncture of Pacolet and Broad Rivers, where the Lower Town and Catawba paths crossed, in the then wilderness of upper South Carolina. Smith, delayed by floods, reached Keowee on February 5th where he met Little Carpenter, dejected from a recent session with Gov. Glen and thus eager to treat with Virginians.

Old Hop the Fire King disdained meeting with anyone he considered of lower rank than his, but sent as his deputies Standing Turkey (or Conneturkee who would three years later succeed him), Oconostota the Great Warrior, Willinawaw Prince of Toquo, and others mostly from Chota, chosing to ignore most of the Lower or Middle Towns. The gathering must have been a sight to behold, with bewigged Virginia gentlemen in bright satin and lace treating with gaudily bedecked warriors.

"Formal discussions opened March 14 with Virginia commissioners reading Dinwiddie's message to a great crescent of Indians seated on the ground against a backdrop of white-blooming shadbush and pale blue mountain ranges. Asserting the Virginia Governor's friendship and cautioning against allowing the French to build a fort in their country, it countered the Shawnee report of Six Nations neutrality with news that Mohawks had fought for the English in...the victory over the French on Lake George in upper New York Colony...there would be presents of powder and lead and great quantities of goods to be distributed before the Indians went home. All this the Cherokees greeted with a loud "Yo-hah."

Proceedings, with yards of wampum exchanged and great promises made, lasted for four days, as the recorder struggled furiously to interpret the wild-sounding names. Some informal promises must have been omitted from the finished treaty, for the Cherokees were led to believe that Dinwiddie would meet with Old Hop at Stalnaker's, for instance. They promised to build the fort Glen had as yet failed to provide. Promises of the many gifts warriors would receive if they went to help Washington's army must have been overstated--details would come back to haunt the Virginians later on.

The proceedings were a great triumph for Little Carpenter, who repeated from memory the interpreter's full rendition of the talks. He had obtained the promise of the much-desired fort and of much trade to counteract Glen's parsimony. The day Ostenaco rode in state through Williamsburg, Dinwiddie presented the Broad River Treaty to his burgesses who immediately underwrote £2000 in funds to construct the fort.

The jubilation would soon be counteracted by participants in the Big Sandy failure who, not having received rewards for their service, traveled home expecting compensation from the countryside and were shot at instead.

According to Williams, "Early in 1756 there was a plan proposed in Virginia to erect a trading house or "factory" at some point on the Holston or Little Tennessee, seemingly at the fort or on Long Island, but nothing came of it." Who was to be in charge was not stated, but since Richard remained actively involved in recruiting warriors to fight for the Colony, one may assume he felt the arrangement would be to his advantage.

Letter from Captain Andrew Lewis to Col. George Washington*

Sir: Augusta Octr the 28th 1756

I Received a Letter from Capt. Paris Deated the 21st of (thi)s Month, he tels me that he Sent for Guns and other Necessarys for the Indians with him. The Indians are highly pleased with the Arms and the Large preparations made for them the wareous proposed sending a Runar to the Nation with one of the guns, and Likewis to Aqueant them what is provided for them. he makes no Dout of a great Numbers Coming in. he would not Do any thing in the Mater Before he had my Aprobation. I approved of his Scame and has wrot to Capt Pearis to Dress the Runar as well as posable and send a white man with him which is the wareours Desire. I have wrote to Outosity and aquented him of Evry thing prov(ide)d he will publish it in that Nation if he has not Marched Before he Receivs my Letter. the Indian & white men who were apointed to go to Houlsons River is Now on thire March in Order to make the Discovery--the Enemey are Frequantly Seen Neare Vauss, what few Indians we have are there Now, in Sarch of them.

Sir as Sarjt McCully has ben in the Service from the Begining and has Behaved well, I hop Sir you will Advance him. he has been Long over Lookd. I ame Much Recovered I purpose to take my Journy for Willmsburg to Morrow or Nixt Day. I ame Sir your most obedt & very Hume Sert

Andw Lewis

Footnotes state that Lewis left Richard Pearis behind in the Cherokee country when he returned in September, but Pearis was now back in Augusta County with his party of six Cherokee men and two women. Dinwiddie wrote Pearis 14 November, and Lewis the next day, that they should conduct the eight Cherokee to Washington.

The runner referred to was John Allen, a young man who was present at the building of "Chette Fort" who, according toCaptain Raymond Demeré stationed on the South Carolina frontier, was a Virginian who came with one of the Indians that went with Capt. Pearis to Virginia. John Allen took letters to head men of the Cherokee from Capt. John McNeill and Dinwiddie as well as Lewis.

"Outosity" was Otacite Ostenaco (also called Judge's Friend) who lived at this time at Tomatly. (Map of the Cherokee country shows this to to close to Chota and Fort Loudoun.) His name was Ostenaco, though he was often called Otacite, which was actually a title

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*Papers of George Washington Vol 3,pp 445-6, W.W. Abbott, Ed.(1983)

indicating his rank. He participated in the Big Sandy expedition and also brought a party of Cherokees to Augusta in the summer of 1757. Lewis's friend, Sgt. John McCulley, was made an ensign that same summer.

Washington to Dinwiddie * 19 Dec 1756

"...Captn Pearis came to Town the other day with 6 Cherokees and two Squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his Services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there await your Honors instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence..."

and in January 1757**

"..Capt. Pearis says You have order'd his men to be continued in Pay--I wrote Majr Lewis to send them to You to be incorporated into the Regmt. I know of no Service they (mutilated) at present but it seems (mutilated) naked they could not march."

At the end of February 1757*** Pearis conducted a party of nine Cherokees down from Winchester to Williamsburg on their way back to the Cherokee country.

Presumably this last group was the party that Lewis had brought up in October, though it might have been Pearis's own party. Fairfax and the Council at this time saw another party of Cherokees, being 15 in number, who had come "to this Government' in February last, had marched two leagues above Fort DuQuesne and returned the previous Monday with a French Prisoner and two scalps. The Chief of them, named the Second Yellow-Bird, was a leader of the 150 Cherokees whom Richard Pearis had conducted to Virginia "in the fall of 1755." (Question: Were they speaking of the aftermath of the Big Sandy Expedition?)

Ever since he left Chota in the Cherokee country, Major Andrew Lewis's health had been in a depressed state, so much so that Washington was worried about him, but affairs in Augusta County were so disorganized that he was soon called into service reorganizing and combining the forces into fewer, more effective units. He called all the Captains together at Captain Peter Hogg's station (probably the reconstructed Fort Vause) to issue new commands. Washington had specified that after this was taken care of, Captain Pearis was to proceed with Lewis to Winchester. Col. Clement Read was to garrison one of theforts in Halifax and send provisions to Winchester. Stalnacker, now escaped from the Indians, was appointed a lieutenant in one of the forts to keep him in service because he was so well acquainted with the woods and a good guide when needed.

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*Papers, cited prev. page--Vol 4 pg 65. ** ibid 105 *** ibid 119-120

In November Captain Pearis and his friend Ostenaco, who had been on the Great Sandy expedition together, led several parties of Overhill Cherokees to Winchester to join Washington, who took great pains to treat them with respect. They were especially useful as spies in western Pennsylvania where a valiant group succeeded in capturing some French at Fort Duquesne. They killed a French officer, but when the subchief leading them fell they became disorganized. The mercurial southern Indians proved to be a mixed blessing, volatile and unpredictable to the white commanders and impatient with army rules, and disliked by troopers who did not care for any Indians regardless of where they were from. Yet in spite of all this, they were deemed indispensible by Washington and others.

Part of the trouble may have been that they were placed under army leaders who did not understand their culture. It appears that at this point in time, the Virginians felt Richard was a fine man to recruit warriors but too inexperienced to act as a regular army captain in combat. Whatever the problem was, he was very sensitive to the feelings of his red brothers and influenced by their experiences, though he still felt that they (and he) were needed. But he was becoming increasingly disenchanted with Virginia's failure to use their Cherokee allies' talents in a mutually beneficial way.

He seems to have been in Southwest Virginia early in 1757, for on 31 March he carried a letter from Col. Clement Read of Halifax to Col. John Buchanan at Looney's Ferry on the James, regarding the failure of the Associates. A group of frontiersmen, inspired by Captain Vause, Stalnacker, and Morris Griffith, all of whom had escaped from the Shawnees, wanted to carry out another mission on the order of the Big Sandy expedition--except this time they would take abundant provisions, great enthusiasm, and would not fail! Col. Read, as Quartermaster, had gone so far as to ship many of the needed provisions, but then the captains got to quarreling about who should be the leader. Read was picked to oversee the election, and they chose Col. Nash; but Nash's opposition then turned on Reed, much to his chagrin. Nothing but miffed feelings came of the whole elaborate scheme, which had cost the Virginia treasury a lot of money. In another month or two Read and Pearis would be involved again in unpleasant circumstances of a different nature, as we shall see.

All this expensive bungling seems to have disgusted Richard. His Indian brothers were being called upon to fight in a white man's war in which they had no interest, except perhaps to be on the winning side when the war was over so as to stay out of trouble later. They had their own very different moral codes and religious beliefs, not the same as either the French or the English. They were risking their very lives for only a few trinkets in payment, while the Virginians blew enormous sums of money--not in winning their own war, but over inflated egos. Surely there must be a better way. He resolved on a dangerous new path which he knew would make him very unpopular in Virginia, but which he believed was right.

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Peter Hogg,* born in Scotland in 1703, settled in Augusta witl his brothers, James and Thomas, about 1745, and married here Eliza beth Taylor. He was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 9, 1754. He finally became a lawyer o some note in the Valley. In January, 1755, he was recruiting on the Eastern Shore, and on the 19th of that month Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him with characteristic bluntness: "When you had your commission I was made to believe you could raise forty men. You carried up to Alexandria only nine, and that at a very great expense. You have now been two months getting fourteen. There is not an ensign that has been recruiting but has had more success. * * The forces are all marched for Wills's Creek. I therefore order you to proceed directly with all the recruits you have raised either to Alexandria or Fredericksburg, and make what dispatch you can to join the forces at Wills's Creek." On the 1st of February the Governor wrote to Hogg: "I received your letter and am glad you have raised forty men, with whom I desire you to proceed the most ready way for Winchester and Wills's Creek, where I expect the rest of our forces are by this time." [In the foregoing extracts we have omitted most of the capital letters and written out many words in full.]

Andrew Lewis was left in Augusta till after February 12, 1755. The Governor wrote to him on that day: "I now order you to leave the Ensign, a Sergeant, a corporal, and eighteen private men at the fort you have built, and with the rest of your company you are to march imediately for Winchester, and there remain till you have further orders. * * If you can 'list some stout young men that will march with you to Winchester, they shall, after review, be received into the service, and be paid their enlisting money."

The ensign left to hold the fort was William Wright. The Governor wrote to him on the 12th, instructing him "to keep a good look out," to be exact in his duties, to make short excursions from the fort, and to apply to Colonel Patton, in case of danger, to have some of his militia ready at an hour's warning.

*Ancestor of the Hoges and Blackleys of Augusta.

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Had Captain Pearis realized it, he was not the only one disgusted with inefficiency on the frontier. On Washington's completion of the inspection of western forts in November 1756, he had written to Dinwiddie about deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of the forts. All were terrified of Indians, yet kept no guard at forts unless Indians were already known to be present, wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations in securing harvests or gathering the corn;" and officers, often absent on personal business though demanding full pay, refused to assist other forts in time of emergency. Changes would come, though to late to help him. That spring of 1757 he was hired to meet arriving Cherokees at the border and escort them to Washington's Army.

Realizing his life was in danger, Richard decided, in lieu of a will, to arrange for doweries for his young daughters, of whom he was very fond. Virginia law was then such that should he die his son(s) would inherit the plantation with a 1/3 dower going to Rhoda, and brother Robert could be counted on to lend assistance or advice, but he wanted to avoid possible complications and see to it that the little girls, growing as fast as wildflowers, should be able to have nice husbands when the time came--though he did intend to be around to supervise if he could. He consulted his good friend Captain Peter Hogg, to take care of the legalities.* Meanwhile he sat down with his arms around the little girls and explained it all to them, and gave them copies, and also stressed nice young ladies should be satisfied with only fine young men their Papa would approve of. Reading the list, it appears as though our Sarah was already a good rider, and that she got to make some choices, also that the young slave was named for her. Suitable choices were made for little Margaret. Official record follows**

Augusta County Deed Book 7 page 450, 16 April 1757 (Abstract)
Captain Richard Pearis of Augusta County--money, a deed of gift for love and goodwill and affection to my daughters, Sarah Pearis and Margaret Pearis.
To Sarah forever incase said Sarah marrys with my consent or according to my will,

1 negro wench called Sarah
1 sorrel mare & year old colt, "natural pacers"
1 bay horse, natural pacer
1 roan mare and colt, both trotters
1 roan colt three years old, other horses also

To Margaret on same conditions,

Hannah, Craig, Pratchey
3 or 4 horses

Of these presents I have given my inventory signed by my own hand to my daughters, etc. Recorded 16 June 1757
Recorded delivered: Captain Peter Hog, December 1770.

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*Annals of Augusta County by Waddell, pg 102, says Peter Hogg was born and educated in Scotland (b.1703) and settled in Augusta about 1745 as did his brothers James and Thomas. Whether he was related to the Hoges of Winchester, also of Scotland is not stated. He married Elizabeth Taylor, and became a noted lawyer.

**Chronicles of Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from Original Court Records of Augusta County, Virginia, by Lyman Chalkey (1980) GPC

CHAPTER ~~EIGHT~~ SEVEN - RICHARD GETS IN TROUBLE DEFENDING CHEROKEES

Events of this chapter are not easy to relate because so much was going on at once. Hopefully the most effective way is to present the contents of letters and records of some of those involved, though many will sound a little bizarre by today's standards. We must remember that our Colonial ancestors, living in much different circumstances, had much different attitudes. Population was for the most part concentrated on the seacoast or on rivers leading there, the Virginia Valley being an exception. Keep in mind that each colony had been created at a separate time, by a leader(s) with quite divergent ideas about religion as well as how to govern, and in competition with the one next to it. Virtually no roads had been built connecting most of them in 1750, so travel and trade was primarily by water, and more of it with the mother country than with each other. All considered themselves Englishmen, even if born in Ireland or even Germany since all owed allegiance to the English crown. Though they hoped to coax southern Indians allies to fight the French Indians on the Monongahela as a patriotic duty, at as small a price and as unobtrusively as possible, in this extremely class-conscious society blue-blooded self-righteous colonial gentleman leaders regarded the redmen as a much inferior race.

Cherokee warriors, on the other hand, had been lured north in expectation of the lavish gifts promised by Richard Byrd III and Edmund Randolph. In order to go so far from home to fight, they had to forgo the annual spring hunt from which they derived most of their living expenses and rely instead on the gifts. Their custom was to leave in early spring, strike swiftly and effectively without warning, and return home in time to get in as much hunting as possible, leaving their women and children at home to raise corn and vegetables, supplemented with meat from hunters.

For some strange reason it seems never to have occurred to to colonial leaders that Cherokees would act, as European mercenary armies had done for a thousand or more years--that when promised pay was not received promptly they would ravish the countryside to obtain the plunder they conceived of as their rightful payment. Not a pretty picture--but Cherokees did not invent the practice.

Richard Pearis, unlike most white men of his time, did understand Cherokee culture. His job was not to judge, but to encourage Indian warriors to go fight the French at Fort Duquesne. He realized these warriors would immediately return home if they did not receive what they expected. Much to the chagrin and indignation of Clement Reade's people, he seems to have sympathized with Indians rather than whites. It should be emphasized that, as a Virginian, Richard had no authority in North Carolina, and that his job was to meet his charges at the border and guide them north. Wahachy's large group was from the Lower Towns; their route was not across mountains as that of the Overhills would have been, and the route they took was farther east than anticipated. It is unclear whether Richard realized that supplies were awaiting them at Bedford, farther to the west. The group arrived at Lunenburg, where Col. Clement Reade was in charge instead.

The number of warriors, including several from Estatoe under Swallow Warrior, came to 128, too many to be easily managed by two white men if in a disagreeable mood. The two were Richard Smith as interpreter and Virginia Captain Richard Pearis, under orders to meet them at the border and accompany them to Winchester to be utilized by Washington's army. Nobody expected them to show up that far east, thus considerably lengthening the route; but when they did so Richard undoubtedly hoped to make the best of a difficult situation by pacifying them temporarily, remembering that very recently Col. Clement Read, Lunenburg chief justice, had served as quartermaster by providing ample supplies, now unused, for the aborted expedition of the Associators (last chapter) Pearis evidently imagined or hoped that something might be left over or could be dug up to satisfy the tribesmen temporarily until they reached Bedford where they were expected.

Pompous and crotchety Colonel Read was rather peevish as he protested he had no gifts for them. That was not at all the lavish and grateful welcome Byrd and Randolph had promised they would receive as soon as they reached Virginia. Having expected instant gratification, the impetuous Wahatchy (who well before this had caused ugly incidents in South Carolina and near the Savannah River) flew into a rampage. Read was outraged as Pearis did not reprimand the recalcitrant chief, but had he done so the whole group would have promptly turned on their heels, returned to their towns, and dissuaded others from coming, for Wahatchy was the most powerful ruler of the Lower Town Cherokees. In that case Richard would have been blamed unfairly for the second time of depriving Virginia of Cherokee warriors to fight the French. He would be criticized no matter what he did! Understanding that these Cherokees had made sacrifices to come there, desiring to fulfill his commitment to bring them north to fight on the Monongahela, and also quite aware of Wahatchy's reputation for not cooperating, he realized that criticizing the proud chief in front of his men would be counter-productive. He accomplished very little in attempts at restraint in spite of the fact that Read was growing more indignant by the moment.

Read blamed Pearis for the whole situation. Perhaps to divert attention from his own shortcomings, he later pretended that Richard was distracted from his duty by the presence of a pretty Catawba maiden. This was probably an after thought and may be taken with a grain of salt.

Demanding that the guilty be punished, he dashed off an anguished letter to Governor Dinwiddie whom, incidentally, the disgruntled Cherokees had insisted he contact, being just as disgusted with him as he was with them. Much to his chagrin, the governor, still desiring those allies, advised mild treatment and requested that they be sent to him at Williamstown. But long before the reply was received, Pearis had gone with the entourage to Bedford Courthouse where they received some gifts already meant for them, and were already well on the way to Winchester where Read, hoping to rid himself of them, had suggested they would receive many presents--thus creating a big problem in Winchester, where Mercer and Washington had nothing to give them.

According to Read the Indians behaved barbarically and terrified him and his family into living almost as slaves while they were there. He did not dare refuse to pen an insolent letter to Dinwiddie on their behalf. But believing they could not read what he wrote, he tossed in a few of his own views. Part of the letter follows:

> "Wawhatchee further ordered me not to fail to inform you that the presents wrote for he expected would be sent up to Winchester soon, and he made me promise that they should, and seeing that I have promised it and the appearance of the Indians at my house... equipped for war when I had only five white men and ten negroes at home and unprepared would have made Alexander the Great have promised it...For, sir, the evening before they had their grand council they tomahawked, ripped up the bowels, and scalped a fellow in the yard*...they gave me leave to bury him after which myself and the whole family behaved with the greatest order and decorum towards them, granted them all they asked and yielded to every demand.. However by our passive obedience and non-resistance after their eating and destroying 1000 lb. of pork and bread and meat in proportion in about 30 hours they were persuaded to march toward Bedford Court House for their presents. But in their way, following the practice and lewd example of their leader, two of them ravished a girl of about 12 or 13 years old they met on the road five or six miles from my house and tore her in a manner too indecent to mention and visited every plantation within three or four miles of the road plundering the plantations and frightening the inhabitants...in short, sir, they acted like freebooters in an enemy country and on our court day in the morning...crowds of people came to my house and solicited me to do something...they appeared enraged and ready to take up arms...At Lunenburg Court House the Indians mutinied and they were for returning (back home). Smith prevailed upon them to stay there until I could be sent for. I went and pacified them. I prevailed on them to consent to go to Winchester to Colonel Washington where they should have the presents, they should be provided for according to treaty, should be well used."

*The fellow in the yard which they tomahawked before the council meeting was a Chickasaw, a tribe which was traditionally enemy, but whom they occasionally teamed up with when fighting a more hated tribe. They evidently were outraged because he advised more moderate behavior. It is very likely that Read exaggerated as did upset dwellers in the looted plantations, but there is no doubt that the Cherokees behaved in a deplorable manner, acting more like warriors in battle than desirable allies. Probably too much alcohol was consumed by some of them. It is no secret that Indians craved alcohol but lacked control when they consumed it.

If this Chief Wahatchy were to create even half as much fear in the minds of the Shawnees as they had in the small farmers in Lunenburg County they would become of inestimable value to the Army but first, thanks to Colonel Read's promise of gifts at Winchester, they would cause another big stir.

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Winchester, of course, was west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The usual way from there to Carolina was to follow the Valley to the Roanoke River where, to the east [illegible] for a short distance a gentle slope constituted a mountain gap. Those wishing to go south could proceed that way. The others could continue on down the Valley. The crossing-place was considerably west of Bedford Courthouse. Whether they took the usual route was not stated, but Indians were used to rugged terrain. At any rate, when they got to Winchester Colonel Washington, not having received timely notice of their impending arrival, was not at Fort Loudoun to greet them, having left his deputy, Captain George Mercer, in charge. The young man, almost distraut and wanting to do the right thing, had nothing to offer them.*

"Angry, Wawhatchee refused the wampum Mercer held out at the end of his talk and stalked away, leaving Swallow Warrior to bully the Captain and threaten Cherokee desertion to the French. Mercer, risking everything upon his own word, urged them again to take the wampum and promised they would have presents when they returned from war. Swallow quieted and said that he personally did not want anything but that his men had followed him because he had promised presents, and he was angry that the Governorhad made a liar of him amongst his own men.

"Wawhatchee strode about Winchester demanding that Dinwiddie himself come to the frontier to appease him. Mercer, almost frantic with fear that the whole Cherokee nation would go over to the French, lifting English scalps on the way, wrote Washington urging him to send presents immediately. But presents were not to be had. Everything at Bedford had been given out; and Sir William Johnson had bought forthe use of his Northern Department the Ohio Company's entire supply of Indian goods stored at Cresap's farther west on the frontier. Confronted with Mercer's pleas, the Virginia Council relayed them to the Burgesses, which had already been complaining of the cost of Indian presents. The Council also appealed to the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, Edmund Atkin, to travel to Winchester.

"Cherokees continued to arrive at the frontier base. But despite their disappointment they did not intend to give up the war. Leaving Mercer to make good his promises, they separated into two main parties to go against the French. Eighty gunmen with Richard Smith as interpreter, accompanied Major Lewis up the Potomac to Fort Cumberland. The others, including Youghtanno's Overhills from Chilhowee and Telassie, followed Wawhatchee and Pearis farther north, ostensibly to track enemy marauders."

Part of Captain Mercer's letter to Washington follows:

Dear Sir Fort Loudoun (VA) April 24th 1757

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

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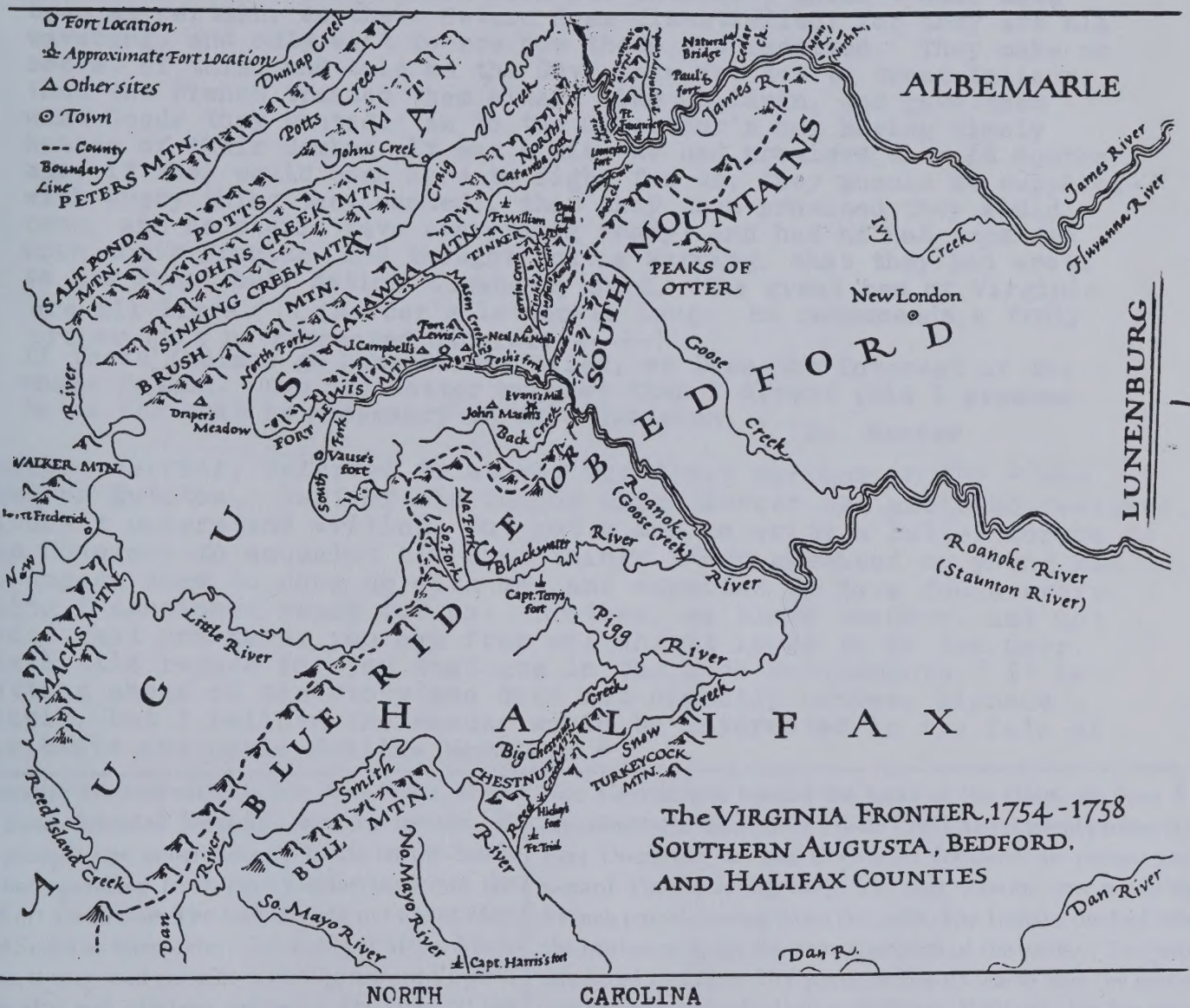
*Cherokee Frontier by Corkran, prev. cited, pages 117-8

Use newer copy

Though designed to show frontier forts, this little map will give you some idea of where encounters with angry Cherokees occurred. Little of the then enormous Augusta County is shown, its Eastern boundary being the Blue Ridge. Bedford and Halifax Counties were separated by Blackwater & Staunton Rivers.

Lunenburg Courthouse where Wahatchy's group created such a stir, is a little east of where the map ends, but this indicates where it was. Another incident, described later in this chapter, took place near the banks of the Staunton River--in which a group of frontiersmen including "Old Mr. Verdiman aged about 60" confronted a band of Cherokees posing as Shawnese.



Map from inside front cover of George Washington. A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)

Note: Perhaps Wahatchy's group followed the Occaneechi Path to the Dan & Staunton River juncture (See map page 111). It would have led to Lunenburg.

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see that their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion....'Go. Mercer

Swallow Warrior, referred to above, was first warrior in the Lower Town of Estatoe. Part of his letter which Mercer had enclosed declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother, we blame the Govr. and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr. has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements." It is getting ahead of the story and does not directly concern Richard Pearis, but I believe the reader would be interested in the fate of the brave and noble Swallow Warrior: *

While Wawhatchee wrestled with Atkin in Winchester, Swallow Warrior's band defended Virginia's western frontier. It worked in two groups: one under Andrew Lewis on the South Branch, the other operating from Fort Cumberland into the forests toward Fort Duquesne. The former went out about May 19 with Richard Smith as interpreter. Consisting of fifty soldiers and fifty Indians, it surprised enemies marching toward Virginia and took five scalps and nineteen prisoners. On June 10 the party returned to Winchester.

Swallow Warrior's Cherokees, in two parties of fifteen each, operated sometimes on their own and sometimes with the Virginians. Near the end of May the Swallow Warrior and Lieutenant Baker with fifteen Indians and five whites scouted from Fort Cumberland toward the forks of the Ohio. On June 5 in the forest near the head of Turtle Creek about twenty miles from Fort Duquesne, as the Cherokees followed an enemy track toward Pennsylvania, their foremost warrior saw a ten-man French patrol coming down the path. The Indians ducked below the bushes to await the near approach of the enemy. The patrol advanced to within fifty paces before its leader saw the motionless Indians and called out a challenge. Volleyed rifle fire roared the answer. Four Frenchmen fell; but the others stood their ground, shooting desperately. Not waiting to reload, the Cherokees threw down their guns and rushed in with knives and tomahawks. In the French fire the two foremost Indians fell, Swallow Warrior in the act of leaping upon a fallen enemy to take a

*ibid, pages 124-5

scalp, and his son following close upon him. The Indian onslaught swept by them, and the Frenchmen broke and ran. Two were seized before the Indians realized they had lost their leader. In a rage they tomahawked one of the captives and a wounded Frenchman struggling to rise. Then hastily concealing the Swallow Warrior's body, they scalped the dead Frenchmen; and, with one of their number carrying the Swallow Warrior's wounded son on his back, they hurried their lone prisoner back to Fort Cumberland.[19] He was Ensign Belestre, later instrumental in fomenting hatred of the English in Lower Towns Estatoe.

The second party, Lieutenant Spotswood commanding, had bad luck. Scouting almost to Fort Duquesne, on June 8 its Cherokees sighted what they believed to be tracks of a major assault against the settlements. They reported by runner to Fort Cumberland that several hundred of the enemy with cannons and wagons approached.[20] Tremors of apprehension reached even the tidewater; but the alarm proved false. A day or two later Cherokees took a scalp within one hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. With these episodes Spotswood's party disappeared in the dark of the Allegheny forests. Weeks later two Cherokees came into Pennsylvania's Fort Lyttelton with the grim report that Spotswood, hard pressed, had ordered his party to disband, each man to look out for himself.[21] He was never heard from again.

The party once headed by Swallow Warrior was incorporated into the band with Andrew Lewis under the leadership of Swallow Warrior's nephew, Seroweh, the Mankiller of Estatoe.[22] Since their arrival in Virginia they had lost thirty warriors, some by illness and wounds, but fifteen by death. It was a near disaster as Indians reckoned loss.

Rest in peace, brave Swallow Warrior and brave Spotswood. Too soon has our country forgotten how much it owes to you! Meanwhile, Richard Pearis, desiring also to save his country, had to do some swift creative thinking. It seemed to him obvious that when the Virginia gift finally arrived it would not be enough to placate Wahatchy, who potentially held the key to winning or losing the war. Should he become angry enough to defect to the French, it was quite likely this powerful chief could influence the entire Cherokee Nation to fight the English--the Overhills were already leaning that way. On the other hand, perhaps other hard-pressed colonies to the north would come up with sufficient presents. There was another consideration as well, for though he probably did not realize that Dinwiddie had already given new Supt. Atkin authority to fire him, being no fool he realized that the outraged Col. Read's complaints to the governor would place his job in jeopardy. So, while the presents were being scrounged up, and without authority, he took Wahatchy and Youghtanno's combined forces across the Potomac where they collected some enemy scalps. Then on 29 April 1757 they arrived at Fort Frederick, Maryland, where they were greeted by a delighted Captain Beale. That Colony also needed Indian allies, and he soon reached an understanding with Pearis and the Indians. Wahatchy composed a letter, shown on next page, to Governor Sharpe indicating a willingness to serve Maryland and an expectation of presents for what they had already done on Maryland soil. Then, without waiting for Sharpe's reply, Pearis, the Cherokees, and some Maryland troops under command of Lt. Shelby left the fort to go toward the Forks of the Ohio. Virginia's auxiliaries had for the time being become Maryland's.*

The mixed force conducted a successful operation. Two weeks out and well over "Allegheny Mountain," they picked up an enemy track and followed it for two days. On the morning of May 13 near Reastown their scouts sighted fifteen or sixteen Delawares and Shawnees squatted about their breakfast fire. Swiftly the soldiers and Cherokees disposed themselves for the attack. At a given signal the provincials fired and the Cherokees raced in. Four enemies fell and the others ran into the laurels pursued by Cherokees who dragged down two of them. Shelby leaped upon a wounded warrior, the notorious "Beaver's Son," struggling to rise. As the white man fought to fasten thongs upon the Indian's hands, the Delaware, crying "Kill away, kill away," died.[10] It was the kind of attack Indians liked: surprise and victory with scalps and prisoners but no loss to themselves.

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*Ibid, pages 118-9

From the Assembly Proceedings below and the negotiations shown on the following pages, it really does seem as though Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe was at first pleased to have the services of these Cherokees, but after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to offend the Virginians by not cooperating--and that had Wahatchy not been offended by the pittance being offered for his warriors' services, he might have made a good ally.

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.'

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757. Horº. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.'

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast

Archives of Maryland -Lower House Journal, Liber #48 pp. 429-431

till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.
Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

PEARIS FAMILY

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'Sir,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he had us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People; and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell] for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

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'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

he Cherokees, and several other
and Pensylvania Troops being
ourselves to Wahachey the Chief
thither by your order and that
r your Excellency's answer to
er Capn. Pearis would interpret
eeded.

of Keeway and Brethren of the
received the Message which you
e me of your being come to Fort
ur arrival and bid you welcome
n [gave a string]. I have heard
good intentions towards us from
and have for a long time had a
ut it happens that now you are
et you, this I am sorry for but
e since I have sent Mr. Wolsten-
communicate my Sentiments to
them because I know that they
for you, and because I am Con-
y words faithfully; They will in
of the People of Maryland make a
hope will last as long as the Sun
to confirm it I present you this
a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross
a orders to supply you with such
l stand in need of. As a farther
towards you I have now sent you
at of one hundred pounds Value],
ould send you a larger, but as it is
consider the value of the present
n of him that sends it.

have made a League of Friendship

her I will speak to you more freely
you are come. You say that your
or of Virginia has signified to you
George desires you will joyn the
ar against the French and their
y just cause or provocation have
nd Scattered their Bones over the
ne that upon our Father's pleasure
u, you have taken up the Hatchet
nd that you will hold it fast till
it the French and the Indians in
ell pleased that you have already

I hope you will soon make our
and that you will prosecute the
them, to make your Hatchet Sharp
r Hands I present you with this
a [gave a string].

ou say, when you came to Fort
no longer in Virginia but in another
e, but I must observe to you that
are nevertheless one People. The
, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania
s to the Northward are Brethren,
at King, and they that are Friends
Friends to all. You are then the
ecome one People and unite against
dians our Ennemies. Let our Men

Look on them as your Brethren.
er your manner, and then neither
ies will be able to stand before you.
at and as a reward for those that
re you a present as large as that
you [pointing to the small parcell]

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

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'J. Ridout.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

The Maryland governor's ambassadors were his own secretary, John Ridout and wealthy Annapolis merchant Daniel Wolstenholme. As you may gather from the fine print in the previous page, upon receiving Wahatchy's letter, he asked his Assembly at once for funds to pay for Indian presents; but as will be abundantly clear in upcoming pages, it was an exceedingly parsimonious group. Having already posted a £50 bounty per scalp considered quite generous, after long debate it voted £150 for Wahatchy's party. On news of the mixed patrol's success, Sharpe added bounty for four scalps to the grant, and spent £300 on presents, sent by John Ridout in wagons to Fort Frederick, though the Chief's subsequent refusal to turn over the scalps created a complication. Governor Sharpe also commissioned Richard Pearis a captain in one of the newly-authorized emergency Maryland Regiments.

Before returning to Winchester, the party stopped briefly at Fort Lyttelton PA, where they heard that that colony's Indian agent, Col. John Armstrong, had recently met with Mohawks and other friendly tribes at Lancaster. Pearis thereupon sent Armstrong word of their recent success upon Pennsylvania soil, plus talks by Youghtanno and Wahatchy inviting him to meet them at Fort Frederick."Pennsylvanians, hungry for Indian auxiliaries to shield their long frontier, hastened with presents"*

On May 18 at Fort Frederick the Cherokees, awaiting Maryland's offerings, opened a conference with the Pennsylvanians. Armstrong apologized for having brought so few presents: three rifles, four ruffled holland shirts, and a little wampum. He had come in haste to meet them. If they would come to Pennsylvania, he would give them more. Wawhatchee became very amiable. The next day he replied with pious thankfulness that he and his men had been able to protect Pennsylvania from an impending blow. He must first go to Winchester, then to Pennsylvania.[13]

On the twentieth the Maryland reward arrived. The Cherokees, as was their custom, shared the gift with all, soldiers and Indians, who had been in the Allegheny fight. But they refused to surrender the scalps for which Maryland had paid them a bounty.[14] On the twenty-second as Sharpe's empty-handed envoy rode back to Annapolis, the Indians set out with their gifts and scalps for Winchester, entranced with the dream of Virginia's bounty to be followed by Pennsylvania's largess.

Disappointment awaited them at Winchester. Captain Mercer had gone. A tall, sandy-haired Virginian, Colonel Washington, had taken over and had orders to leave Indian affairs to Edmund Atkin.[15] Mr. Atkin, however, had not yet reached Winchester, and Washington told the indignant Cherokees that he lacked the power to give them anything. Promptly the twenty-five-year-old Colonel was in hot water. "They are the most insolent, the most avaricious, the most dissatisfied wretches I ever had to deal with," he informed Dinwiddie. "If anything should detain Mr. Atkin's arrival . . . all the rhetoric I can master is not likely to detain them more than two or three days."[16]

His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District was then at Williamsburg devising a more systematic approach to Indian problems. Though repeatedly urged by Dinwiddie to hurry to Winchester where an immediate crisis existed, Atkin proceeded deliberately and meticulously about the program he had planned. With Dinwiddie he worked out a system of escorts, passports, and supply depots for Indians, designed to prevent repetition of the April disorders.[17] He did not arrive at Winchester with the promised presents until June 3.

Before the Superintendent could unpack his saddlebags, Wawhatchee burst into his quarters and demanded to hear what he had come to say. Wawhatchee's bluster derived partly from fear that Atkin had come to punish him. Atkin had been a member of the South Carolina council which had threatened Wawhatchee with punishment in connection with the Haig and Brown affair a decade before. Ignoring the impatient Cherokee, Atkin went firmly about the business of unpacking and placing his gear. Finally he quietly told the headman he would give his talk when he was ready and not before. Wawhatchee, That evening Youghtanno visited Atkin, laughed at Wawhatchee's anger, and hinted that matters could be mended. Atkin was conciliatory, and the next morning a quieted and dignified Wawhatchee accompanied by Youghtanno came to the Superintendent. With composure he listened to the terms of the new dispensation. In the future the southern Indians should heed only those talks given by the Superintendent or sent under his seal; they should obey no orders except those the Superintendent sent; and there should be no presents except as the Superintendent approved them. Wawhatchee gravely uttered his approval.

* Ibid 120-121

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

Probably Washington heaved a giant sigh of relief when he read that, not realizing the serious problems that pompous worthy, who lacked the finesse and suavity to mask paucity of presents in solacing speeches. He brought the insolent Wahatchy to heel, but lost him to Virginia service. And his firing of Richard Pearis was a disservice to Virginia, for whatever his faults, Richard understood how to get along with Cherokees, who could when properly led, be of tremendous service to the Colony. No other officer ever acquired that talent.

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* Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

  Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

  Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

* (Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Allen-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

Excerpts from Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pp. 175-189

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In the letter to George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern Dist. of Indian Affairs, dated 8 June 1757, he first cites in excrutiating detail Clement Read's version of recent Lunenburg disorders, and goes on at length to explain that "the Swallow and Wawhatchee" were the "worst-behaved in the Nation."

Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects. In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes. 9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

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"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects. In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes. 9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Though to all outward appearances Atkin had received great cooperation from Gov. Dinwiddie, Maryland Gov. Horatio Sharpe was harder to convince though he decided it was wise to at least appear to go along. Part of Atkin's letter to Sharpe of 12 June 1757 contains the following:

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina..

....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Crogan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance... This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

On receiving Adkin's message, Croghan decided to cover himself by asking Pennsylvania officer Col. John Armstrong to accompany him, as they answered to different bosses. Armstrong recognized that it was important, but made sure to stay out of trouble by writing to report everything to Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania on 19 June 1757. After thefirst quote he relays the sad fate of Swallow Warrior and experiences of other Cherokee groups, also a report regarding Col. Stanwix and Capt. Dagworthy, probably the scene at top of page 73.

per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ..Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne,

that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place ... where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

PEARIS FAMILY

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The following developments regarding Cherokee warriors in Virginia are only the beginning of the story, but do reflect what happened soon thereafter to the parties just mentioned. By then Richard was in Maryland assuming his new duties. (Cherokee Frontier, Corkran, pp. 123-7)

With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

Oblivious to the Indian's contempt, the Superintendent then developed the subject of the Pennsylvania visit by reading an invitation from Croghan. The Cherokees listened coldly to Atkin's promise that if they would go to war, he would send to Croghan to learn what sort of reward could be had. Wawhatchee, perceiving that Atkin wished to prevent present-collecting on the scale to which he aspired, disdainfully left Croghan's wampum dangling in the Superintendent's hand. Nevertheless, the conference broke up with intimations that the Indians might be more tractable the next day.

The morrow came, but no Indians waited upon His Majesty's Superintendent. Youghtanno, after an all-night debauch, had early in the morning reeled off toward the nation, followed by thirteen of his men.

When finally a penitent Wawhatchee came to Atkin to take formal leave, he repudiated Pearis, blaming his own conduct upon his benefactor, who, he said, had claimed sole authority over the Cherokees. Already prejudiced against the adventurer, the Superintendent believed the headman's statements, assuming that Wawhatchee's denunciation of Pearis represented a heartfelt conversion.

Shortly after the Mankiller of Estatoe came to Winchester, George Croghan brought in the Pennsylvania gift for Wawhatchee's party. Atkin decided that it was excessive and gave the lingering Wawhatchee but a part. The remainder he turned over to the Mankiller of Estatoe for accompanying Croghan to Pennsylvania to help Colonel Stanwix.

Led by Croghan and accompanied by Richard Smith to keep an eye on Johnson's deputy for Atkin, the party reached Carlisle on June 29. Now on Pennsylvania soil Croghan took advantage of Atkin, who had forbidden Johnson's deputy to speak to the Cherokees. Convincing himself that the northern and southern Indian districts were geographical rather than tribal units, Croghan decided that Cherokees in Pennsylvania were outside the southern Superintendent's jurisdiction.[23] He approached the Mankiller with presents and the promise that if he remained in Pennsylvania there would be further reward. The Cherokees agreed to stay twenty days.

The Cherokee sojourn in Pennsylvania ended inauspiciously. On July 21 a Cherokee runner arrived from the south with such disturbing news that Colonel Stanwix had difficulty holding the Indians to receive their presents.[24] All fifty-five Cherokees surged from the fort down the road toward Winchester.

Winchester had been very quiet after Croghan left for Carlisle with the Estatoes. Late in June, Osteneco passed through on his way to the frontier after having delivered a message in Williamsburg from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter. Then in July what appears to have been a backdoor deputation of Overhills, accompanied by Mingo warriors, bound for upper New York to confer with the neutral Onondaga council, arrived. Atkin, at the moment without a skilled linguister, gained the impression that enemy spies were in his midst and threw the deputies into Winchester jail.[25] Horrified, convalescent Cherokees lingering at the base dispatched a runner to Chota and sent for help to the nearest war party, the Mankiller's Estatoes at Carlisle. The Estatoes, boiling into Winchester, effected a jail delivery before young Washington could convince them that a mistake had been made. Only after the deputies' wounded pride had been assuaged with presents did the Estatoe Mankiller send a runner to counteract the story already proceeding toward the nation.[26]

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper* Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

*Washington mis-spelled the soldier's name. He was St. John David Woelpper of Captain Peter Hogg's company--but he had assistance in guarding this formerly unruly group of Cherokees.

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir **Carlisle 4 July 1757**

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon

their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant

Richd Smith

Sharpe to Atkin 29 July 1757

Sir: I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30 of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr. Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to encourge their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super-Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Covernmts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice nor can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought up to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recomment. I would have you insist on the great Expense that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us.

You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopy Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to

make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply of our Indian Friends that may come or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose. Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr. Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made & interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo. Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr. Croghan to purchase and in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal.

When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restrain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend to any New Duty. I understand that the Governt of Virga had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virga was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met yours nor Governor Dinwiddie's Approbation, however, as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt. Pearis thither.

I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him. If this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province.
I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the premium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name of with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am, & c.

This letter is copied verbatim from Maryland Archives 9: 59-61 in an article called Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was in the same volume, pages 44-5.

It appears from this letter that Governor Sharpe was a very perceptive man. Later on under altered circumstances he did give Richard much more authority than promised above. Though there was a surface cordiality between Sharpe and Dinwiddie, relations were then strained over border disputes and other considerations.

The preceding letter gave Washington's official instructions, but three days later, in a letter to John Robinson, he commented, 'Dear Sir: A person of a readier pen, and having more time than myself, might amuse you with his vicissitudes which have happened in the Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up. I acknowledge my incompetency, and therefore shall only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been; and that they are gone off (that party under Warhatchie I mean) in different ways, and with far different views; one part southwardly to their nation; and the other northwardly to treat with the Pennsylvanians, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Atkin, who has, I believe, sent to forbid any conference to be held with them.... Major Lewis is returned with part of the Indians, that went out with him, in consequence of their having taken only eight days' provisions with them. He was unable to prevail with those savages to take more. One party of twenty, with ten soldiers, is gone towards Fort Duquesne, under Captain Spotswood; and another party of fifteen, with five soldiers, under Lieutenant Baker, but they course towards Logstown. God send them success and a safe return, I pray....."

(A footnote quotes Col. Stanwix to Gov. Denny of PA- 12 June 1757, "As to Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find all those employed as agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Col. Armstrong and..Mr. Atkin so of them all as well as of the Provinces.")(This is getting ahead of the story, but Atkin was a couple of years later replaced by Capt. Stuart, rescued from Ft. Loudoun--the one near Chota--when the Cherokees massacred the others. He, also, gave Richard some trouble but they later collaborated as you will see.)

But lest the reader think the folks of Halifax and Bedford Counties were through with Indian disturbances, it seems they were only beginning, though this time it does not appear Capt. Pearis got the blame. You might enjoy reading about this, and I especially admire "Old Mr. Verdiman, aged about 60" with an elder stick but no gun, bowing before painted warriors who could not understand a word he said, "Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses..." etc. Two versions agree except dates. First*

"..the Cherokees began to leave for the North in large numbers to assist Virginia against the French and Enemy Indians. They were useful but troublesome allies in the campaign of 1757. Because of Forbes' inaction, the Cherokees found themselves idle and refused to wait any longer for action and by July only 200 warriors remained, and by September only 80 left with the Virginia forces. Gov. Dinwiddie again sent an urgent appeal to the Cherokees, this time in early 1758...In May 1758, Moytoy of Settico** leading a band of warriors home from Virginia, set out to go by way of the

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*Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, Mary B. Kegley, pp 59-60
**See Map of Cherokee towns. Settico is next to the capitol town of Chota.

"Cherokee country. Several of his men lost horses, and had been unable to recover them from the English. They took others, to the number of twenty to replace their own, often posing as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their nation. Although some authorities state the horses were running wild in the woods, the papers of the South Carolina Indian Affairs (McDowell, Documents pp.463-5) said the horses were deliberately taken from Virginians: William Verdiman, his son William Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, John Wheeler, Robert Jones, Jr., and Henry Snow, all of Halifax County. These men gathered forces and proceeded after the Indians, but were unable to make them fully understand and the Virginians were attacked. Later Captain Head and the local militia pursued them. The Indians, who had thought the Virginians were their friends, were now ready for revenge, and moved into the North Carolina settlements on the Yadkin River and claimed nineteen scalps. There were many such war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1759, and an ugly feeling for all Indians developed among the people of Virginia."

And now let us hear the same story from another source, this time History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, Maud Carter Clement (1953) pages 78 and following: (photocopy)

In the hope of enlisting the aid of the friendly Cherokees and Catawbas in the struggle against the French and their Indian allies, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Colonel William Byrd and Colonel Peter Randolph to visit the two nations.

This they did in the summer of 1756, carrying with them many gifts, and successfully concluded a treaty with the tribes whereby they agreed to furnish Virginia with 500 warriors in return for the erection of a fort for the protection of their wives and children against the assaults of the northern Indians. Virginia at once fulfilled her promise, and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee was built the same summer.

In the spring of 1757 when the long promised Indian aid arrived it was found to consist of but 400 warriors and of these only 180 remained at the fort at Winchester, the others immediately returning home. They had evidently become disaffected towards the Virginians through French influence, and now were bent upon mischief, for in their march back and forth through Virginia they committed many acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and slew and tomahawked[1] one of their own members in Col. Clement Read's yard.

When they reached western Halifax and Bedford Counties they became bolder in their defiant attitude and robbed the inhabitants of their horses, plundered their homes, and offered brutal insults to their persons.

The people of Halifax were placed in a most trying position, for it was well known and understood that the Cherokees were our friends and allies, and that their warriors had marched to our aid; yet here were marauding bands of more than a hundred warriors straying over the country and boldly robbing the inhabitants, who hesitated to offer resistance to the intruders for fear of provoking them to war. We may know that the Cherokees were keenly sensible of the plight in which these Virginians were placed, for they remained several weeks terrorizing the countryside.

A letter[2] of Colonel Fontaine to relatives in England, dated June 11, 1757, said: "Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends do despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy. It is not above a month ago since a party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg insulted people of all ranks."

When Col. Read[3] notified the Governor of the presence and behavior of the Cherokees his Excellency advised reasoning with them in a mild way for fear of provoking them to open warfare, which he said "would prove of fatal consequences; however the people are not to be robbed and insulted."

But when the people, acting upon the Governor's advice, attempted to reason with the Indians, their peaceful overtures were repulsed and bloodshed followed.

A letter[4] from the Governor to Col. Fontaine, County Lieutenant, in regard to the situation stated:

"Sir,— May 7, 1757.

I received y'r L're of April 20, last night and am very sorry for the aprehensions the frontiers are under an attack from the Indians. It is a surprise to me that the People allow Indians to come so frequently among them: the very examining of the Co'try and the Peoples Houses was Suspicion Sufficient to raise the militia and Take 'em all Prisoners. I approve of your sending out James Dillard with fifty men; and please order him to continue out aranging."

The citizens of Bedford County petitioned[5] to be allowed to kill the Indians, and asked for soldiers to be stationed among them for protection, but their petition was denied in the hope of preventing open conflict.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office expired January, 1758, and Mr. Blair, president of the Council, became the presiding official of the colony until the arrival of Governor Fauquier in the following June. Blair ordered an investigation into the origin of the troubles in Halifax and Bedford Counties with the Cherokees, and for this purpose a especial court was held at Mayes Ferry (now Booker's Ferry), on Staunton River, in Halifax County, on June 1, 1758, when the following depositions[6] were taken of those who had suffered from Indian outrages or taken part in the conflicts with them: (Re- Moytoy's Indians)

"Halifax County to-wit— } At Mays's Ferry on Staunton River June the 1st, 1758, was taken by Order of Mr. President Blair—The State cause and process of the three several Engagements,

--cont'd on next page

[1]Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 609.
[2]"Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," by Maury.

CHAPTER NINE (EIGHT) - CAPTAIN PEARIS OF THE 5th MARYLAND PROVINCIALS

If we were being strict, we would have to admit that the events in the previous chapter all happened after Richard had been commissioned a Maryland captain; but this segment begins with his assumption of his command at Fort Cumberland as a leader of white soldiers, sometime after the Virginians evacuated the fort on 7 May 1757, taking with them their Indian interpreters. Governor Sharpe felt that he could kill two birds with one stone by having a captain who could also serve as an interpreter when necessary, in addition to his regular duties in a new company being raised "under Colo. Stanwix command," as he put it, since the Virginians already had so many interpreters they would scarcely miss this good one. (Relations between the two governments were civil but restrained.)

The only roster of Maryland troops under Captain Richard Pearis is from October 1757 to 31 May 1758, when Governor Sharpe, though he did not believe the charges leveled by Acting Virginia Governor Blair, disbanded his company and distributed his men under the other companies. He then went on special duty for General John Forbes under Colonel Bouquet and others, leading scouting parties and so on.

Complete rosters of all of the service of the Maryland troops in the French and Indian War have not been preserved, just those from 9 October 1757 until they were disbanded. The reason even these were saved has to do with finances, for the reasons explained in Maryland Historical Magazine 5:271 et seq., issue of 10 Sep 1910.

"That the..roster of Maryland troops in the French and Indian war has been preserved to us is due to the disputes between the two branches of the Assembly and to their differences with Governor Sharpe. The lower house always expressed a willingness to make provisions for a small body of provincial troops, but on terms which the upper house consistently refused to accept; or if the two houses by chance agreed on any plan, it was one that the Governor could not accept without yielding some prerogative of the Proprietary. Braddock's defeat aroused the Assembly to action, and at the February session of 1756, after much bickering, the sum of £40,000 was voted for His Majesty's service. At subsequent sessions the Assembly declined to do more than provide for the support of 300 Militia, who could not be sent beyond Fort Frederick nor used as a fixed garrison for Fort Cumberland. Captain Dagworthy was given the command of the Maryland troops sent to the frontiers of Frederick County in 1754, and in 1756 took part in the construction of Fort Frederick. Fort Cumberland, though a Royal Fort, had been built by Virginians on Maryland soil, which may account for the objection of the Assembly to providing a garrison and for the later dispute as to precedence in command between Colonel Washington and Colonel Dagworthy.

"The correspondence of Governor Sharpe fully covers this period. It appears that he at first supported the Maryland troops by advancing money on the supposition that he would be reimbursed; later he maintained them through private subscription; and finally as the ledger shows, from money advanced by General Amherst.

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Pearis, Richard	
2	1st/Lieut	McRae, Duncan	
3	2d/Lieut	McArthur, Thomas	
4	Ensign	Skinner, Henry	
1	Private	Anderson, John	
2	"	Benyan, Parslew	
3	"	Brinkley, James	
4	"	Brown, George	
5	"	Brown, James	
6	"	Brown, Richard	
7	"	Bennet, John	
8	"	Barrett, Thomas	
9	"	Barker, Thomas	
10	Corporal	Colmore, Geo:	
11	Private	Craig, Geo:	Oct 24, 1757/May 31, 1758, 220 days
12	"	Colvill, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
13	"	Creswell, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 211 days, deserted
14	"	Dennis, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
15	"	Davis, Even	
16	"	Davis, David	
17	"	Evens, William	
18	"	Egleston, Abram	
19	"	Fryer, William	
20	"	Freeman, Richard	
21	"	Field, Mathew	
22	"	Fitzpatrick, Thomas	
23	"	Genaler, John	
24	"	Grey, James	
25	"	Godson, James	
26	"	Gelstrap, William	
27	"	Goodwin, Mathew	
28	"	Hamilton, John	
29	"	Hillen, Jacob	
30	"	Hazard, Michael	
31	"	Hobson, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
32	"	Hamilton, James	
33	"	Hill, Silvester	
34	"	Harben, Anthony	
35	"	Howard, Richard	
36	"	Hodgins, Robert	
37	"	Hope, Henry	
38	"	Higgs, John	
39	"	Jones, Nehemiah	
40	Corporal	Johnson, Andrew	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 26, 1757, reduced Nov 18, 1757, deserted
41	Drummer	Jones, Joseph	
42	Private	King, William	
43	"	Love, Aaron	
44	"	Locker, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
45	"	Lego, Charles	
46	"	Lawson, John	
47	"	Lee, John	
48	Serjeant	Monroe, Alex:	
49	Corporal	Moodie, Hugh	
50	Private	Martin, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 25, 1758, died

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service (Cont'd)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
51	Private	Mass, John Baptist	
52	"	Mason, William	
53	"	Mills, William	
54	"	Maken, John	
55	"	McCubin, W:m	
56	"	Mason, Edward	
57	"	May, Edward	
58	Serjeant	Naylor, Joshua	
59	Private	Naylor, Benjamin	
60	"	Noyer, Thomas	
61	"	Pettit, Lewis	
62	"	Perkins, John	
63	"	Porter, Hugh	
64	"	Peckerel, Samuel	
65	"	Paulin, Robert	
66	"	Queen, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
67	"	Reymour, William	
68	"	Robert, Isaac	
69	"	Robinson, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
70	"	Rowles, Thomas	
71	"	Rally, Isaac	
72	"	Robert, John	
73	"	Reymour, Joseph	
74	"	Rhodes, Thomas	
75	"	Spekernel, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 22, 1757, 13 days, died
76	"	Stillworth, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
77	"	Shaw, Robert	
78	"	Sasser, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
79	"	Suelor, Charles	
80	"	Simpson, Anthony	
81	"	Surratt, Joseph	
82	"	Stephens, Solomon	
83	Corporal	Sapp, Robert	promoted Nov 19, 1758
84	Private	Tycer, John	
85	"	Turney, Charles	
86	Serjeant	Vaughan, W:m	
87	Private	Williams, John	
88	"	Wattson, Walter	
89	"	Willson, Thomas, Jun.	Oct 26, 1757/May 31, 1758
90	"	Waters, James	
91	"	Woolridge, Roger	
92	"	Watts, Samuel	
93	Corporal	Willis, John	

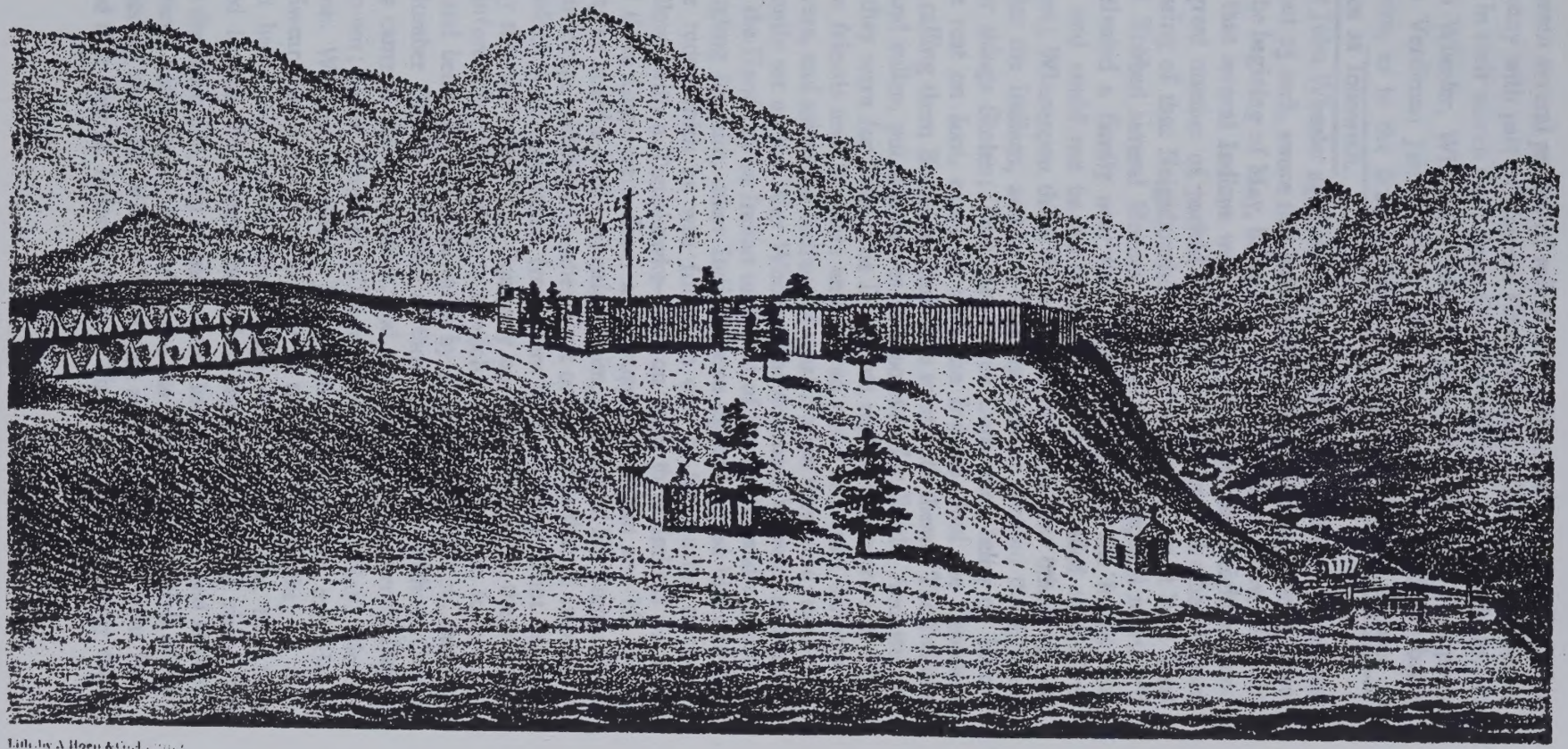
Attest: David Ross

[MHS:375]

From Book, Colonial Soldiers of the South by Murtie June Clark (GPC)

The roster below covers only a short period of Captain Richard Pearis's Maryland service, but is the only one found so far.

Fort Cumberland would have been considerably enlarged by the time Captain Richard Pearis came there in 1757, but this old painting shows the site. It was situated on Will's Creek close to the Potomac.



Lith. by A. Hoen & Co. Balt.

LOWDERMILK'S HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

FORT CUMBERLAND 1755.
From foot of Nobley.

had between several parties of militia of Halifax and Bedford Counties, in Company with part of Captain Hawkin's men, with several parties of Indians in their march thro' those Counties which is as followeth, to-wit,

John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman Junr, Robert Jones Junr, and Henry Snow being first sworn, as to the first of the three Engagements they deposed in Substance as followeth.

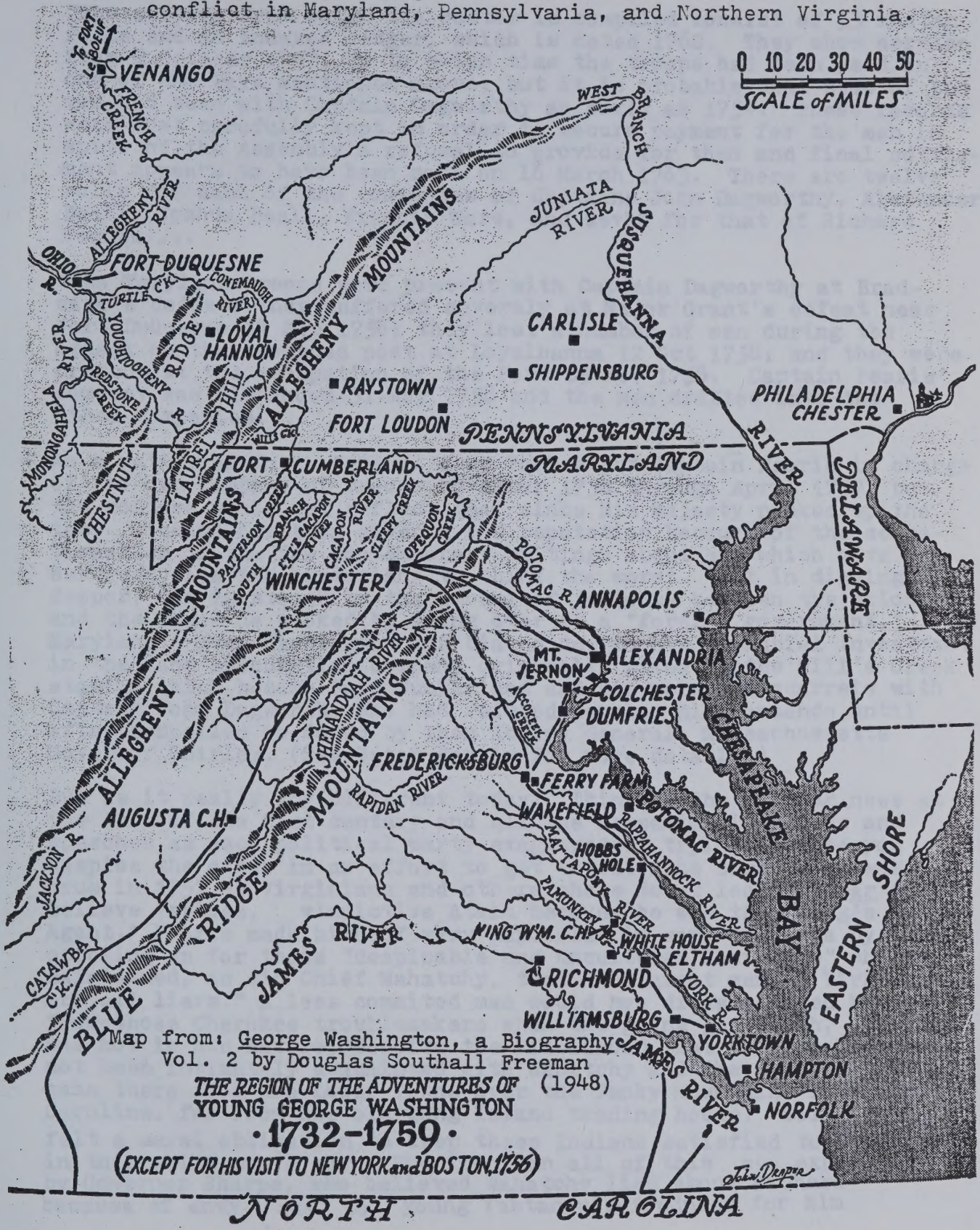
First John Wheeler aged about 50, John Hall and Richard Thompson aged about 25 each, swore that having been robbed of some Horses sometime in the begining of May, being at a neighbours House, were informed by him, that several Indians were seen to pass thro' the Neighbourhood with a great number of packed Horses, and that several other Horses were missing of that Neighbourhood, to the number of 20 at least That they had Robbed several Houses, and had as was supposed murther'd or—Captivated a family near that Neighbourhood, as the family was missing, and could not be heard of, and that they called themselves Shawanees; Whereupon these three Deponents with four others agreed to go after the Indians, and in a friendly manner demand the Horses, and other things Stolen; That these three Deponents, being on Horse back, the rest on foot, came up with the Indians, And the Deponent Wheeler calling them Brothers, desired to treat with them. The Indians painted and sullen, put themselves in a posture for Battle, And sternly asked if they were for War, The Deponents replied they were not, That they were friends and Brothers and desired peace and quiet delivery of their Horses, and asked the Indians of what Nation they were; upon that they instantly set up the War Whoop; The deponent Wheeler seeing his Horse in the Hands of an Indian took hold of the Bridle, and whilst they were strugling for him, other Indians came up and seized him and the Horse he rode, which he was forced to quit to them after receiving several Blows with a Tomahawke—fled on foot, three Indians pursued him, and three Guns were fired, as he supposed at him and his Companions, as he heard a Bullet whistle by him, and he and his Companions made their escape without any other Hurt or loss, then that of two more Horses, which were then taken from them by the Enemy, That in their flight they met the rest of the Company on Foot, coming to them upon which reinforcement, they came to a resolution once more to follow the Indians, and being joyned afterwards by a few others, did so, making up the Number Eleven tho' some of those Eleven were without Guns, That they came to Staunton River, and when there, these several Deponents, to-wit; John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman, Junr, Robert Jones, Junr, and Henry Snow, Swear that when they arrived at the River Bank they as they imagined heard the Indians WarHalloo on the other side, that they proceeded to pass the River, that when they gott over, on rising the Bank on the other side, they found a small fire just kindled, and at some little distance from thence, they observed the Enemy, upon which all the Deponents say that Old William Verdiman aged about sixty, went foremost, and that they all followed close at his heels, that when they came

up to the Enemy they found they had tyed their Horses, pretty many in Number to the Bushes, that most of the Indians were painted and others then painting, some black some Red, but mostly black, that when they came near Old Verdiman pulled off his Hatt and Bowed and accosted them in terms of peace, and Friendship, and said Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses, and other Goods, that you have taken from us, that the Indians gave a kind of a Grunt, and appeared determined for mischief, stripped themselves threw out the priming of their Guns, fresh primed and Cocked them, struck their Tomahawks into Trees, and in an angry manner demanded of the Deponents if they would fight; that whilst Verdiman who was still uncovered Bowing and Treating with them, the Enemy Indeavored to Inviron them, and had actually got them into a half Circle before the Deponents were aware upon which, and young Verdiman observing that two Indians had pointed their Guns, they the Deponents all retreated backwards with their Faces to the Enemy, and took to trees, that on their retreat, the Indians threw their Tomahawks, and that two of them narrowly missed two of their men, that one of them would have hitt Old Verdiman, but that he luckely parried it with an Elder Stick he had in his hand (for he was one of the number of those that had no Guns) and the Indians pursuing and they retreating in Order, they were near drove to the River Banck, where they must have inevitably perished had they then attempted to have crossed, that on the retreat a Gun was fired upon which the Engagement insued, and many Guns discharged on both sides, in which Engagement the Father of John Hall one of the deponents fell, and being mortally wounded soon after died, that during the Engagement those of the Deponents who had Guns were obliged to fly from tree to tree to one another for a shott of Powder and Lead both being very scarce among them, that in the Engagement three Indians fell, that at last their Powder and Lead being Expended they fled back over the River in different places, and being all met again on the other side, they went to a Neighbours House, supplied themselves with more Ammunition, and went back again to place where the Engagement was to look for their wounded friend, who they found expiring, three Indians dead in the Field and much plunder, that they scalped the Indians, threw their dead Bodies into the River, and brought away their dying friend and the plunder, and that their Friend soon after dyed, the account of Spoil found in the Field consisting of Horses. Saddles, Bridles, Mens, and Womans apparel &c., is herewith sent Contained in two papers Numbered 1. 2.

The other two depositions run on in the same vein, except that the other encounters seem to have been a little later, and the subsequent frontiersmen, gradually losing patience, were not so forebearing as Old Mr. Verdiman.

Staunton River, where the confrontation occurred, is clearly shown in the map near the beginning of this chapter.

This map provides a pretty good overall view of scenes of the conflict in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Northern Virginia.

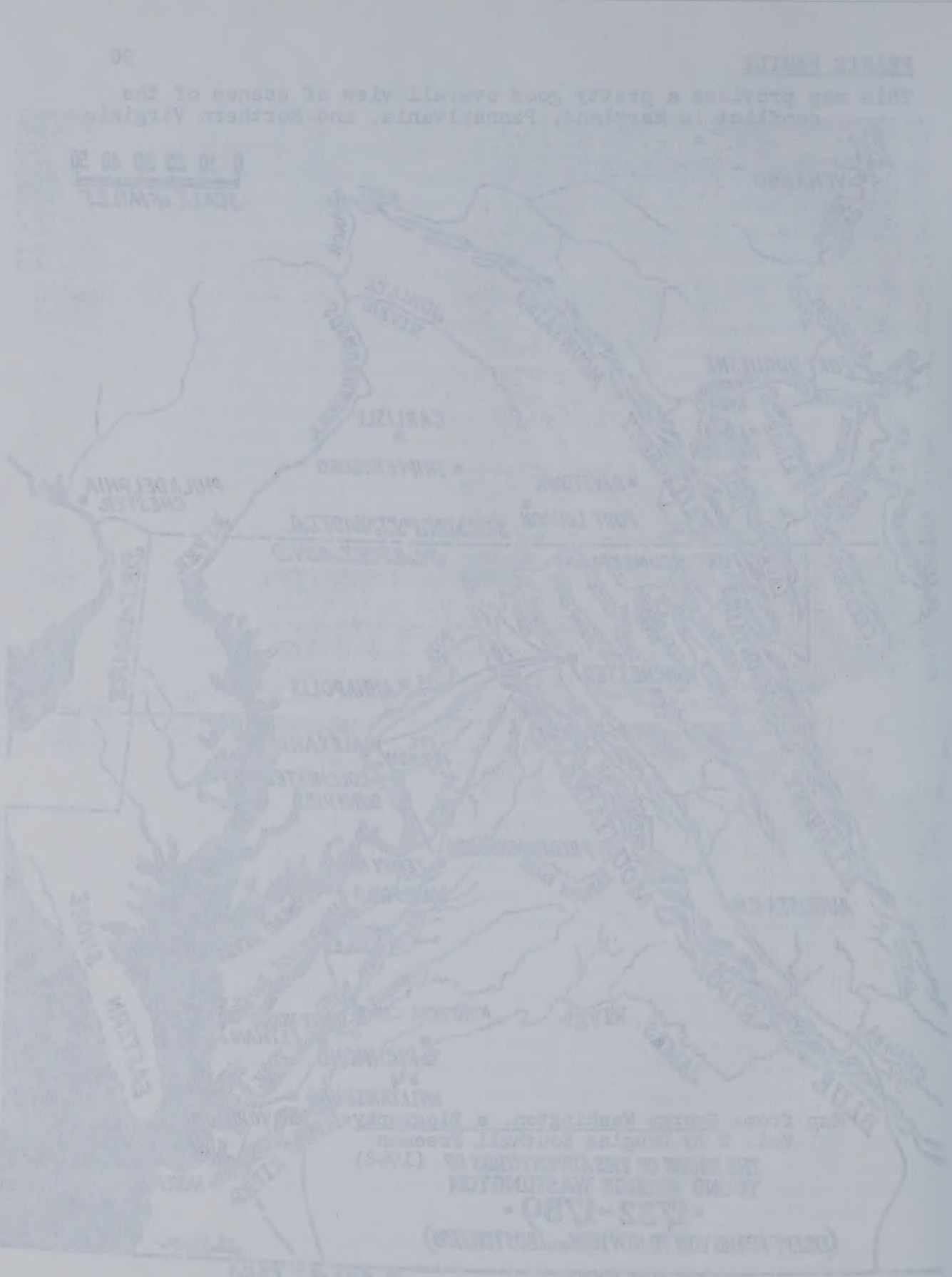


Map from: George Washington, a Biography Vol. 2 by Douglas Southall Freeman (1948)

THE REGION OF THE ADVENTURES OF YOUNG GEORGE WASHINGTON

·1732-1759·

(EXCEPT FOR HIS VISIT TO NEW YORK and BOSTON, 1756)



"The records from which the roster is compiled consist of 53 muster rolls and an indexed ledger, which is dated 1762. They show service from 9 October 1757, up to which time the troops had been paid in one of the ways mentioned above; but it is probable that some of the men had been with Captain Dagworthy as early as 1754. These records were most carefully kept in order to secure payment for the men in spite of the Assembly's refusal to provide for them and final settlement appears to have been made on 16 March 1763. There are twelve rolls for each of the companies of Captains John Dagworthy, Alexander Beall, Joshua Beall, Francis Ware, and seven for that of Richard Pearis....

"The Maryland troops were present with Captain Dagworthy at Braddock's defeat; they suffered severely at Major Grant's defeat near Fort DuQuesne 14 Sep 1758; they lost a number of men during the attack on the advanced post at Loyalhanna 12 Oct 1758; and they were present at the occupation of the Fort 25 Nov 1758. Captain Pearis' company was disbanded 31 May 1758 and the men drafted into the other companies...."

As a matter of fact, General John Forbes put Captain Pearis in charge of his own company of troops November 1758 through April 1759, but the rosters would not reflect that since His Majesty picked up the tab. Richard has been given a bad reputation because of the sensationalism of the few contemporary writings about him which have survived, leaving historians to think the worst. But in digging deeper, one is struck by the amount of jealousy between the colonies and the anger he evoked by going over to a "foreign government," Maryland. Even Washington was biased due to his financial investment in the land speculation company originally sited at the Will's Creek station which became Fort Cumberland and his personal quarrels with Captain John Dagworthy who had refused to obey his commands until after compelled to do so by then Acting General, Massachussetts Governor Shirley. (See Teter Family for more details.)

But is it really any different today? Think of the evening news at the turn of the 21st century and all the sensational stories and speeches as each political party exaggerates, trying to make you despise the other in an effort to get votes. The same thing was true in 1757 as Virginians and others chose to at least appear to believe verbose, vindictive Atkin because he was the "King's Agent." Pearis made himself very unpopular in some quarters by sticking up for those "despicable and uncultured Cherokees" who maintained, as did Chief Wahatchy, that "the great men of Virginia are all liars." A less commited man would have disassociated himself from those Cherokee troublemakers when the going got tough, but that was not in his nature, despite the likelihood that he probably had not been intimately acquainted with Wahatchy and the Swallow, who came there from the Lower Towns over the Smoky Mountains in South Carolina, far from his old Long Island trading house. Still, he felt a moral obligation to keep these Indians satisfied to help out in this white man's war. The irony in all of this was expressed by Governor Sharpe, who believed Wahatchy lied about Richard because of envy due to young Yahtanou's fondness for him.

The Cherokee dilemma in 1757/8 must have been due to cultural clash and misunderstanding on both sides. The group had been urged to go north by South Carolina Governor Lyttleton who, unlike his predecessor, wanted to assist in the war effort as the British ministry requested, but did not feel safe in letting white troops leave. Even that early there were a great many more African slaves in the South Carolina low country than there were white colonists, and all the people there deathly afraid of an insurrection of dissatisfied blacks. That plus French interference in the sparsely-settled upcountry. The few troops at Fort Prince George were badly needed at home.

The crux of Cherokee dissatisfaction has to have been their misunderstanding of the promises made to them in 1756 by Virginia commissioners William Byrd and Peter Randolph, who made extravagant claims of the rewards they would receive if they would come to fight the Shawnees, and in comparing these with lavish gifts of French seeking the same allies. Very few Cherokees couldread a written treaty, and as word of the showy proceedings spread from brave to brave,the terms must have been exaggerated and expectations too great. Why else but through misconception would they have expected presents from frontier courthouses along the way like Halifax and Bedford? But they did, and were enraged when nothing was forthcoming. Pearis not having been present at the negotiations, could not explain it to them satisfactorily.

But does it really make sense to believe that Wahatchy and the first groups really came all that way just to get credit at several locations for a few scalps already taken? Or really there under French influence just to make trouble? There were far easier, more lucrative ways to do that, and they knew it. Does it not seem instead that, while ruling Virginians regarded the Cherokees as their servants with a moral obligation to assist them in their white man's war, the Cherokees considered themselves free agents--to fight or not, but to obtain whatever was most to their own advantage, be it French, English, or neutral, and that if indulged even though they did not truly earn it, would have made pretty good allies? Contemporary private comments seem to indicate many thought so but did not interfere. The upshot of all of this, not gone into in this Pearis Family story, but told in detail in the Teter Family story because Richard's son-in-law, Sergeant George Teter fought in it, was an expensive prolonged war against the Cherokees which could have been prevented if Atkin had not been so parsimonious with His Majesty's purse.

Some of the following is review, though most is not, but to tell the story accurately it is needful to establish a timeline, since the histories do not all agree. We will do this by quoting letters written at the time, many printed in Washington Papers, from which we see that Dinwiddie, to appease Col. Clement Reade and others angry at Wahatchy's group; and to obtain financial benefits from the new Indian Agent angry at having been "stood up" without an interpreter, was ready to discharge him as a scapegoat. But our Richard beat him to the punch by having already taken a Maryland commission.

Even Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, "That Capt Pearis has misbehaved I verily believe. He has taken a Commission in the maryland Forces which I think pretty extraordinary on every account. However, as your Honor has empowered Mr. Atkin to enquire into his misbehavior, I did not interfere or concern myself in any shape with him." But it would have been only natural had Washington had felt a little rebuffed that Pearis had left his command unannounced. At any rate, the number of Virginia captancies had just been reduced to only seven, listed a few pages back, and Richard certainly was not one of them, never yet having been in charge of a fort, so would have been demoted anyway. Andrew Lewis, a major, was not affected. It does appear Richard planned well in the nick of time.

On 5 May 1757, Virginia reluctantly turned possession of Fort Cumberland over to Maryland. On this day Governor Horatio Sharpe wrote Dinwiddie that Capt. John Dagworthy with 150 men of the Maryland forces had taken possession of the provisions and stores turned over to him by Col. Adam Stephen and the departing Virginia forces. "He informs me," Sharpe wrote, "that the Beef left by the Virginia forces is so bad that the Men will not touch it & that he is obliged to victual them entirely with Fish till a fresh Supply of Provisions can be sent him from Fort Frederick. You will be pleased to write to Colo. Washington & to give him orders to remove or destroy the Beef as you shall think proper." Dinwiddie did not get Sharpe's letter until 29 May, and on 1 June wrote that "Adam Stephen assures me that there was no complaints of the Provisions, but a small Cask of Beef that has lost the Pickle..."

At the same time Richard left Winchester with Wahatchy and Yahtanou for Fort Frederick, Maryland, the Swallow and his party (in spite of his sentiments expressed to Captain Mercer) left with Major Lewis to go to Fort Cumberland, and for their interpreter used the service of Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" who wrote the letter shown in the previous chapter. He was a brother of Indian trader Abraham Smith, mentioned in Chapter five as the unsuccessful first envoy, disliked by the Cherokees, whom Dinwiddie had sent in 1755 in his initial recruitment efforts.

We have already read of the heroic deeds ofthe courageous Swallow, who died soon after that near Fort Duquesne, having shot several French as well as taking captives, but was himself shot in battle. Though successful, his grief-stricken braves were overtaken with panic. Washington had written, "Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with theCherokee Indians to take out with them more than 8 days provisions, the consequence of which he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties; one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, are gone toward Fort du Quesne; the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt. Baker, bent their course for Log's-Town." He also refers to Indian stores, that in his absence Adam Stephen gave out 122 Indian

blankets but there were also several pieces of dutch blanketing--might they have permission to use them after the Indians were supplied? Also about the state of Beef at Fort Cumberland. "I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr. Walker's absence," and that he got no cooperation from Mr. Rutherford who would not act without Walker's orders. (Not to give the story away further along, but this was the noted Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company, now official provisioner of the Virginia army, and later he, Pearis, and Major Andrew Lewis would be in business in a later land company.)

On 13 May 1757 Richard Pearis wrote Col. John Armstrong of the Pennsylvania forces that "on the 1st of this instant I came into this Province (Pennsylvania) with a Party of Cherokees headed by Wahatchy and Yahtanou, in pursuit of some French Indians that had committed some Murders on Potomack, wch Enemies I pursued for several Days, but not having the fortune to come up with that Party, fell in with another Party, as I suppose about 20, out of which we killed 4 and took Two Prisoners, which Prisoners I have here now. I expect tomorrow to march to Fort Frederick, where I expect to meet Governor Sharp, who is to treat with the Cherokees; I wou'd be glad to meet you there."

Armstrong and others from Pennsylvania arrived at Fort Frederick on 17 May, and on 18-19 May held a conference with the two Cherokee leaders, and with Marylanders sent by Governor Sharpe. Richard Pearis acted as interpreter at the conference. The Cherokees accepted presents from the Marylanders and gave a list of the presents they wished to receive from Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania. Details of the colorful ceremonies with Sharpe's ambassadors, Wolstenholme and Ridout, were presented in the previous chapter. (This is just a sequential review of events.)

Now we reach a long spell when Richard, not being one of them, is not mentioned by Washington. Governor Sharpe, not a military man, does not, either, but was constantly importuning British commanders and his own Assembly for defense funds. He was much concerned about the soldiers. A little of the gap is filled in with Maryland Gazette items shown here, proving that Richard was in charge of troops by 23 June 1757 or before; and by photocopies of Assembly proceedings photocopied from Maryland Archives regarding funding. Most such were too long and involved (also too boring) to permit inclusion here, but one can learn a lot from them. For instance, that women in armies are no new 20th-century invention--four women were allowed to each company during the French & Indian War, though not as warriors and there were female cooks and female nurses in addition to male orderlies, surgeons, gunsmiths, armorers, and countless other personnel not listed. When one adds waggoners, suppliers, drovers, food provisioners for man and beasts, it quickly becomes apparent that managing an army was complicated indeed. One sympathizes with Lt. Curry, Aide to the Quartermaster-General, some of whose letters are coming up later.

Right - Scene on the Annapolis Waterfront.

The Maryland Gazette 1727-1767, Karen Mauer Green (1989) Frontier Press, Galveston

page of book/date/issue #/text

195 - Thurs 23 June 1757 #633...A soldier deserted from Lieut. Duncan McRae: Joseph Mchugh, age about 25, was born in the lower part of Prince George County, near Patuxent. Deliver to Capt. Richard Pearis or Lieut. McRae.

196 - Thurs 21 July 1757 #637...Several deserters are reported from the Maryland companies of Capt. Francis Ware and Capt. Richard Pearis: William Jones (about age 30, a carpenter, born in Prince William County, Virginia), John Brightwell (about age 20, born in Prince George's County), William Owen (about age 19, born in Maryland), John M'Cullum (about age 18), Rezin Rickets (Anne Arundel County, about 22) and John Genneter (about age 20, a glazier and painter, born in London, enlisted in Charles County).

205 - Thurs 16 Feb 1758 #667...Capt. Pearis and his company went from Fort Cumberland at the end of January, headed for Fort du Quesne.

227 - Thurs 14 June 1759 #736...Capt. Richard Pearis, of the Pennsylvania Provincials, now recruiting in Annapolis, reports a deserter named Thomas Fowler, born in Wiltshire in England, aged 22 years, by trade a weaver.

The illustration presented, shows four items extracted from the early weekly periodical, The Maryland Gazette. The first two news items, on 23 June and 25 July 1757, predate the roster commencing on 9 October 1757, and show that Capt. Pearis and Lt. McRae must have been assigned to their own company early June or before. Both items reported desertions of soldiers, and were likely published with a view to their apprehensions. These are interesting partly because they give us descriptions of probably rather typical Maryland soldiers who made up the Army.

The third news item shows Captain Pearis's Company leaving Fort Cumberland in February 1758 "headed for Fort du Quesne." Probably that was not so exciting as it sounds, as it was about that time that most of General Forbes' large army got a good (but slow) start, and one presumes they mean that this company, like the others, also started on a slow progression towards the ultimate target (though we know that the Captain, himself, due to the keen observances of his Cherokee spies, managed to be first to enter the abandoned but still smoldering fort later on.)

The fourth item in the Gazette, in June 1759, also reports a deserter, a young Marylander from Wiltshire, England, but he must have left the Pennsylvania Provincials, since Maryland had already disbanded its own army, and Captain Pearis was there in Annapolis recruiting for his new Regiment. Some of his Maryland men had previously stuck by him through good times and bad, as we shall soon see in more detail, and he was very good at recruiting, as it appears Lt. McRae had been as well.

(Note: Though it is not a part of the present story, it is an interesting historical fact that the far western section of Maryland--west of Fort Cumberland and Will's Creek--was then claimed by both Maryland and Virginia. Virginia also claimed the adjacent part of Pennsylvania, including the new Fort Pitt--also, of course rightfully claimed by Pennsylvania. The Teter Family story, pages 13-14, tell a little more about that subject.)

The little drawing of the Annapolis waterfront, used as a frontispiece in Mrs. Green's book, contains an amusing little homey touch very typical of that time. Cities like Annapolis, Philadelphia, and many others of that era, kept their streets clean by allowing pigs to roam loose and eat up all the garbage which otherwise collected. Geese could have served the purpose, but they were messier and likely to peck hard when disturbed. Pigs were better.

Official Maryland Provincial records do not provide the day-to-day details we need to learn about the life of Captain Pearis. Neither do any of the Maryland histories (even county histories) found so far. The following pages from the Maryland Archives though concerned primarily with financing the Army, are somewhat informative about makeup of the troops, etc.

PEARIS FAMILY

-97

From - Archives of Maryland Vol VIII (37)
pp 261-3 Lower House Assembly Proc.
for Nov. 11, 1757

Cr.

By Money raised by the Act for his Majesty's Service in February 1756, and appropriated by that and the Act in September following, to be laid out in Rewards for Indian Scalps and Prisoners,....	£4000	0	0
	£4000	0	0

That the Agents aforesaid have, pursuant to the Act of Assembly, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence and security of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province, passed in September Session 1756, paid unto sundry Persons for Provisions by them furnished to the Detachments of Militia under the Command of Capt. Tobias Stansbury of Baltimore County, and Joshua Beall of Prince-George's County, the Sum of £235 17 8 and p. 73
as there was no particular Sum of Money appropriated for that Service by the aforesaid Act, it must be charged against any Surplus Money which may remain in the Agents Hands, arising out of the Sums appropriated by that and the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in February Session 1756.

Your Committee beg Leave to acquaint the Honourable House, that the foregoing Accounts are extracted from the Books kept by the Agents, in Compliance with the Directions of the Acts of Assembly passed in February and September Sessions 1756, for his Majesty's Service, and the Defence of the Western Frontier; and the following Accounts and Observations are drawn from an Examination into the Books kept in Pursuance of an Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made in a Session of Assembly held at Baltimore-Town in April 1757: In the Course of which Examination we find, that the Sum of £10469 17 4 (or so much of that Sum which might then have been in the Hands of the Commissioners or Trustees for Emitting Bills of Credit, &c.) granted and applied by the last mentioned Act to the Raising, Cloathing, Paying, and Subsisting 500 Men, in the Pay of this Province, for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Western Frontiers thereof, the Agents aforesaid have received from the Commissioners afore namd, by Virtue of sundry Orders drawn by his Excellency the Governor for that Purpose, the Sum of £8350 which has been expended and applied, as will appear from a View of the following Accounts, to wit.

The Public on the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in the Baltimore Session.

Dr.

To Sundries as follows, viz.t					p. 74
Pay of Pearis's, Ware's, Alexander and Joshua Beall's Companies, to the 8th September 1757,..	£2555	15	8		
Ditto of Dagworthy's Company to the 8th May, 1757, ...	149	4	11		
Victualling 4 Companies to the 8th September,....				1672	5 0
Ditto for Dagworthy's Company from 11th April to 8th July,.....				299	11 0
Cloathing 5 Companies as above,.....				1431	12 1
Bounty Money paid for 173 Men,.....				859	19 0
Hospital Account, ...				76	15 3
Expresses, ...				40	3 6
Petty Charges, ...				22	15 5
Waggon Hire, ...				5	0 0
To Ballance, viz.t					
Bounty Money in the Hands of Recruiting Officers unaccounted for,.	£657	3	2		
Cash in the Agents Hands unapplied,	579	15	0	1236	18 2
				£8350	0 0

Cr.

By Cash at sundry Times taken out of the Office for Emitting Bills of Credit, by Orders of the Governor, ...	£8350	0	0
	£8350	0	0

Your Committee think themselves obliged to observe to the Honourable House, that of the Bounty-Money abovementioned, the Sum p. 75
of £300 was delivered to Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae for the Recruiting Service, and the Sum of £50 to Ensign Burr Harrison, £100 to Ensign Alexander Somerville, and £30 to Ensign Rezin Beall, for the same Service; for which Sums, by the Terms of the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made at Baltimore Session, the Agents ought to have taken Bond with proper Security, conditioned for accounting for said Sums agreeable to the Directions of said Act; but upon Enquiry, we cannot find that Ensigns Burr Harrison, Alexander Somerville, or Rezin Beall, gave any Bond for the Sums aforesaid, or that Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae gave Bond with Security as aforesaid, for any more than £200. In which Instance, we conceive, the Agents have not complied with their Duty, pursuant to the Directions of the Act aforesaid.

From the preceding Account, please to observe, that only £149 4 11 has been applied to the Payment of Captain Dagworthy's Company till the 8th of May last, and the further Sum of £299 11 towards the Subsistence of said Company till the 8th July; since which Time no other Accounts relative to the Support of that Company appear on the Agents Books; and by the Certificates endorsed on the Rolls of that Company, your Committee find, that they were mustered at Fort Cumberland; and think it their Duty to acquaint the House, that from the Appearance the Muster Rolls of the other Companies make, there is great Room to suspect, that many of the Men that composed those Companies, and are certified to be on Detachment and Party, have likewise been stationed at Fort Cumberland; and that this Matter may more clearly appear to the House, your Committee have drawn up Lists from the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Capt. Pearis's and Ware's Companies, shewing the State and Condition each Individual Person appeared in at the Time of the several Musters made for the Months of June, July, August, and September; from which Lists (herewith delivered in) it p. 76
will appear, that except in a very few Instances, the same Men that were certified to be on Detachment, Party and Ranging, at their Muster in June, have continued in the same Employment through all the subsequent Musters till the 8th September; nor does it appear to your Committee, from any Papers submitted to their Perusal by the Agents, in what Service they were employed during the Time aforesaid. Your Committee further observe, in the Course of their Examination, that the following Charges have been made and paid by the Agents, which they think not warranted by the Laws; and therefore Report it to the House, that they may judge of the Reasonableness or Expediency of them.

In the Subsistence Account, there are Charges for the Provision found Four Women to each Company, amounting in the Whole to £204 17 3. In the Hospital Account, Wages paid to sundry Nurses to the Amount of £25 12.

In Fort Account, to sundry Women officiating as Cooks, £19 10. To John Linginfelter, Baker, £7 4 for 48 Days Baking Bread at 3 s. p Day.

That by the Hospital Account, it appears, the Sum of £167 17 6 has been allowed and paid the Commissary, being 6 d. p Day for 6715 Days of sick Men, over and above the 9 d. p Day Subsistence-Money allowed them by the Law.

That the Gun-Smith or Armourer, besides his Wages of 2s 6 p Day, has been allowed and paid his Account for mending Soldiers Arms to the Amount of £32 5 2 and for other small Services done for and about the Fort £17 7 9.

In the petty Charges and Expresses Accounts, several sums have been paid to sundry Persons, who have been employed in carrying Money from the Agents to their Managers at the Fort, and other Services, amounting to £29 18 of which Sum £18 15 arises due for

CHRONICLES OF SCOTCH IRISH SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA (Vol. III)

by Lyman Chalkey (excerpts) DEED RECORDS

21 Mar 1753. Deed records of Col. James Patton on North Fork of Goose Creek (Roanoke) include following entries:
73-To Tobias Bright, 500 acres of patent, Goose Creek, cor.ner James Gorrell, corner George Pearis.
84-to William Pepper, 580 acres ofabove, corner to Francis Cyphers
111-George Peoris, 271 acres part of large patent, 10th April 1750. Goose Creek, corner Tobias Bright and Errick Bright.
114-Errick Bright, 207 acres of above patent, Goose Creek, corner George Pearis, corner Elijah Isaacs.
95-21 Mar 1753-James Patton to Jacob Brown, 1753, West fork of Roanoke, 100 Acres by patent 3 Nov. 1750. Teste-John Robinson, Wm. Preston, James Gorrell, George Paris, John Robinson.

483-9 October 1754. Erick Bright to Joseph McDonald. £45, 107 acres by deed from Col. Patton, 20th March 1753, on North Fork of Goose Creek, corner George Pearis, corner Elijah Isaac. Signed-Earick Bright.

Page 450-16 April 1757. Cap. Richard Pearis to Sarah Paris and Margaret Pearis, £, love and goodwill, his daughters, slaves and other personalty, to Sarah in case she marries with father's consent; to Margaret, same condition (conveys one Indian wench named Pratchey) Delivered: Cap. Peter Hog, December, 1770.

373-17 May 1762. Borden's executors to James Davis, husbandman, £165, 436 acres, part of 92,100; cor. to patent line and William Todd, Todd's, Robert Young's, and the patent line, Buffalow Creek, Low Todd's line, cor. Peter Wallace. Teste: George Pearis, John Neily, Joseph Gray.

DEED BOOK 11-8-18 May 1762. Johannes ( ) Miller, of Anson County, North Carolina, to John Smith of Augusta, and Richard Pearis, of Frederick County, £52.15, 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn, 20th June 1754, on Woods River opposite an island; corner Imanuel Eberling.

18- ____ 1762. £, John Smith to Alex Sayers, ½ of a tract held jointly by John (Smith) and Richard Pearis, containing 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn, 20th June 1753, and conveyed to us by John Miller, 18th May 1762, described as in above conveyance. Sent to Col. Preston by his order, Oct. 1773.

87-16 November 1762. Richard Pearis and Rhoda, of Frederick County, to Alexander Boyd of the Virginia Regiment, £, ½ part of a tract containing _____ acres in upper part of Dunger Bottom, conveyed to John Miller to said Richard Pearis and a certain John Smith, August 1762. Delivered: Alex Love, November 1763.

81-18 February 1768. Frederick Starn (Stern) to George Teetar, £, 85 acres by patent 22 August 1753, on Crab Creek, a branch of New River. Teste: W. Ingles, William Davis, John Taylor, John & Wm. Buchanan. Sent to George Teeter by his order, April 1769.

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see t hat their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion....."Go. Mercer

Swallow Warrior, referred to above, was first warrior in the Lower Town of Estatoe. Part of his letter which Mercer had enclosed declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother, we blame theGovr. and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr. has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements." It is getting ahead of the story and does not directly concern Richard Pearis, but I believe the reader would be interested in the fate of the brave and noble Swallow Warrior; *

While Wawhatchee wrestled with Atkin in Winchester, Swallow Warrior's band defended Virginia's western frontier. It worked in two groups: one under Andrew Lewis on the South Branch, the other operating from Fort Cumberland into the forests toward Fort Duquesne. The former went out about May 19 with Richard Smith as interpreter. Consisting of fifty soldiers and fifty Indians, it surprised enemies marching toward Virginia and took five scalps and nineteen prisoners. On June 10 the party returned to Winchester.

Swallow Warrior's Cherokees, in two parties of fifteen each, operated sometimes on their own and sometimes with the Virginians. Near the end of May the Swallow Warrior and Lieutenant Baker with fifteen Indians and five whites scouted from Fort Cumberland toward the forks of the Ohio. On June 5 in the forest near the head of Turtle Creek about twenty miles from Fort Duquesne, as the Cherokees followed an enemy track toward Pennsylvania, their foremost warrior saw a ten-man French patrol coming down the path. The Indians ducked below the bushes to await the near approach of the enemy. The patrol advanced to within fifty paces before its leader saw the motionless Indians and called out a challenge. Volleyed rifle fire roared the answer. Four Frenchmen fell; but the others stood their ground, shooting desperately. Not waiting to reload, the Cherokees threw down their guns and rushed in with knives and tomahawks. In the French fire the two foremost Indians fell, Swallow Warrior in the act of leaping upon a fallen enemy to take

*ibid, pages 124-5

scalp, and his son following close upon him. The Indian onslaught swept by them, and the Frenchmen broke and ran. Two were seized before the Indians realized they had lost their leader. In a rage they tomahawked one of the captives and a wounded Frenchman struggling to rise. Then hastily concealing the Swallow Warrior's body, they scalped the dead Frenchmen; and, with one of their number carrying the Swallow Warrior's wounded son on his back, they hurried their lone prisoner back to Fort Cumberland.[19] He was Ensign Belestre, later instrumental in fomenting hatred of the English in Lower Towns Estatoe.

The second party, Lieutenant Spotswood commanding, had bad luck. Scouting almost to Fort Duquesne, on June 8 its Cherokees sighted what they believed to be tracks of a major assault against the settlements. They reported by runner to Fort Cumberland that several hundred of the enemy with cannons and wagons approached.[20] Tremors of apprehension reached even the tidewater; but the alarm proved false. A day or two later Cherokees took a scalp within one hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. With these episodes Spotswood's party disappeared in the dark of the Allegheny forests. Weeks later two Cherokees came into Pennsylvania's Fort Lyttelton with the grim report that Spotswood, hard pressed, had ordered his party to disband, each man to look out for himself.[21] He was never heard from again.

The party once headed by Swallow Warrior was incorporated into the band with Andrew Lewis under the leadership of Swallow Warrior's nephew, Seroweh, the Mankiller of Estatoe.[22] Since their arrival in Virginia they had lost thirty warriors, some by illness and wounds, but fifteen by death. It was a near disaster as Indians reckoned loss.

Rest in peace, brave Swallow Warrior and brave Spotswood. Too soon has our country forgotten how much it owes to you! Meanwhile, Richard Pearis, desiring also to save his country, had to do some swift creative thinking. It seemed to him obvious that when the Virginia gift finally arrived it would not be enough to placate Wahatchy, who potentially held the key to winning or losing the war. Should he become angry enough to defect to the French, it was quite likely this powerful chief could influence the entire Cherokee Nation to fight the English--the Overhills were already leaning that way. On the other hand, perhaps other hard-pressed colonies to the north would come up with sufficient presents. There was another consideration as well, for though he probably did not realize that Dinwiddie had already given new Supt. Atkin authority to fire him, being no fool he realized that the outraged Col. Read's complaints to the governor would place his job in jeopardy. So, while the presents were being scrounged up, and without authority, he took Wahatchy and Youghtanno's combined forces across the Potomac where they collected some enemy scalps. Then on 29 April 1757 they arrived at Fort Frederick, Maryland, where they were greeted by a delighted Captain Beale. That Colony also needed Indian allies, and he soon reached an understanding with Pearis and the Indians. Wahatchy composed a letter, shown on next page, to Governor Sharpe indicating a willingness to serve Maryland and an expectation of presents for what they had already done on Maryland soil. Then, without waiting for Sharpe's reply, Pearis, the Cherokees, and some Maryland troops under command of Lt. Shelby left the fort to go toward the Forks of the Ohio. Virginia's auxiliaries had for the time being become Maryland's.*

The mixed force conducted a successful operation. Two weeks out and well over "Allegheny Mountain," they picked up an enemy track and followed it for two days. On the morning of May 13 near Reastown their scouts sighted fifteen or sixteen Delawares and Shawnees squatted about their breakfast fire. Swiftly the soldiers and Cherokees disposed themselves for the attack. At a given signal the provincials fired and the Cherokees raced in. Four enemies fell and the others ran into the laurels pursued by Cherokees who dragged down two of them. Shelby leaped upon a wounded warrior, the notorious "Beaver's Son," struggling to rise. As the white man fought to fasten thongs upon the Indian's hands, the Delaware, crying "Kill away, kill away," died.[10] It was the kind of attack Indians liked: surprise and victory with scalps and prisoners but no loss to themselves.

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*Ibid, pages 118-9

From the Assembly Proceedings below and the negotiations shown on the following pages, it really does seem as though Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe was at first pleased to have the services of these Cherokees, but after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to offend the Virginians by not cooperating--and that had Wahatchy not been offended by the pittance being offered for his warriors' services, he might have made a good ally.

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.'

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757. Hor°. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.'

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast

Archives of Maryland -Lower House Journal, Liber #48 pp. 429-431

till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.
Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

On receiving the letter, Gov. Sharpe asked his Assembly for funds to pay for Indian present, but this exceedingly parsimonious group, already having posted a £50 bounty for scalpsconsidered quite generous, voted only £150 for Wahatchy's party. On news of the mixed patrol's success, Sharpe added bounty for four scalps to the grant and spent £300 on presents. As ambassadors he sent his own secretary, John Ridout and wealthy Annapolis merchant Daniel Wolstenholme.* Ridout sent the presents in several wagons to Fort Frederick, though the Chief's subsequent refusal to turn over the scalps created a complication. Governor Sharpe also commissioned Richard Pearis a captain in one of the newly-organized emergency Maryland Regiments.

Before returning to Winchester, the party stopped briefly at Fort Lyttleton PA where they heard that Colony's Indian, Col. John Armstrong, had recently met with Mohawks and other friendly tribes at Lancaster. Pearis thereupon sent him word of their recent success upon PA soil, plus talks by Youghtanno and Wahatchy inviting him to meet them at Fort Frederick. Pennsylvania, hungry for Indian auxiliaries to shield their long border, hastened with presents.

On May 18 at Fort Frederick the Cherokees, awaiting Maryland's offerings, opened a conference with the Pennsylvanians. Armstrong apologized for having brought so few presents: three rifles, four ruffled holland shirts, and a little wampum. He had come in haste to meet them. If they would come to Pennsylvania, he would give them more. Wawhatchee became very amiable. The next day he replied with pious thankfulness that he and his men had been able to protect Pennsylvania from an impending blow. He must first go to Winchester, then to Pennsylvania.[13]

On the twentieth the Maryland reward arrived. The Cherokees, as was their custom, shared the gift with all, soldiers and Indians, who had been in the Allegheny fight. But they refused to surrender the scalps for which Maryland had paid them a bounty.[14] On the twenty-second as Sharpe's empty-handed envoy rode back to Annapolis, the Indians set out with their gifts and scalps for Winchester, entranced with the dream of Virginia's bounty to be followed by Pennsylvania's largess.

Disappointment awaited them at Winchester. Captain Mercer had gone. A tall, sandy-haired Virginian, Colonel Washington, had taken over and had orders to leave Indian affairs to Edmund Atkin.[15] Mr. Atkin, however, had not yet reached Winchester, and Washington told the indignant Cherokees that he lacked the power to give them anything. Promptly the twenty-five-year-old Colonel was in hot water. "They are the most insolent, the most avaricious, the most dissatisfied wretches I ever had to deal with," he informed Dinwiddie. "If anything should detain Mr. Atkin's arrival . . . all the rhetoric I can master is not likely to detain them more than two or three days."[16]

His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District was then at Williamsburg devising a more systematic approach to Indian problems. Though repeatedly urged by Dinwiddie to hurry to Winchester where an immediate crisis existed, Atkin proceeded deliberately and meticulously about the program he had planned. With Dinwiddie he worked out a system of escorts, passports, and supply depots for Indians, designed to prevent repetition of the April disorders.[17] He did not arrive at Winchester with the promised presents until June 3.

Before the Superintendent could unpack his saddlebags, Wawhatchee burst into his quarters and demanded to hear what he had come to say. Wawhatchee's bluster derived partly from fear that Atkin had come to punish him. Atkin had been a member of the South Carolina council which had threatened Wawhatchee with punishment in connection with the Haig and Brown affair a decade before. Ignoring the impatient Cherokee, Atkin went firmly about the business of unpacking and placing his gear. Finally he quietly told the headman he would give his talk when he was ready and not before. Wawhatchee. That evening Youghtanno visited Atkin, laughed at Wawhatchee's anger, and hinted that matters could be mended. Atkin was conciliatory, and the next morning a quieted and dignified Wawhatchee accompanied by Youghtanno came to the Superintendent. With composure he listened to the terms of the new dispensation. In the future the southern Indians should heed only those talks given by the Superintendent or sent under his seal; they should obey no orders except those the Superintendent sent; and there should be no presents except as the Superintendent approved them. Wawhatchee gravely uttered his approval.

*It is with reluctance that we omit a very long letter by the two young envoys, giving vivid pictures of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man, taken from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq, but there is not space here. A copy is retained in my files.

The following developments regarding Cherokee warriors in Virginia are only the beginning of the story, but do reflect what happened soon thereafter to the parties just mentioned. By then Richard was in Maryland assuming his new duties. (Cherokee Frontier, Corkran, pp. 123-7)

With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

Oblivious to the Indian's contempt, the Superintendent then developed the subject of the Pennsylvania visit by reading an invitation from Croghan. The Cherokees listened coldly to Atkin's promise that if they would go to war, he would send to Croghan to learn what sort of reward could be had. Wawhatchee, perceiving that Atkin wished to prevent present-collecting on the scale to which he aspired, disdainfully left Croghan's wampum dangling in the Superintendent's hand. Nevertheless, the conference broke up with intimations that the Indians might be more tractable the next day.

The morrow came, but no Indians waited upon His Majesty's Superintendent. Youghtanno, after an all-night debauch, had early in the morning reeled off toward the nation, followed by thirteen of his men.

When finally a penitent Wawhatchee came to Atkin to take formal leave, he repudiated Pearis, blaming his own conduct upon his benefactor, who, he said, had claimed sole authority over the Cherokees. Already prejudiced against the adventurer, the Superintendent believed the headman's statements, assuming that Wawhatchee's denunciation of Pearis represented a heartfelt conversion.

Shortly after the Mankiller of Estatoe came to Winchester, George Croghan brought in the Pennsylvania gift for Wawhatchee's party. Atkin decided that it was excessive and gave the lingering Wawhatchee but a part. The remainder he turned over to the Mankiller of Estatoe for accompanying Croghan to Pennsylvania to help Colonel Stanwix.

Led by Croghan and accompanied by Richard Smith to keep an eye on Johnson's deputy for Atkin, the party reached Carlisle on June 29. Now on Pennsylvania soil Croghan took advantage of Atkin, who had forbidden Johnson's deputy to speak to the Cherokees. Convincing himself that the northern and southern Indian districts were geographical rather than tribal units Croghan decided that Cherokees in Pennsylvania were outside the southern Superintendent's jurisdiction.[23] He approached the Mankiller with presents and the promise that if he remained in Pennsylvania there would be further reward. The Cherokee agreed to stay twenty days.

The Cherokee sojourn in Pennsylvania ended inauspiciously. On July 21 a Cherokee runner arrived from the south with such disturbing news that Colonel Stanwix had difficulty holding the Indians to receive their presents.[24] All fifty-five Cherokees surged from the fort down the road toward Winchester.

Winchester had been very quiet after Croghan left for Carlisle with the Estatoes. Late in June, Osteneco passed through on his way to the frontier after having delivered a message in Williamsburg from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter. Then in July what appears to have been a backdoor deputation of Overhills, accompanied by Mingo warriors, bound for upper New York to confer with the neutral Onondaga council, arrived. Atkin, at the moment without a skilled linguister, gained the impression that enemy spies were in his midst and threw the deputies into Winchester jail.[25] Horrified, convalescent Cherokee lingering at the base dispatched a runner to Chota and sent for help to the nearest war party, the Mankiller's Estatoes at Carlisle. The Estatoes, boiling into Winchester, effected a jail delivery before young Washington could convince them that a mistake had been made. Only after the deputies' wounded pride had been assuaged with presents did the Estatoe Mankiller send a runner to counteract the story already proceeding toward the nation.[26]

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper* Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

"Cherokee country. Several of his men lost horses, and had been unable to recover them from the English. They took others, to the number of twenty to replace their own, often posing as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their nation. Although some authorities state the horses were running wild in the woods, the papers of the South Carolina Indian Affairs (McDowell, Documents pp.463-5) said the horses were deliberately taken from Virginians: William Verdiman, his son William Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, John Wheeler, Robert Jones, Jr., and Henry Snow, all of Halifax County. These men gathered forces and proceeded after the Indians, but were unable to make them fully understand and the Virginians were attacked. Later Captain Head and the local militia pursued them. The Indians, who had thought the Virginians were their friends, were now ready for revenge, and moved into the North Carolina settlements on the Yadkin River and claimed nineteen scalps. There were many such war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1759, and an ugly feeling for all Indians developed among the people of Virginia."

And now let us hear the same story from another source, this time History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, Maud Carter Clement (1953) pages 78 and following: (photocopy)

In the hope of enlisting the aid of the friendly Cherokees and Catawbas in the struggle against the French and their Indian allies, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Colonel William Byrd and Colonel Peter Randolph to visit the two nations.

This they did in the summer of 1756, carrying with them many gifts, and successfully concluded a treaty with the tribes whereby they agreed to furnish Virginia with 500 warriors in return for the erection of a fort for the protection of their wives and children against the assaults of the northern Indians. Virginia at once fulfilled her promise, and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee was built the same summer.

In the spring of 1757 when the long promised Indian aid arrived it was found to consist of but 400 warriors and of these only 180 remained at the fort at Winchester, the others immediately returning home. They had evidently become disaffected towards the Virginians through French influence, and now were bent upon mischief, for in their march back and forth through Virginia they committed many acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and slew and tomahawked[1] one of their own members in Col. Clement Read's yard.

When they reached western Halifax and Bedford Counties they became bolder in their defiant attitude and robbed the inhabitants of their horses, plundered their homes, and offered brutal insults to their persons.

The people of Halifax were placed in a most trying position, for it was well known and understood that the Cherokees were our friends and allies, and that their warriors had marched to our aid; yet here were marauding bands of more than a hundred warriors straying over the country and boldly robbing the inhabitants, who hesitated to offer resistance to the intruders for fear of provoking them to war. We may know that the Cherokees were keenly sensible of the plight in which these Virginians were placed, for they remained several weeks terrorizing the countryside.

A letter[2] of Colonel Fontaine to relatives in England, dated June 11, 1757, said: "Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends do despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy. It is not above a month ago since a party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg insulted people of all ranks."

When Col. Read[3] notified the Governor of the presence and behavior of the Cherokees his Excellency advised reasoning with them in a mild way for fear of provoking them to open warfare, which he said "would prove of fatal consequences; however the people are not to be robbed and insulted."

But when the people, acting upon the Governor's advice, attempted to reason with the Indians, their peaceful overtures were repulsed and bloodshed followed.

A letter[4] from the Governor to Col. Fontaine, County Lieutenant, in regard to the situation stated:

"Sir,— May 7, 1757.

I received y'r L're of April 20, last night and am very sorry for the aprehensions the frontiers are under an attack from the Indians. It is a surprise to me that the People allow Indians to come so frequently among them: the very examining of the Co'try and the Peoples Houses was Suspicion Sufficient to raise the militia and Take 'em all Prisoners. I approve of your sending out James Dillard with fifty men; and please order him to continue out aranging."

The citizens of Bedford County petitioned[5] to be allowed to kill the Indians, and asked for soldiers to be stationed among them for protection, but their petition was denied in the hope of preventing open conflict.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office expired January, 1758, and Mr. Blair, president of the Council, became the presiding official of the colony until the arrival of Governor Fauquier in the following June. Blair ordered an investigation into the origin of the troubles in Halifax and Bedford Counties with the Cherokees, and for this purpose a especial court was held at Mayes Ferry (now Booker's Ferry), on Staunton River, in Halifax County, on June 1, 1758, when the following depositions[6] were taken of those who had suffered from Indian outrages or taken part in the conflicts with them: (Re- Moytoy's Indians)

"Halifax County } At Mays's Ferry on Staunton River June the 1st,
to-wit— } 1758. was taken by Order of Mr. President Blair—The State cause and process of the three several Engagements,

--cont'd on next page

[1]Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 609.
[2]"Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," by Maury.

L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11 p. 77

In the Fort Account, there appears a Charge of £110 paid to Capt. John Dagworthy, p Order of his Excellency, to be by said Dagworthy paid to the Soldiers for Extra-work done by them at the Fort, besides doing their Duty as Soldiers: The Vouchers for the Distribution of which Money do not appear to your Committee.

The Honourable House will please to observe from some of the Accounts stated in this Report, that the Agents have drawn out the chief Part, if not the whole Sum, appropriated for a particular Service, before there has been a Call for the same, and charged their full Commission thereon; in which Instances the Agents may receive Commission for barely receiving and repaying Money to the Commissioners.

Your Committee having inspected the several Muster Rolls of the Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, do find, That there was mustered in Capt. John Dagworthy's Company the 8th Day of May 1757, at Fort Cumberland, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Four Corporals, the Drummer, and Seventy-two private Men; and in the same Company were mustered at Fort Cumberland aforesaid, p Muster Roll dated the 8th June 1757, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, Sixty-nine private Men, and one private Man on Furlough. Your Committee also find by the Muster Roll of said Company, dated July 8th, 1757, that it consisted of the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, and Fifty-nine private Men, one private Man on Party, and one on Furlough; and that the said Muster Rolls are signed by the Commissary George Ross. But we must beg Leave to observe, that on the Two last mentioned Rolls, the following Nota Benes are endorsed, viz.t On that for June, "N.B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757, (tho' the 8th June 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz.t the 19th July 1757." And on the July Roll as follows, "N. B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757 (tho' the 8th July 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz.t the 19th July 1757." Whence your Committee apprehend it will appear, that notwithstanding the Muster Rolls are dated the 8th Day of June and July 1757, respectively, yet in Truth the said Company was not mustered in Presence of the Commissary till the 19th Day of July 1757: And that the Rolls aforesaid are not agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly, which requires that the several Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, "shall be mustered monthly while they remain in this Province." Your Committee further observe, that from the Face of the said Muster Rolls it does not appear that any Part of the said Company went on Detachment, on Party, or Ranging, to the 19th July aforesaid, except one private Man said to be on Party June 14th, 1757.

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L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11

Your Committee find, that the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Pearis's and Ware's Companies, are returned with the proper Certificates, endorsed agreeable to an Act of Assembly made at Baltimore Session, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province. And from an Examination into the said Rolls, the following Scheme is drawn, shewing the State and Destination of each particular Company, and of the Four Companies in general, monthly, to the 8th Day of September last.

p. 80

But your Committee have not been able, from any Papers which have been laid before them by the Agents, to form any Judgment of what Service the Parties and Detachments, mentioned in the Muster Rolls to be made from the several Companies beforementioned, have been employed in.

Below: This is getting way ahead of the story, but wars are so costly they often bankrupt governments. Maryland still owed Captain Pearis four hundred pounds, which they paid years later, about the time he left for South Carolina, as shown below, Upper House proceedings.

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

That, of the Bills drawn by the late Commissioners, there were then unpaid four Bills amounting to £683,,12,,3., which had not been presented, that all the Bills remitted by the said Commissioners have, since last Session, been received and passed to the Credit of the Province, except One Bill of £250 which was Protested, and which the Commissioners for the Payment of the Public Claims have received, and remitted to the Trustees in London, amounting with Damages to £287,,19,,6.

Your Committee have Examined the State of the Iron Chests and find the Accounts stand as follows Viz.t

Iron Chests	D,,r
To Balance per Report of the Committee November Session 1766	10,, 5,, 2
To Cash received of Col,,o Tho..s Prather for Land Tax	33,,14,,
To Cash received of G: Scott Sheriff of Prince Geo,,s Co.ty in part of Robt Riddles Bond	16,,10,, 4
To Cash received from Littleton Dennis for Nath.l Whitakers Bond & Costs	35,, 5,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

Contra	C,,r
By Cash for Stationary £25 St.g Ja.s Anderson on Will.m Anderson	32,,10,,
By Cash paid the Commrs 5 p Cent Comm.n on Sundry Debts Collected by them	23,, 9,, 6
By Cash paid for two Bills of Exchange £30 St.g Remitted to the Trustees	39,,15,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

Your Committee further Report, that the amount of the Journal, and List of Debts, as they passed last Session was 5623499¾ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19,840,,1,,2¼, That the Commissioners have discovered Sundry Errors therein, by wrong Additions, which we have carefully examined, and find the true Debt against the Province on the Journal and List of Debts to be 5841083¾ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19998,,0,,0½ which amounts to 150,679 Dollars, and two fifths of a Dollar

p. 407

Your Committee have spent some time in Examining the Accounts, and Proceedings of the Commissioners, and find that they have paid to Sundry Claimants Bills of Credit, to the amount of 145,808 Dollars, the Accounts of which we have Examined up to the 5th March 1767, when the sum of 98511 Dollars and One half Dollar and two Ninths of a Dollar was paid away, and proper Vouchers and Receipts appear therefor, and the Books appear to Your Committee, as far they have Examined them, to be fairly and regularly kept, but the Number of the Payments have rendered it impossible for Your Committee to go through the whole Examination, this Session

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

Your Committee also find, that the Commissioners have paid away to the Printer, the Treasurer and for their and their Clerks Salaries agreeable to the Act of Assembly, and other Office Expences 3330 Dollars, and 5/9 of a Dollar

	Dollars
Your Committee have received from the Commissioners Bills of Credit to the amount of 24601 Dollars, and 4/9 of a Dollar, out of which they have paid to Sundry Claimants for Allowances on the Journal and List of Debts	2146 1/9
To Amos Ogden for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians as directed by Act of Assembly this Session	666 2/3
To Ann Catharine Green as directed by Act this Session.	948 1/2
To His Excellency the Governor as directed by Ordinance of both Houses of Assembly this Session	123 2/3
To Capt. Richard Pearis by Ditto	400
To John Ducket by Ditto	124 2/3
There is still due to Sundry Claimants on the Journal and List of Debts	2707 2/9
And there remains in the Iron Chest unapplied	17466 5/9
	Dollars 24601 4/9

But the Virginians would not let byegones be byegones. As we saw in last chapter, Acting Virginia Governor Blair had in 1758 been holding hearings about the outrages commited in the Halifax and Bedford backcountry and growing angrier by the minute. Someone must pay, and somehow Richard was implicated because he had served as an interpreter for the Cherokees when he caught up to them, and the jealous Wahatchy had intimated untruthfully that Richard pretended to be an Indian agent (just the kind of thing to set the equally jealous Atkin off). Governor Sharpe realized the truth of the matter, but relations with Virginia were already strained enough and he did not want an intercolonial incident to add to his troubles.

Richard did not lose his Captaincy, but the men under him were divided out among the other four regiments, the fifth was disbanded. General Forbes had plenty of other uses for a captain who was also a good interpreter.

Letter of GovernorSharpe to Mr. Blair, President of the Virginia Council

Sir: 14 May 1758

Colo. Braxton having intimated to me that he is just about to return to Virg[a] I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge the Receit of the two Letters you were pleased to favour me with the 24[th] & 25[th] of March last as well as of that which the Colo presented to me.

Our Assembly broke up yesterday without granting any Supplies for the Support of a Number of Troops to act in Conjunction with those under the immediate Command of Brigadier Forbes or even for the Protection of our Frontier Inhabitants while the Expedition is depending. We have at this time upwards of 300 Men in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick who have served ever since the 8[th] of Octob[r] last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly would have now granted a Sum of Money to discharge the Arrears that might be due & to keep them up at least untill the End of the Campaign. As I presume the General would be very unwilling to see those Men who have now served a considerable time disbanded just as he is about to march I shall encourage them to keep together till he & I meet on the Frontiers, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where I hope to be the 22[d] or 23[d] Inst that your Regiments are not likely to be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Commanding Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such of our Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's Service, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they

may be endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time shall amount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the Bounty Money that you allow for Recruits.

I had received a Copy of the Charge agst Capt Pearis before I was favoured with your Lett^{r} which as I had repeatedly given him peremptory Instructions to concern himself on no account with the Cherokees farther than to interpret between them & the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland did not a little surprize me, but the Report of a Court of Enquiry which has been appointed to enquire into the Affair together with M^{r} Smith's opinion that little Credit ought to be given to the Indian's Information inclines me to think that Capt Pearis has not acted such a Part as he is represented to have done by the Minutes you were pleased to send me, however to remove all occasion for such kind of Complaints for the future I was determined in case our Troops had been still kept up to superseed him & to leave it to the General to do with him afterwards as he should think fit.

I am obliged to you for your Answer to the Request I was importuned by Colonel Cresap to make & will take the Liberty to communicate it to him.

Other letters of Governor Sharpe (Volume 9, Maryland Archives) include the following:

Governor Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair

Sir Frederick Town, 1 June 1758

As soon as the Waggons that are gone to Annapolis return hither I shall send some of them to Winchester with 400 of the Musketts & you may expect them there next Sunday or Monday. In the Letter which you sent me from General Forbes & which was dated the 25th of May is the following Paragraph "I am greatly at a Loss & much distressed how to act with regard to the 300 men that you had at Fort Cumberland & Frederick in the Province Pay. As you have said nothing about them I hope they continue as they were untill I have the Pleasure of seeing you; At the same time I should be well pleased that they could be all got together at Fort Cumberland as by that means Part of Col^{o} Washington's Virginia Regiment might march to Fort Frederick in order to join the other Troops at Ray's Town, but as you will see S^{r} Iohn S^{t} Clair I think those Things may be easily settled for the best. Since I left Winchester I have given orders for reducing the Company that was commanded by Capt Pearis & distributing the Men that composed it into the other four which will make them I apprehend about 90 men a Company

including Officers; 122 of these are at Fort Frederick & the mouth of Conegochiegh, by a Return which I received yesterday from the Commanding Officer at that Fort I find that 60 of those had the Small Pox many years ago & that 25 of the 60 have been these five Days at Conegochiegh under the Command of Capt Ioshua Beall that in Case you should think proper to send a Party to Fort Cumberland there might not be the least Danger of their carrying any Infection. Capt. A. Beall assures me that none of the men under his Command except two are suffered to go to the House where those that had the Small Pox were & he seems very sanguine in his hopes that he shall be able to hinder the Distemper from Spreading.

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair

Sir Fort Frederick 14 June 1758

This Day I send off the Camp Kettles &c. for Winchester & Mr Shelby setts off to Morrow in order to reconnoitre & blaze the Road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland. Inclosed you have the account of 70 Blanketts sent by my order to Winchester which were delivered to Colo Byrd the 9th of this Inst. With the great Pains that Capt Bosomworth & Capt Pearis have taken 9 Indians out of 14 have been prevailed on to march to Fort Loudoun & continue the Campaign. There are about 20 Indians at Fort Cumberland which I am apprehensive may be for returning back to their own Country unless prevented. I have therefore with the Advice of Capt Bosomworth ordered Capt Pearis to that Fort who is in case they are for returning home to use his best Endeavours to carry them to Fort Loudoun, as this is interfering with Indian Affairs am doubtful how it may be taken a Line of Advice with regard to this matter will much oblige Sir &c

Governor Horatio Sharpe to (Maryland) Captain Alexander Beall

Sir 6 July 1758

This is to inform you that if you have not already, you may soon expect to receive orders from Colo Stanwix to send a Detachment of two Sergeants two Corporals & fifty-six private Men from each of the New Companies to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Cumberland. If Colo Stanwix should not particularly specify what Officers he would have march with these Detachments, You will order Capt. Pearis, Lieut Mathews, Lieut Hanson & Ensign Beall on that Service

Abraham Bosomworth to Col. Washington from Camp at Rays Town 11 July 1758 Dear Sir: I recd your favor of the 6th and communicated the Contents to Colonel Bouquet. I acquainted you in my last of a Party of 24 Indians being gone off to Fort DuQuesne, when they come near the Place they will divide into two or three small Parties by which means we shall have the greater Chance of

"getting a Prisoner. I expect them back in 14 days when I hope to send you good news; I really believe the French are but weak & that there are few Indians at Du Quesne tho' Moskingo is so far distant that there's little Dependance upon the Intelligence we receive from that Quarter. I hear Paris has Caried the Indians who took the Scalp in all 17 down to Fort Loudoun & is now on the road to this place. Majr Lewis arrived here last night. Colo. Bouquet is mightily pleased with their Dress. ..."

Letter of Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Forbes, 13 July 1758 from Camp near Raystown. "Sir: Captain Paris, after bringing his sixteen Cherokees, is going to Fort Frederic to receive his company's pay. From there he is to go to Fort Cumberland, according to your orders.

I believe that he would be very suitable to take the Little Carpenter from Winchester to Raystown, but as he is not in favor with the Virginians, and as I do not know what orders you may have given on this subject, I advised him to ask you for your wishes regarding this commission. He says that it is not more than forty miles from Fort Frederic to Raystown by a path through the woods which would be the best route for these Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant.

Colonel Bouquet was in a bad mood two days later, much too much to take care of. Maybe he had a headache as well.
Section of letter of 15 July 1758, same parties
"There are 18 ovens built, charcoal has been made, and I am making a storehouse for hay. The 16 Indians whom Captain Paris had brought, left us yesterday like rascals, after having solemnly promised to take part in the campaign. Perhaps I wrong their leader, but I think he rather thought to put himself forward by bringing them under the lure of getting presents for their past services, instead of seeking to make them render new services. He is not a trustworthy man, in spite of the recommendations that may be given to you at Carlisle. (He left the day before yesterday to go to Cumberland with Bosomworth.)

Gist's Catawbas and Cherokees exist only in his imagination, and are reduced to 28 Tuscaroras and Nantaways, better fitted to carry off our presents than to fight. We must no longer count on any but ourselves. Yesterday I received 28 letters; I am replying to what concerns the service directly, and I hope that Major Grant and the brigade major will excuse me for today...."

(You will recall that when Indian Agent Atkin left to go back to Charleston overland, Christopher Gist had been appointed to act in his behalf. The following letter from him to Washington, though it refers to Robert Pearis, not Richard, sheds a little light on Bouquet's comments.)

Christopher Gist to Col. George Washington, 20 July 1758 Winchester "Sir, here with you have the agreeable News of taking all the Out works at Lewisburg your Papers will come by the Command & as the Carolina Soldiers had no Arms I Sent Capt Tom with 25 Indians as far as South branch who is to come back to this town from ther; as no doubt you will Send a Guard to South Branch, to take Care of these 50 Waggons with Stores & Provisions & as your waggons will come again the Same Indians will come then with Me. I have advices from the Cherokee Country that the Indians will not come until the heat is a little over. I sent Smith away the 14th the express Met him in augusta. I order'd Mr. Cromwell with him who will Delay no time, they cannot be here in less then forty days from this day, I blieve it is a good thing Smith is gone there as he will Set every thing right.

"I have a Letter from Mr. Turner to General Forbes, which I am going with My Self. he is at Carlyle, the waggons is at Parises* the Bearer will Set Out at 10 o'Clock hope you will See him tomorrow let him come with the next command or Sooner excuse hast...."

(Footnotes say the original plan was for the detachment of NC provincials at Winchester to conduct Thomas Walker's second convoy of wagons up to Ft. Cumberland but evidently the Tuscarora leader Captain Tom and his little band of Tuscarora and Nottoway had to help escort both the unarmed Carolinians and the wagon train as far as South Branch.

The express, or messenger, who met Richard Smith the interpreter probably was the man who brought Turner's letters reporting that no more Cherokees would come until fall. Whether or not due to Smith's mission or to Gist's son-in-law William Cromwell, the fact is that Little Carpenter and a small party of Cherokee did come to Winchester in October.

Commenting on an earlier report from Gist that Little Carpenter and his men had already arrived in Augusta County, see Bouquet's letter of 15 July. Abraham Bosomworth wrote Bouquet the 14th that he had found that there "are no Catawbas at Winchester nor any accounts of the Little Carpenter, Mr. Gist being too mature (as he generally is) in his intelligence." William Byrd had left George Turner in the Cherokee country in early May with instructions to conduct Little Carpenter and his party to Winchester; but in a detailed report to Forbes wrote, "to the Very Day that I was to have set off, I had no Reason to Doubt my Success, when they trump'd up a Story of their Conjurers foretelling them a great deal of Sickness and Death that would attend them in case they Went & they positively refus'd to go till the Fall."

*Gist was referring to Robert Pearis's house a short distance north and west of Winchester. He was during that period a captain in the Frederick Co. militia. Robert's role as a provisioner of troops is more fully discussed in Chapter 4.)

Evidently by 18 August 1758 Cherokee scouts are cooperating and Bouquet is no longer angry at Captain Pearis. He writes, "The Catawbas have not yet arrived at Cumberland. We are in need of two essentual articles, vermilion and blankets. There isn't a single one in camp, and the nights begin to be cold...Captain Paris is also in the field with a dozen volunteers; we have several other parties out, which will not be long retuning."

Captain Pearis and his Indians have been out scouting toward Fort DuQuesne when Captain James Burd writes to Bouquet from "Camp at Quemahony 28 August 1758 8 a:M...Captn Paris is just arrived here who informs me that he had been in sight of Fort DuQuesne but found it impracticable to take a Prisoner & that Major Armstrong is on his return. Neither ofthese partys has brought any further intelligence than that they saw the Fort & the Sixty Tents, the troops they Judge to be but a small Number, they say they heard a great deal of Noise over the River Ohio which seem'd to be falling of Trees, perhaps the Body of the French may be on theside of The River Fortifying there. We are very much in want of Bullocks if some could be forward soon..."

The company calendar shows that various companies arrived from Raystown to Loyalhanna at varying dates. Major Grant marched prematurely from Loyalhanna with a large detachment to reconnoiter at Fort DuQuesne on September 9th and was defeated by the 14th, losing many men. Captain Pearis is not mentioned any more that year by the Bouquet Papers, probably because not directly under his command.

On 5 October 1758, Col. Washington wrote, "I have this instant received letters from Captain Waggener and McKenzie, by express. The first writes that two men were killed, captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says that a Cherokee party, just as they were setting out to go to Capt. Waggener's, heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland and marched to him. The same letter has the interesting information that the monthly returns for that previous July and August had shown their strength to be 32 commissioned officers, 48 noncommissioned, and 703 rank and file* whereof 20 officers, 30 noncommissioned, and 464 rank and file were were employed in the still-perilous Virginia Counties of Hampshire andFrederick. "But there are always 6 women to a company, who draw provisions." He also says that Governor Sharpe has received information that two French deserters had come into Fort Cumberland about a month ago and said there were no more than 400 Men in the garrison at Fort DuQuesne.

It seems that the party of Cherokees who marched to Fort Cumberland to see Captain Pearis did not hang around long, and had not been very welcome there by some of the other companies. Gov. Sharpe wrote to Col. John Stanwix, "Since I received Capt. Dagworthy's letter, I have been informed that the Cherokees who were then at Fort Cumberland are returned home...This has relieved Capt. Dagworthy from the Anxiety that he seemed to be in upon account of those Indians & he

*Compare 703 rank and file during wartime to the number of troops from any state nowadays, but total population was then small.

will not I presume be visited by any more of them while he remains at Fort Cumberland." And to think of all the trouble the Virginians went to to lure these Indians, only to have people like Dagworthy, who had an abhorrence of all Indians, treat them so coldly that they returned home. They would have fought for Waggener had they not got themselves sidetracked by their admiration for Pearis.

The last time he is mentioned in Washington Papers is in an order book entry of 10 November 1758, written at Camp Loyalhanna, not over 50 miles east of Fort DuQuesne as the crow flies, but with Chestnut Ridge mountains in between, where companies from all over the South were assembled. His entry included, "It is General Forbes' orders that the following Officers of the Maryland Companies take rank and Command amongst the Troops in the following manner. Mr. Richd Parris as Capt; Lieut, Ens. James Gorrell; Lt., Ens. Bell (he meant Rezin Beall); Mr. Phillip Love as Ens.; and Mr. Barton Lucas as Ens." Obviously, General Forbes was giving Richard Pearis a new company, with subordinate promoted commissioned officers.

Again we come to a time in which much happened, most of it the most exciting of all, for which not enough data has been found, but there must be a lot of literature which has eluded me so far, for many books state that Captain Richard Pearis and his southern Indians, acting as spies, observed smoke billowing out of Fort DuQuesne in late November 1758 and, in drawing closer, observed hurrying Frenchmen evacuating the place to go toward New York to fight against the forces of General Jeffrey Amherst and Sir William Johnson, et al, on the Niagara frontier, considered by them to be more crucial, and that there were not enough of them to fight in both places.

The Maryland men encountered a 12-year-old Virginia lad, captured when he was ten, who made his escape during the commotion and heey confirmed their suspicions. In their haste to torch the fort and what supplies they could not carry with them, the French were not entirely thorough. Richard and his Cherokees rushed in to attempt to douse fires and save whatever they could, especially the Indian stores they so prized, and the artillery.

All of this happened just in the nick of time to change the mind of General Forbes, who had very nearly resolved to go into winter quarters because of the lateness of the season and the shortness of supplies due to the long distance and poor roads from civilization, and troops suffering from exposure. Had he done so a golden opportunity might have been lost or at least the war prolonged. Though the English would probably have prevailed anyway, it would have been at a high extra cost ofhuman suffering, not to mention His Majesty's purse.

The accounts say Richard was commended by General Forbes, thanked by Lord Eglinton, and later made an Indian agent. When details are found, they will be inserted. (Col. Archibald Montgomery, 11th Earl of Eglinton, raised the 77th Regiment, or First Highland (Scottish) Battalion and was commissioned Lt. Col. Commandant 4 January 1757. His troops, often at the front, fought bravely. Some of them died as a result of Major Grant's defeat in September 1758.)

PEARIS FAMILY

WILL NOT

The best confirmation to date is found in the following letter of Governor Sharpe to Lord Baltimore

My Lord 14 Decenber 1758

It is with great pleasure I inform Your Ldp that Lt Colo Dagworthy is just arrived here from the Army commanded by General Forbes & brings us the agreeable Account of His Excellencys having on the 25th of last Month taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne which the Enemy had abandoned two Days before. A Virginia Lad who made his Escape from them as they were going off says that about Half the Garrison (which consisted of 500 men commanded by Monsr Desligneris) went down the Ohio in Battoes carrying the Artillery & all their Stores with them & that the Rest having first set fire to all the Houses in & without the Fort marched towards Venango which is about 60 Miles to the Northwd of Fort Du Quesne & where they have a small Stoccado Fort. They had it seems been some time in great Want of Provisions, (which was probably owing to the Loss they suffered last Summer at Frontenac) their Indians had all left them, they perceived that General Forbes was approaching with upwards of 3000 Men who were within two Days March of the Fort when they abandoned it & happily for us the Weather continued extreemly favourable.

The first Intelligence the General received of the Enemys being gone off was from some Friendly Indians who had been on a Scout & returned to his Camp on the Evening of the 24th Orders were immediately issued for Lt. Colo Dagworthy to march next Morning at Break of Day with a hundred Men to reconnoitre & if the Indian's Intelligence was true to take Possession of the Fort. He had scarcely left the Camp when he met Capt Pearis one of our Officers who had been sent out the Night before with a small Party to make Discoveries & by him he was assured of the Truth of what the Indians had before told the General. The inclosed Plan or Draft which Colo Dagworthy has at my Desire sketch't out from his Memory will shew Your Ldp what Works the French had made & in what Condition they left them. & the other inclosed Paper will inform Your Ldp now the General has disposed of the Provincial Troops that served on this Expedition. Besides the 200 Provincials who are destined to garrison Fort Du Quesne this winter Colo Dagworthy left most of the Highlanders & Royal Americans there but he supposes that they are by this time coming in with the General (who was in a very ill State of Health) & that all the Regulars will be sent

down among the Inhabitants for Winter Quarters. As soon almost as our Troops arrived at Fort Du Quesne four or five Indians appeared on the other Side of the Ohio & desired to be fetched over & introduced to the General which they were the next Day on the 27th they were dismissed with an Answer to the Message they had brought from their respective Towns & Mr Croghan the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with an Interpreter was ordered to accompany them, Colo Dagworthy does not know what passed between the General & those Indians but he says it was expected that all the Indians on the Ohio will immediately come in & sue for Peace. In my Letter of the 8th Inst I told Your Ldp there was a Report that the French had only retired to another Fort which they had built about 20 miles lower down the Ohio but I learn from Colo Dagworthy that there is no such Fort & that those of the Enemy that fell down the River were seen more than 30 Miles below Fort Du Quesne by the four Indians abovementioned. Your Ldp will perceive by the Orders which the General gave out the 29th of Novemr that he has sent a hundred of the Maryland Soldiers to Garrison Fort Cumberland expecting I presume that our Assembly will at least agree to support that Number. but if he has proceeded on this Supposition I am much afraid he will be disappointed & that Fort Cumberland will be soon evacuated, for the Gentlemen of the Lower House are still determined to adhere to their Assesment Bill, which I am told will be now offered to the Upper House in two or three Days. The General having thought fit to leave it to me to dispose of the Rest of the Maryland Forces I have ordered them to repair to this Place where they will be ready to be disbanded if no Supplies are granted or to receive their Arrears of Pay & be cloathed if the Assembly shall be prevailed on to raise Money at this time for that purpose.

What I consider to be thebest post-victory letter of General John Forbes follows. It gives fewer details, but it took the poor man four days to write, as he was then seized of what proved to be his fatal illness. He was impressed with therichness of the stretch of fine land he had just conquered forthe country.

Forbes to Abercromby and Amherst

Sir: Fort Duquesne now Pittsbourg 26 November 1758

I have the pleasure of acquainting you with signall success of His Majesties Arms over all His Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn, and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Inst; and of which I took possesion with my light troops the same Evening, and with my little Army the next day—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats, and part by land

to their Forts and Settlements upon the Mississippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutrall part, after thoroughly convincing them in severall skirmishes, that all their attempts upon our advanced posts, in order to cut of our Communication, were vain, and to no purpose, so they now seem all willing, and well disposed to Embrace His Majesties most Gracious protection.

Give me leave therefore to congratulate you upon this important Event, of having expelled the French from Fort Duquesne, and this prodigious tract of fine rich Country, and of having in a Manner reconciled the various tribes, and Nations of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesties Government.

You may remember S^{r} that I applyed to for your orders,[13] and instructions, how I was to behave myself in case I was so fortunate as to bring this affair to a happy crissis, acquainting you at the same time, that I had wrote to the different Governours concerned, beging of them their advice, and councill, but never had an answer to any of my repeated applications from any one person being left entirely to act upon my own weak foundation, I must now therefore beg, that as soon as possible, I may have your direction with regard to what strength I am to leave here for the protection of the Country, and for whom I must build a Blockhouse to cover them from the severity of the Season.

The Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina troops, may all disband tomorrow, as their provinces will pay them no longer, however I have used the freedom to detain 250 of them here, which indeed is more than I think I can possibly mantain during the Winter, considering 400 miles of land carriage thrô an immense Wilderness, and the worst roads in the world.

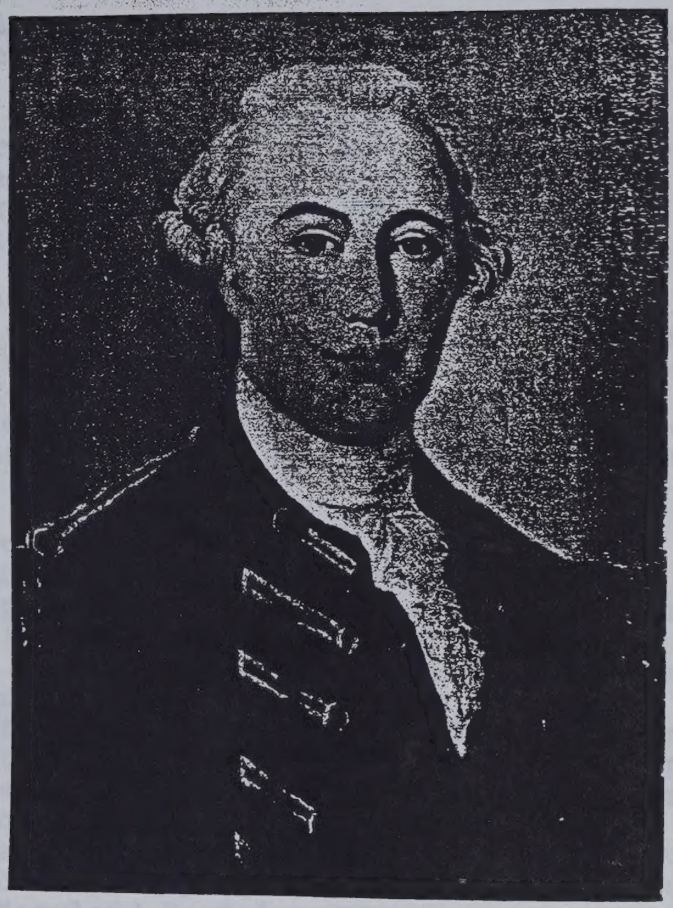
30 November

So far I had wrote you the 26th, but being seized with an inflammation in my stomach, Midriff and Liver, the sharpest and most severe of all distempers, I could proceed no farther, and as I have a thousand things to say, have ordered Major Halkett down the Country in order to explain the motives upon which I proceeded, and the various, and almost insurmountable difficulties I had to grapple with.

I have ordered him to proceed directly for England, which I hope you will approve off, and forthwith order a Packett to sail with him, as I cannot put pen to paper myself, and as he is the only person with me, in whom I could place the smallest confidence, or from whom I have met with the smallest assistance, Col^{o}. Bouquet alone excepted.

I shall leave this as soon as I am able to stand, but God knows when, or if I ever reach Philadelphia.

Portrait of Brigadier General John Forbes, presented to Royal Greys Regiment by a collateral descendant.



This letter is from Writings of General John Forbes compiled for Col Dames of America, by Alfred Proctor James (1938) pages 262-3

This portrait was opposite the title page.

I expect the heads of all the Indians in here tomorrow,[14] when I hope very soon to finish with them what I have laboured hard at these 6 months, and which tho in the end has turned out as I foresaw it would, yet I had so many different Interests to reconcile, that I almost despaired of Success.

Our men had neither Tents, cloaths, shoes, or stockings, and provisions only from day to day, so you may believe it is high time for me to Seperate. I am Dr. Sir

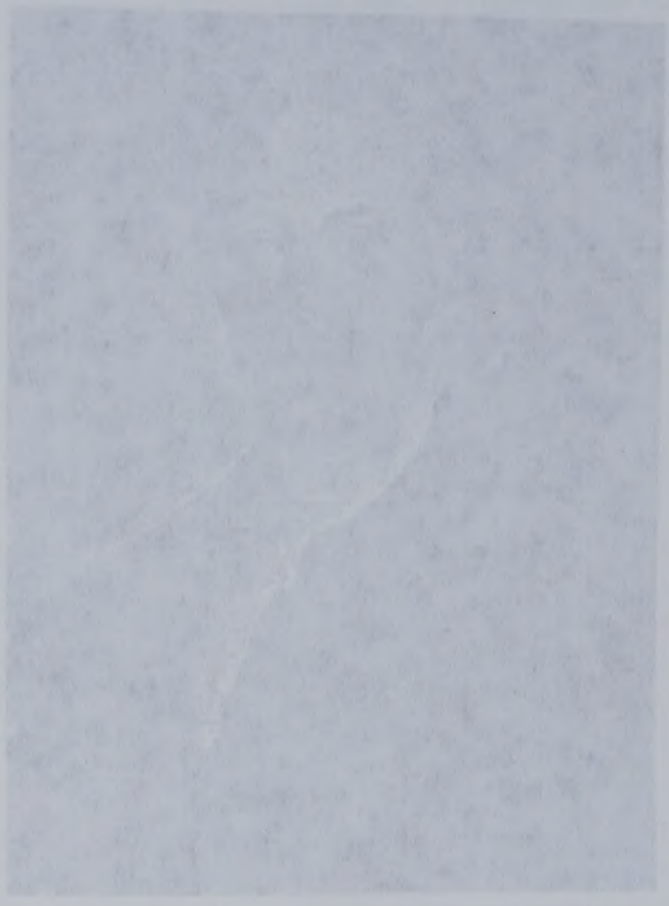
With great regard and esteem

Yr. Most obedt.

Most humble Servt.

Jo: fforbes

The book quoted is very interesting, but has no direct references to Captain Richard Pearis, though he certainly knew him and personally directed some of his duties. Another book written for the same group, by Irene Stewart, Letters of General John Forbes etc., pp 71-2 has a nice tale about the captured boy, Grant's defeat, etc., but is beyond the scope of this present story.



CHAPTER ~~TEN~~ NINE - RICHARD HOLDS THE FORT

As explained in Governor Sharpe's letter, the French floated much heavy artillery, etc. (which could not be carried upstream on the Allegheny and French Creek and portaged to the fort on Lake Erie very easily) down the Ohio and then, presumably, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Their ally Indians, being no fools, deserted them and sued for peace (though years later those same Indians, angered by white western expansion, rose up again and Colonel Bouquet and Major Lewis and others had to fight them all over again). That entailed another long, hard-fought war, but is not part of our story. After the French were gone, tortured remains of many colonists and troops were found, including soldiers from the Scottish Highlands. Before they left they also slew their prisoners rather than attempt to take them along. The 12-year old lad who escaped was lucky. These revolting facts are notable partly because wide-spread French propaganda had been that they were humanitarians whereas English colonists were crudely cruel.

General Forbes was very perceptive when he claimed to have won "a very fine country" for the Pennsylvanians. It was important to hang on to it, but at that point the soldiers barely had clothing or food. Despite the fact that their colonies would no longer support them, he ordered at least 250 troops to maintain the place. Richard Pearis and his company, composed of Maryland soldiers were ordered to maintain Fort Cumberland; he so informed Governor Sharpe, whose province had been unwilling to support their troops even in wartime. By 30 December the General was in Philadelphia on his sick bed, when the Governor sent him a plaintive letter asking for funding and suggesting many of the soldiers be furloughed for a while. After Forbes died he importuned his successor, and also General Amherst. The Maryland Captains knew there was a problem, but trusted him to find some solution. Richard Pearis did. So when you read the contents of some of his letters, you will understand this better.

Captain Richard Pearis to General John Forbes

Sir Fort Cumberland 9 January 1759

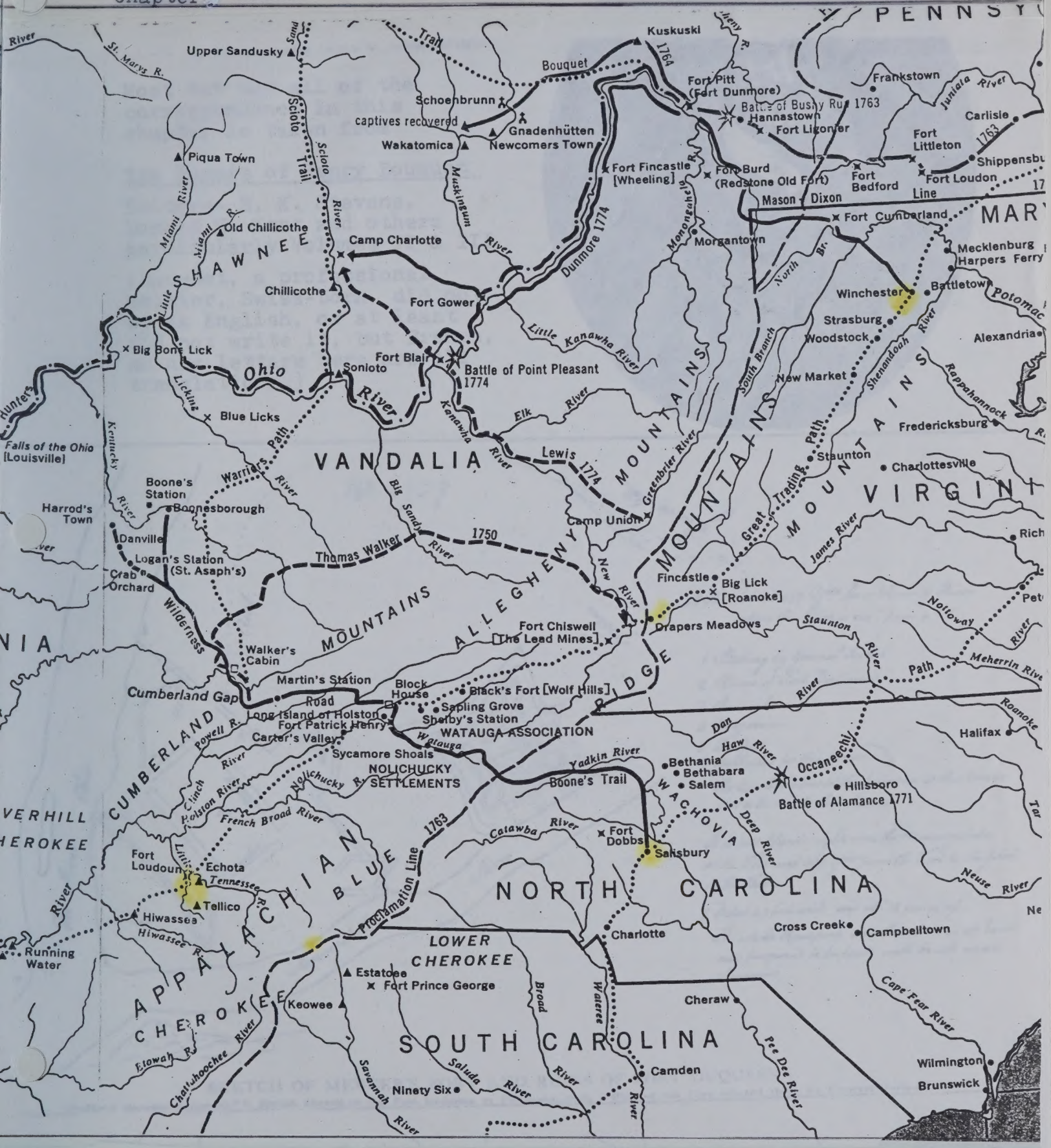
I think it is my Duty to let you know that I never had the Complement of Men at this Fort agreeable to your Orders. the most I could get here was Ninety Rank and File, and out of them you'l see by the Return how Many is Deserted since my last. Notwithstanding all I can do with them and have Done, without Money verry soon to Pay them I don't expect there will be in a Short time any Body to Garrison this Fort but Officers, we have given them Shoes and other things but all wont do.

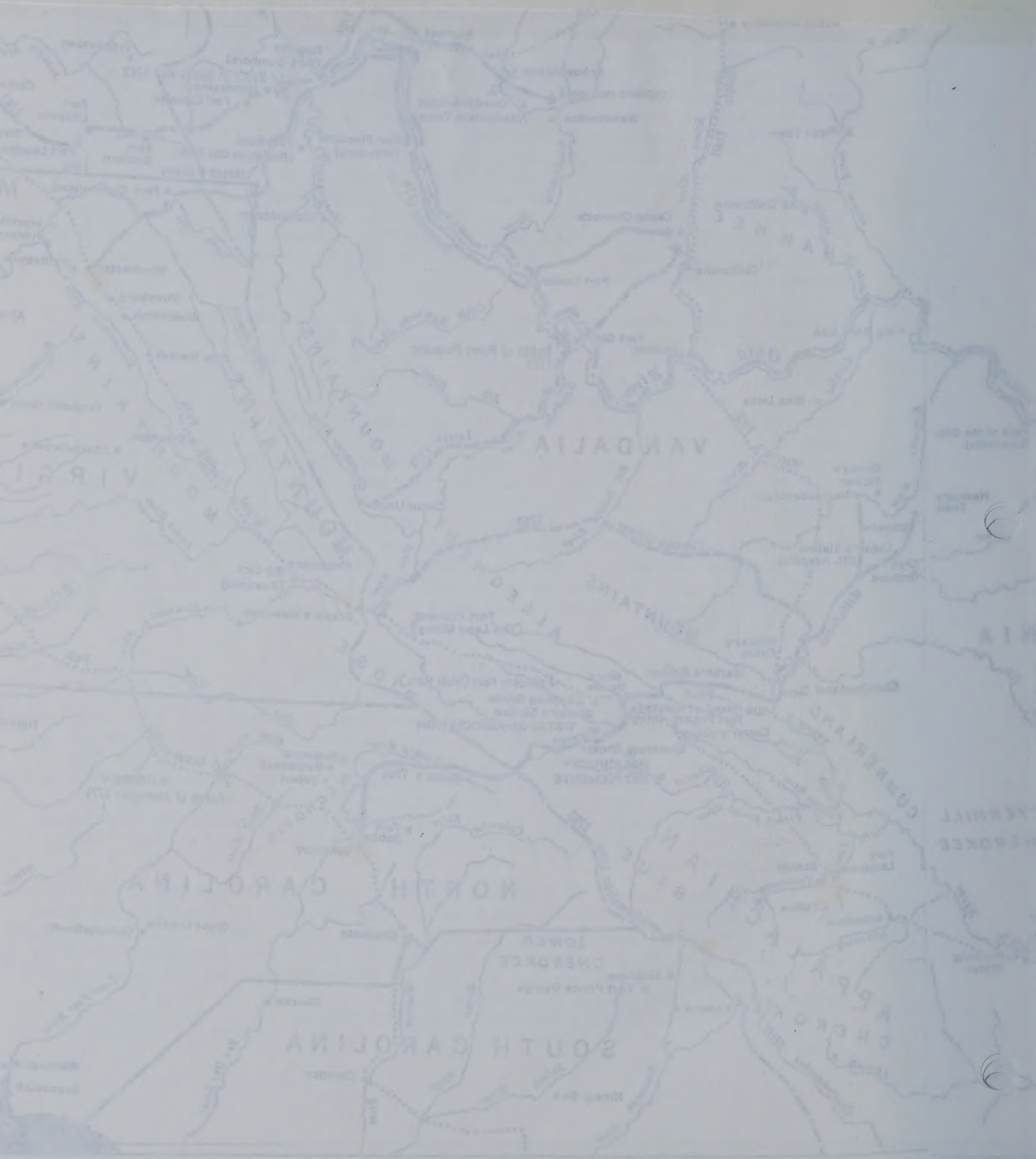
Sir I just beg leave to Mention Altho it was your Pleasure to Order me to this Post so that I cant have the Honour of Waiting on you without its your Pleasure. Altho' Absent have grate reason to think that you'l not forget my Past service in the late Campaign and if you are Pleas'd to think me worthy of your Favour am in hopes you'l Recommend or Reward me Accordingly.

I am Sir your most Obedient Humble Servant

Rich^{d} Pearis

You might want to consult this map in regard to later events, but it clearly shows Braddock's Road, Forbes' Road, Forts Burd & Ligonier, Cumberland & Bedford as well as other localities mentioned in this Chapter & next.




VANDALIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA

Right- Portrait of Henry Bouquet

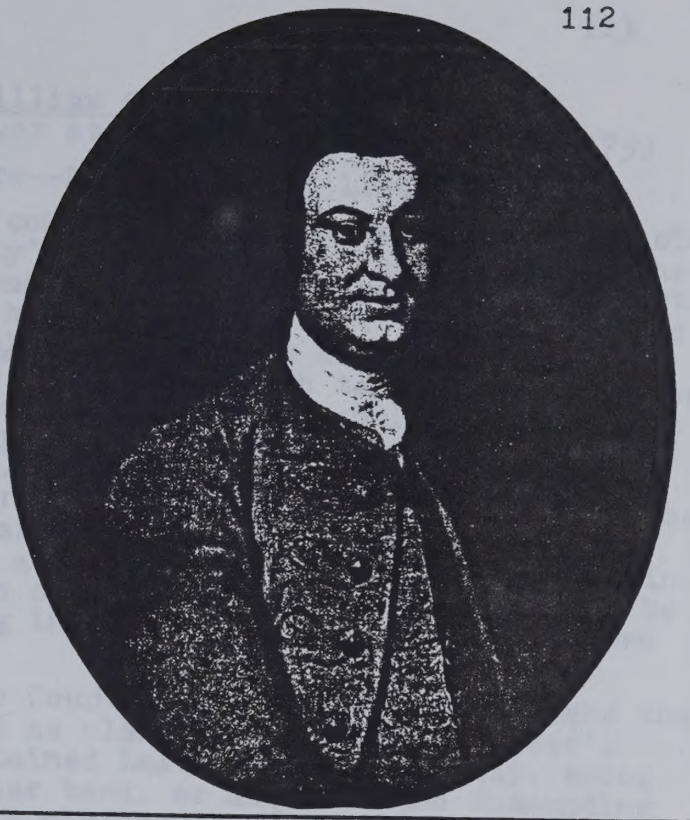
Below - Sketch of Mercer's Fort & ruins of Fort DuQuesne

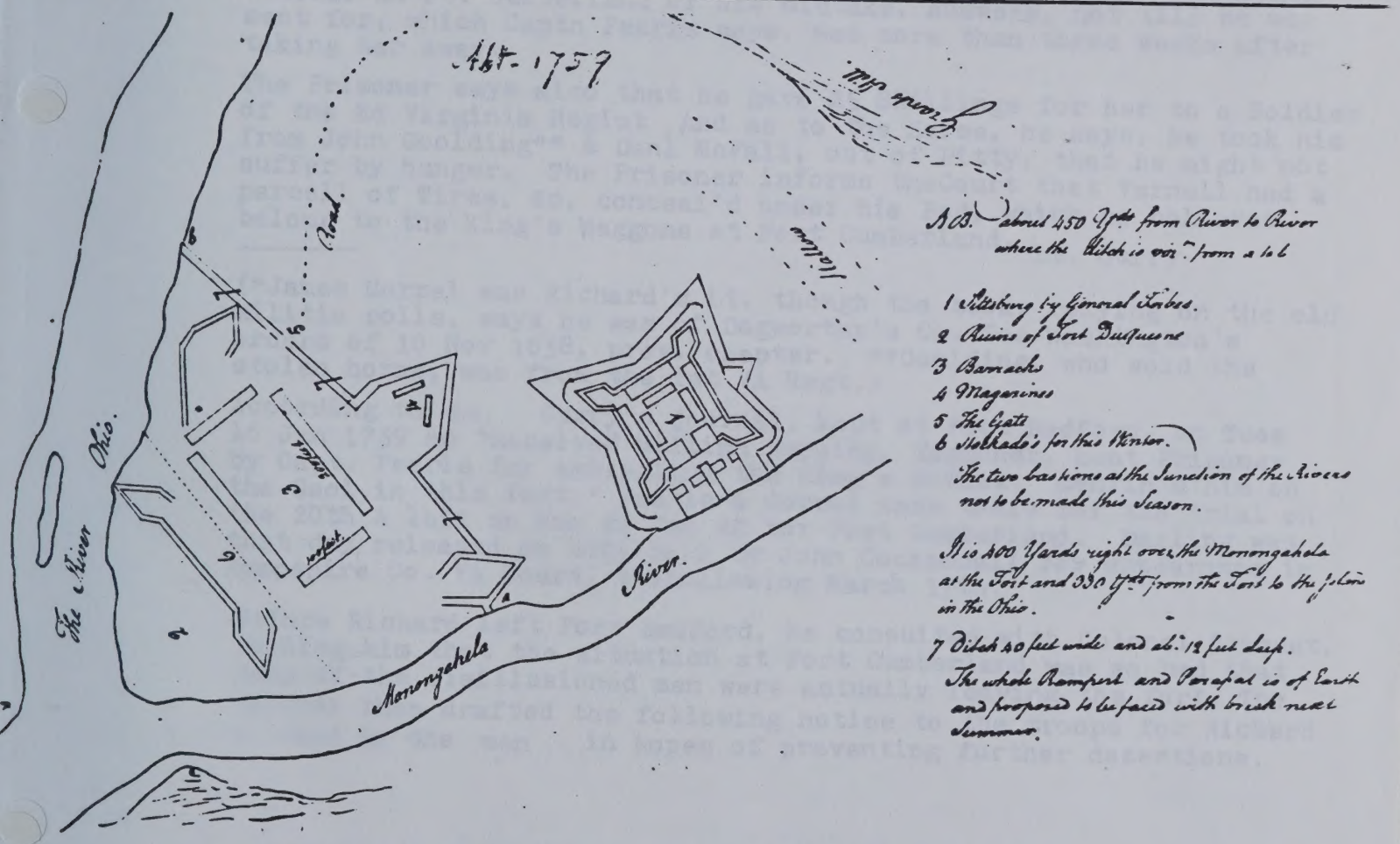
Most but not all of the correspondence in this chapter is taken from

The Papers of Henry Bouquet

Editors- S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent and others particularly Volumes II & III

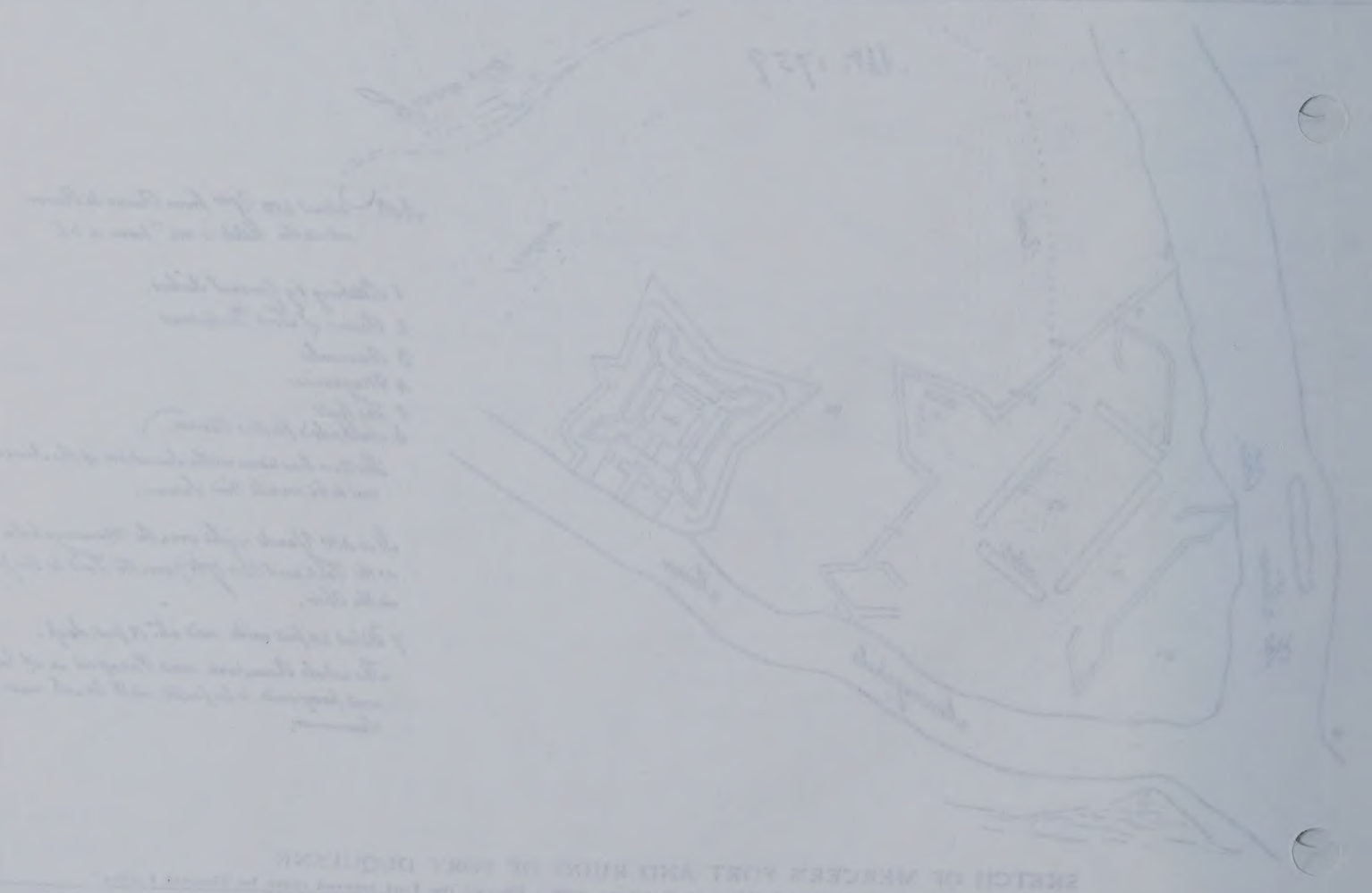
(Bouquet, a professional soldier, Swiss-born, did not speak English, or at least did not write it, but French, so his letters here are all translations.)




Apr. 1759
Forks Cha
Road
Hollow
Ohio.
The River
Redoubt
Redoubt
River.
Monongahela
N.B. about 450 Yds from River to River where the Ditch is cut from a to b
1 Pittsburg by General Forbes.
2 Ruins of Fort Duquesne
3 Barracks
4 Magazines
5 The Gate
6 Blockade's for this Winter.
The two bastions at the Junction of the Rivers not to be made this Season.
It is 400 Yards right over the Monongahela at the Fort and 330 Yds from the Fort to the Island in the Ohio.
7 Ditch 40 feet wide and ab. 12 feet deep.
The whole Rampart and Parapet is of Earth and proposed to be faced with brick next Summer.

SKETCH OF MERCER'S FORT AND RUINS OF FORT DUQUESNE

Hand-read drawing endorsed "A Rough Sketch of the Fort building at Pittsburg, with a Plan of the Fort erected there by General Forbes."



Court of Inquiry Concerning William Darling
Held by Order of Colonel Bouquet at Fort Bedford Jany ye 20, 1759

President-Lieut Ourry. Members--Lieut Hubbard, Lieut Gorril*

Was examined William Darling, confin'd by Captn. Pearis, on Suspicion of embezling two of his Majesty's Horses. Captn Pearis informs the Court, that one Varnell (who had accompanied the Prisoner from Fort Cumberland home) had inform'd him Capt Pearis that the Prisoner had bragg'd to him of the fine Hawl he had made in his Trip to Ft. Cumberland having, as he said, got a Mare worth ten Pounds & a Horse worth about five. And that the said Darling in coming back brought the Mare part of the Way, in order to dispose of her, but would not bring her so far as Cumberland, lest she should be own'd & taken from him. That upon this information he, Captn Pearis, sent for the Prisoner, and tax'd him with carrying off the King's Horses. And as the Prisoner could not give a Satisfactory Account, for being in Possession of them Captn Pearis order'd him to be confin'd 'till he procur'd Bail for his appearing in eight Days, & procuring the two Horses.

The Prisoner being ask'd by the Court, what right he had to take the Mare out of the Fort says, that he claim'd her, as his Brother's Property, and on that Claim obtained Leave to take her away, being ask'd if he attempted to send her back, or acquaint the Commanding Officer at Ft. Cumberland of his mistake, answers, not till he was sent for, which Captn Pearis says, was more than three Weeks after taking her away.

The Prisoner says also that he gave 25 Shillings for her to a Soldier of the 2d Virginia Regimt And as to the Horse, he says, he took his from John Goolding** & Danl McFall, out of Pitty, that he might not suffer by hunger. The Prisoner informs theCourt that Varnell had a parcell of Tires, &c, conceal'd under his Bed, which he believes belong to the King's Waggons at Fort Cumberland. Lt. Ourry

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(*James Gorrel was Richard's Lt. though the book, relying on the old militia rolls, says he was of Dagworthy's Co. See Washington's orders of 10 Nov 1658, prev. chapter. **Goolding, who sold the stolen horse, was from the 1st VA Regt.)

According to Lt. Ourry's journal, kept at Fort Bedford, on Tues 16 Jan 1759 he "Received William Darling, Waggoner, sent Prisoner by Capt. Pearis for embezzling the King's Horses. Confin'd him on the Gaol in this fort." Pearis & Gorrel came there for the trial on the 20th & left on Mon AM Jan 22 for Fort Cumberland. Darling was that day released on 200£ bail by John Cockendall for appearance in Hampshire Co. VA Court, thefollowing March 17th.

Before Richard left Fort Bedford, he consulted with Colonel Bouquet, telling him that the situation at Fort Cumberland was so bad that many of the disillusioned men were actually leaving the fort. The Colonel then drafted the following notice to the troops for Richard to read to the men in hopes of preventing further desertions.

Captain Pearis arrived here yesterday from Cumberland and told me that the garrison had resolved to abandon the fort, as they no longer wished to serve without receiving their pay. With a great deal of trouble he made them promise to stay until he had spoken to me. He informed me that the province of Maryland had voted £1500 to be distributed as extra pay to their troops, on the refusal of the Council to pass the bill for their pay and arrears.

The soldiers who are at Fort Frederic have received their share of this extra pay, and Lt. Colonel Dagworthy must have the rest for the troops which are at Cumberland, but he has not written a word since his departure, and the soldiers make very insolent remarks regarding him and this money.

In the hope that the province will finally provide their pay, or the government if they default, I thought it my duty to prevent the complete desertion of these men by the only means which lay in my power, which was to write them the enclosed letter, which I hope you will approve under the present circumstances. Pearis believes they will make no difficulty about remaining on that footing until March 15th, a sufficient time to makea decision regarding them. I shall learn their decision by express.

The number of horses and wagons stolen during the campaign is so great that I have no doubt you will order search warrants in the three provinces. These rogues will betray one another, and punishing them will prevent similar crimes in another campaign. Captain Pearis sent me a prisoner, a Virginia farmer, who stole two horses. I had him examined by a court of inquiry, and released under bail of £200 sterling.

Capt. Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberld Jany 23d 1759 9 0 Clock

Sir I am sorry I have to inform you that on the 21st Inst at Night Deserted from here Serjt Fill* and fourteen Men with him Notwithstanding the Promises they Made to me, agreeable to your Orders. I Read your letter to those Remaining, they all Return you harty thanks for your kind Proposals, and Care for them and says they will do their Duty with Spirit agreeable to your Request untill the 15th of March, I beleeave if those that Deserted on the twenty first, had not been gon before I Came home they would not gon. tomorrow Morning I send Ensign Love with the Coppy of your letter after those that are gon hopeing that it will have the Desired Effect on them to Return. I also send a copy to Goverer Sharpe with a list of the Deserted in hopes he will send some of them Back in Case they go to Annopolis. Balser Kern shall be tried to morrow. the Rest of the men Appeares to be Much Displeased with him for his false seditious Reports.

(*Sgt John Fell--the book says both he and Ensign Philip Love were in Dagworthy's company, relying on the muster rolls now out of date. They were both in Captain Pearis's company.)

Capt. Pearis to Lewis Ourry (ade Quartermaster General at Fort Bedford)

Dr Sir Fort Cumberland 31 January 1759

Since I have Wrote my sentiments to Coll: Bouquet and you, I am informed by Mr. Love that Coll. Dagworthy sent 100 pounds of the Present Money to Mr. Riley* who is now Deceased to bring here for the men at this Garrison, I Cant see the Reason why he Did not send the whole without he Intends to Defraud them out of it, as the Men says, for I think

he has no right to make any stopages. Also, I have Just heard by Mr. Love that Coll Dagworthy gave privit Orders to Mr. Lenox unknown to me who he new was to Command untill he Came, to let aney of the Men have furloughs that wanted them which he had don without my leave Notwithstanding the Generalls orders for 100 men to be kept here. This I beg you would aquaint Coll Bouquet with or enclose this to him. Am Quite tired of this Command without Matters were Carried on in a more Juster manner than has Been.

(*Lt. James Riley or Ryley died of smallpox at Fort Frederick on 26 Jan)

Capt. Pearis to Col. Bouquet Fort Cumberland 5 February 1759

Sir I send you Inclosed the Proceedings of a Court Martial held to try Corpol. (John) Ragon of Coll Dagworthys Company where in You'l see what insulting Mutenus behavour Rains amongst the Men of this Garrison Notwithstanding ye Money I have paid them Agreeable to your Orders, and the Promises made by them. I have sent the above Ragon Prisoner to Fort Bedford untill your pleasure is known, knowing him to be a Soer of Muteney amongst the Rest. I also send you a Return of what Horses loaded with flower has pass'd for Pitsburg since my last, many more yet following. According to Your Order I sent to William Rosses, who was Accused by Creasep for Concealing some of his Majestys Horses, where Ensign Mearns found three, two of which appeares to belong to the Virginia Officers andone to his Majesty. Ross says he took them up in the Woods, also Ross informes me on one Eves and one Plum who lives at Cresaps that they have Conceald ten or twelve of his Majestys Horses. Cresaps Servant Man Confirms what Ross says, only he says ther is but seven of them belongs to the King. I have sent an officer to bring both Men and Horses in Case they are taken, would Be Glad to Receive Your Orders how to Proceed, Nothing else Extrodinary.

(William Ross had a home on So. Branch of Potomac River. Thomas Cresap, a frontier leader, had a settlement near present-day Oldtown MD. William Ives or Eives, an Indian trader, deserted from Dagworthy's Co. the previous July. He was killed by Indians in 1763.)

ENCLOSURE--PROCEEDINGS OF COURT MARTIAL

A Court Martial Held at Fort Cumberland the 5th Day of February 1759

Lieut William Linn Pres..Members Lt. James Gorrel, Ens. Samuel Mearns To try such Prisoners as Shal be Brought Before them.

Jno Ragon Corpl confind By Capt Richd Pearis for Goeing from the Garrison Seven Miles Without Leave threatning to Desert if he Could Gett Any Good fellow to Goe wth Him & Insulting Ensn Love. The Prisoner being Examind Confesses he went to Isaac Colliers without Leave.

George Teetef* of Capt Alexr Bealls Compy Being Examind Says that this Morning in ye Hospital he heard the Prisoner Say that if he had but a Good Fellow wth him he Soon would Goe of for He had No Right to Doe Duty in this Place without pay. Ensn Love Proves to the Court that he Saw the Prisoner on the Parade & Knowing him to be Confind Ordered

*This young man, George Teter, by then a Sgt. in the 1st VA Regt., two years later became Richard's son-in-law. Data about ordinary people so long ago is now rare. Though stationed at Fort Bedford, this proves the two were already acquainted. Both were from the Winchester area but of different backgrounds. George is also our ancestor.

him to ye inside of ye Guard Room & Said it was a fine Usage on these words ye Prisoner Damd him & the Usage too, and the Prisoner Confesses he Expressed the Words.

The Prisoner in His Defence Says he thought he had No Right to Ask Leave to Goe Abroad he Serving without Pay.

The Nature of the Prisoners Crime being Such that ye Court Judges thot they have Not a Right to Pass Sentance on Such Crime it Being of too henious a Nature.

(Comment: The meanings of words and phrases have changed so much in almost 2½ centuries that I cannot translate all of it, especially what they meant by henious, but when Ragon said he had no right, he meant that it was not morally right that he should have to serve without pay. Heinous means hateful.)

Lewis Ourry's letter below is presented in its entirety partly to show how trying a job it was to be a Quartermaster in those years.

Lieut. Lewis Ourry to Colonel Bouquet Fort Bedford 9 February 1759

Dear Colonel Captain Pearis, who has sent me two Loads of Hay, acquaints me that Several Horses have been found, conceal'd by divers Persons who, as soon as detected, discover others, which he has sent an Officer to take up. And he asks my Opinion, what he is to do with them. I told him I would write to receive your Directions on that head. But in the meantime I thought he would do well to make them produce the Horses immediately and give Bond for their appearance at the next Court, and to make what Discoveries he could by taking Depositions of all Informers.

As I have now, many Horses up here, and plenty of Forrage, I hope to send you soon agreeable Returns of the Provisions in the upper Garrisons. The Horses gone by Bradocks Road have met with some obstacle or other, for tho 196 had passed by Fort Cumberland between the 23d of January & the 5th Inst not onewas arrived at Pittsburgh the 3d as Col Mercer informs me. But a Suttler who left that Place the 3d at Night, tells me that Intelligence was just brought to the Colonel, of upwards of 200 Horses being within 20 Miles, and that he sent out a Party to meet them... As I suppose I shall be order'd down very Soon I would be glad to know whether any body is coming to releive me, or if I am to leave the transacting of this business to the Commanding Officer, to whom I have hinted that I immagin'd it might fall to his Lot..and have been Striving to initiate him in that agreable Amusement, for which he does not shew the Strongest Inclination. My right hand man Boggs the Horse Master, will ease him much in the Laborious part, but I believe he will need more Assistance in the other Details.

The Country People coming with Corn to sell here & Liquor etc to carry up are returning with a thousand requests & Difficulties will perplex anybody that is not a little innur'd to that variety of Occurences &.. throw things in great Confusion. The want of ready Money cause abundance of Trouble when one has to deal with People from Sundry remote Places... I have lower'd the Price of Grain, And tho' I at first gave Forrage to encourage People to go up to Pittsburgh, I charge them for what they take now to be deducted from the Price of their Goods, which lessens both the demand and the expense.....

(Horses and backcountry farmers found the way to Fort Pitt through the wilderness harrowing. The King's Horses often got lost.)

PEARIS FAMILY

HIM TO YE Inside

Lieut Ourry to Col Bouquet Fort Bedford 26 February 1759

Dear Coll Since my last to you of the 24th Curt I have receiv'd two Letrs from Captn Pearis, who informs me that Numbers of People returning from Pittsburgh have been greatly distress'd having suffer'd much hardship, through cold & hunger, & sustain'd great losses by the Death & loss of their Horses, Starved & Stray'd. Some that took up Six brought back one, some two. Several Men in Swimming their Horses, nearly lost their Lives. He has assisted them, & got the Flatt afloat which is of great Service. He recommends building another, about 5 Miles below Cressaps, one at Bruery Cox, as being between 30 & 40 Miles nearer from Winchester than the other Road, by that means he thinks the People from those parts would be encouraged to carry up Provisions. He has recover'd 8 or 10 Horses which I have sent for.

He acquaints me also that he has receiv'd Directions from Sir John St. Clair to receive in his Stores a Quantity of Indian Goods 'till they can be transported to Pittsburgh. They are arrived there.

The list at right is the goods he sent the next day by Ambrose Newton, Conductor to the Royal Artillery.

Fort Bedford, not shown on the map in Chapter Nine, was NNE of Fort Cumberland where Captain Pearis was in command, but the latter was on the old Braddock Road, whereas Bedford was on Forbes Road. Neither were more than rough, stumpy trails, but Braddock's was rougher by far and more dangerous from swollen creeks. The bulk of the supplies there came from across the Potomac in VA, whereas Bedford was provisioned by good Pennsylvania farmers.

Provisions for Fort Pitt came through both of these forts.

INVOICE: INDIAN STORES

To 39 Horse Loads sent by Christopher Smith the Particulars are as followeth	Horse Master	
To Blankets	468	
English Match Coats	45	
French Brown Match Coats	116	
White old ones	5	
French White Match Coats	80	
Scalping Knives Dozens	27-7	
Clasp Knives Dozens	73	
Black and White Beads about lb.	4	
Brass Rings Dozens	30	
Sleive Buttons Dozens	3	
Pipe Tomahokes	16	
Gun Locks	23	
Yelow Binding Peices	12	
Gartring Peices	2	
Wire about lb.	1½	
Vermillion about lb	2	
Check Shirts	18	
White Ruffled	2	
Aul Blades Dozens	7	
Jews Harps Dozens	6-9	
Some Screw Nails for the Guns	..	
Half thick for Stockings Yards	38¼	
Strouding Half thick Yards	7	
2 Peices of Strip'd Flannel Yards	17½	
1 Remnant of a Peice of White Linn ab' 2 Shirts	..	
Blew Britch Clout Yards	11	
Peices of Half thick	10	
Peices of Callico	1	
Pairs of Red Half thick stockings	1	
Barr Lead, Peices	984	Barrs
Flints about	2000	
Tin Quart Mugs	16	
Tin Pints Ditto	39	
Indian Guns	20	
Pistols	2	
Silver Gorgets	18	
Silver Lac'd Hats	22	
White Wampum	2000	
Tomahoaks	96	

[*Endorsed*] Indian Goods Sent to Pittsburgh

FRANK FAMILY

None of the Deserters being return'd, but on the contrary several more having lately gone off, & the few remaining being discontented & not to be relied on. And this Additional Store of Indian Goods being lodged there, I took the Liberty to remind Captn Davis of the Reinforcement you mentioned in case that Place should be abandon'd, which he acquieced to send an Officer and twenty men, who March this Day. I suppose on their arrival the remainder of the Marylanders will all go away....

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 4 March 1759

Sir You have the Monthly Returns by Mr Ourry, who I have sent them to, as I am informed you are gon to Philadelphia. I Beg leave to trouble you, to Indeavour to have my Indians Accounts Setled, which is in the hands of Capt Bozmouth (note-Captain Abraham Bosomworth) as I cant attend myself. I hope you wount think it two troublesome to see them adjusted and Setled.

The Men left in this Garrison wates Impatient untill the fifteenth of March when they will all abanden the Fort without their pay, there is maney of them at Fort Frederick that left this is Willing to Return on hearing of theirMoney being Come. I hope at least you'l order the Present money here that I may be able to stop what I advanced by Your Order. You'l see by the Return that there is Maney of them Deserted sence I advanced to them and purhaps may Receive the whole money Below.

Bouquet to Pearis (letter never found to but acknowledged below)

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 17 March 1759

Sir With great satisfaction I Receiv'd your favour this Day & Read part of your Letter to the men in this Garrison indeavouring to let them kno of the maney Disappointments you Laboured Under in Regard to the setling of their affairs, which I have made them sensible of, and are Quite Satisfied untill your farther Orders is known, on the 15th I was Obliged to Confine 13 of the Men and on the 16th they Petitioned me for Releasment which I Granted on Promising they would stay till Your Letter Came. I this day Borrowed forty Pounds from Coll. Cresap to give them, which I belieave will satisfie them untill I Receive further Orders if soon. They blame Coll. Dagworthy greatly for keeping their Present Money from them as they have Never Receiv'd one farthing of it yet. I hope youl take care to Order it here that I may be able to make Stopages for what I have advanced for them.

If the Men had got that Present money when Granted by the Province, I am Confident the cheafest Part of them would abeen here yet. Inclosed you have a Return of the strength of the Garrison. I am sorry to hear General Forbes' ill state of health. I will use all Proper means to Continue the Men untill I Receive further Orders. I have no News. I am Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

P. S. Sir, I relie on your Intrust in regard to my Private Affares.

(Colonel Thomas Cresap, the man who lent the money, lived at Oldtown, Maryland, on the far western frontier. The enclosed return of troops has not been found.)

Brigadeer General Jeffrey Amherst to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir New York 18 March 1759

It having become Necessary, by the Demise of Brig^{r} Gen^{r} Forbes, that an Officer of Rank and Experience shoud without Loss of Time proceed to pensylvania to take on him the Command of his Majestys Regular Troops and those to be raised by the Southern Provinces to Act in conjunction for the Defence and Security of those Provinces, or otherwise as opportunities shall offer, or the Exigences may require I have thought it for the good of his Majestys Service to appoint Brig. Gen. Stanwix to that Command and he does accordingly set out Tomorrow for philadelphia to take upon him the same; I am therefore to request you that during such his Command, you will upon every immergent Occasion, Correspond and co-operate with him in the same manner as you are enjoined by M^{r} Secretary Pitts Letter to do with me, which must prove of great Benefit to the publick Service, as from my removal from hence into the Back Country, whether I may be called soon, it prove very prejudicial to the safety and security of the southern provinces to wait for the answers to any of the Letters you may have Occasion to write to me in relation thereto and I have accordingly directed Brig. Gen. Stanwix to Correspond and co-operate with you in Like manner.

I am, with great Regard
Sir Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Williamsburgh 19 March 1759

The Expedition which is requisite to be used, in order to raise Men to compleat our Quota of Men to act in conjunction with the rest of his Majesties Forces, has encouraged me to give Leave to some of the Officers to try whether they can enlist any in your Colony where they think they have some Acquaintance and Interest. I therefore beg the Favour of you not only to give them Permission, but to assist them with your Countenance and Protection for the promoting his Majesties Service at least so as not to interfere with any Levies your Colony is about to raise for the same Purpose. I am with great Esteem
uour Excellency's most Obdt Hum. Servt Fran: Fauquier

It was about this time that the Cherokees had gone over to the side of the French! This must have caused Captain Richard Pearis much heartache. No wonder he had implored Col. Bouquet to "have my Indians Accounts Setled." It must have been soon after this that his future son-in-law, George Teeter, of Captain Beall's Company, enlisted as a corporal in the First Virginia Regiment, Captain Nathaniel Gist's Company.

These two letters from Maryland Archives 9:213-4

31 March 1759

PEARIS: DIMENSIONS OF BRIDGE

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 119, A. D. S.] Bouquet Papers

Fort Cum^{d} March 31st 1759

A Return of the Dementions of a Bridg to be made over Will's Creek[1] supposed to be sufficient to stand any flood. With the Dementions of two Connewe's [canoes] already made for the use of his Majesty's Service at this Garrison.

	Feet	Inch^{s}	
The length of the Bridg	270		
The N^{o} of Pillers is 6 Each Piller	24		
and	12		
The Highth	20		
The form of y^{e} Pillers to be filled with stone			
The length of the large Connew is	29		
The Wedth is	2	6	
The Debth is	1	7	
The length of the Small Connew	20		
The Wedth	1	9	
Debth	1	5	

If it's thought Proper to be ordered made by these Dementions I think it will stand any Flood & will be of the utmost Service for Carrage's Passing for Pittsburg both from Virginia & Mary^{d} and in purticular this Garrison as Timber is very inconvenient to be got any other place then by Crossing Will's Creek, some People on their Return from Pittsburg has been oblige to stay here this 4 Days on aCount of the Creek being so high and Rapped that y^{e} Connew Could not Cross and likely to stay severall days longer without Swiming their horses, one ho[r]se was Drowned Yester Day attempting to swem it.

Rich^{d} Pearis

[1] On the Potomac River at present site of Cumberland, Md.
As following pages show, there was a desperate need for this bridge and several others which Captain Pearis would soon build. Note the size of the "connews." Men were smaller then than now.

General Amherst to Governor Sharpe

New York 28 March 1758

Sir

With my Dispatches from Mr Secretary Pitt, this moment received by the Hallifax Packet, came the Enclosed for You, by which you will see, that the King has been pleased to direct me, and Brigr General Forbes, to lose no time in concerting the properest and speediest means for compleatly restoring, if possible, the ruined Fort du Quesne, to a defensible and respectable state, or for Erecting another in the room of it, of sufficient strength, and every way adequate to the great importance of the several Objects of maintaining his Majesty's Subjects in the undisputed Possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this way, between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been Exposed since the French built the above Fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the several Indian Nations in their Alliance with, and dependance upon, His Majesty's Government;—for all which wise and good purposes, it is His Majesty's pleasure that You should use Your utmost Endeavors with Your Council and Assembly to induce them to Exert every means in their Power for Collecting and forwarding the Materials of all Sorts, and the Workmen which shall be wanted, and which the Commander in Chief in North America, or Brigr General Forbes, shall require for this Service; and that Your Province do also furnish Every other Assistance of Men, Cattle, Carriages, Provisions, &ca. &ca. that shall be necessary for the support and maintenance the King's Forces, that shall be Employed in this Essential Work, as well as in all farther Operations to be undertaken in those parts the Ensuing Campaign.

These Directions being so full and Explicit, leaves me nothing further to add to them, than my warmest Wishes and hopes that they will meet with a speedy and vigorous Execution, as well on the part of Your Province as of those of Virginia and Pensylvania, who are equally with You, so particularly and nearly interested therein, and to whom the same is likewise recommended in the strongest terms.

And as I have already Signified to You that I had appointed Brigr General Stanwix to succeed Brigr General Forbes, in the Command to the Southward, and desired of You to Correspond and Cooperate with him on every matter relative to the Service in those parts; I am now to request of You, that all the Aid and Assistance required of You, by Mr Secretary Pitts within Letter, in favor of the Late Brigadier Forbes, may be granted to Brigadier Stanwix, to Enable him, in the most Expeditious manner, to Execute the beforementioned great and salutary Work, or any other that may be found necessary for the good of the Service, and that You would look upon whatever he may ask or require of Your Province, during his continuance in that Command, as coming from Myself.

I am, with great Regard,
Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

Maryland Archives 9:324-5

All this has left Governor Sharpe "up the crick without a paddle," as the old saying goes. In a letter to Calvert on 17 April 1759 he laments that only a court of Inquiry by the King's Ministers could resolve the dispute between the MD Upper and Lower Houses and get funds loosened up.

Governor Sharpe, an intelligent man, can see the wisdom in Minister Pitt's desire to restore the ruined Fort du Quesne and open up the navigation of the Ohio to the English. Brigadier-General John Stanwix would quickly embark on this task, now that he had been appointed to succeed General John Forbes, who had recently died in Philadelphia.

So now it is time to tie up loose ends. No quitter, Richard stayed with the fort until all the Maryland troops were gone, which was soon after that. We have seen from a previous page showing Maryland Assembly Upper House proceedings of 22 June 1768 that they finally got around to paying Captain Richard Pearis his salary of four hundred pounds. Captain Pearis, who had been so concerned about getting his soldiers and his Indians paid, had all of this time received no salary himself. Is that patriotic, or what?? (And there are still historians reading the old propaganda who style him as devious and grasping, a liar who would do anything--even horse thievery--for a little money!) And before 1768 but still in the future, the Lower House on 25 Nov 1763 voted to pay 23 persons small amounts for "sundry services at the fort." He received 17 shillings 6 pence then.

General Amherst to Governor Sharpe
Sir
New York 28 March 1759

Now it is the last week of April. Though it is vitally necessary that western Pennsylvania and western Maryland be protected and the Ohio River navigable to protect the interests of all the colonies, they are disbanding their forces. General John Stanwix is in charge, but he is at the moment fighting desperately on the New York frontier, and vitally aware of the need to maintain and expand conquered territory. In the following letter, only part of which is repeated here, Colonel Bouquet says nice things to the General about Captain Pearis's recruiting efforts for the Pennsylvania Army.

Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Stanwix

Yorktown (PA) 26 April 1759

[He says conditions are bad on the frontier. Some men totally unfit for service. He will keep the rest of the invalids who are fit for garrison duty.) Lieut (Archibald) Blane arrived yesterday with 1 Serjt, and 18 privates having left the rest of his party sick at Ligonier. He brings bad News from the frontiers: The Magazines are Empty, The Roads Spoiled, and the Bridges carried away with the last flood. The Ennemy's begin to appear upon the Communications, and have killed and Scalped 11 sick going to Bedford, and taken a Prisoner at Ligonier... The Virginians are not cooperating. Roads are bad, supply wagons not coming, bridges not built or rebuilt. Only perhaps pack horses can supply Pittsburgh from Ligonier. ...(Many new levies will have to be raised to accomplish what has now been demanded by Prime Minister Pitt) Now he speaks of recruiting, and the competition by Virginia for the departing Maryland soldiers and others. They are offering a pretty good bounty in VA.]

(Lieut. James) Ralfe has got twenty men at Fort Cumberland which he brought yesterday. He would have inlisted the 14 remaining had not some of their officers interfered. Col. Byrd had Sent one of his officers to that Post who offered £10 Bounty, but Ralfe had been beforehand..and he did not get one. Captain Pearis who goes down was very assistant. I promised and paid him 30 shillings currency for Each man for his trouble and supposed expenses on that Occasion. I think he would be able to raise 50 or 60 more in Maryland if you thought proper to make an agreement with him. There are four officers of the Marylanders remaining at Cumberland who, having been ordered there by Brigr. Forbes, desires your order for their conduct. The men being near all gone, they can be of no further service there as their Province does not Seem disposed to pay them.....

In Review: Much had changed since Richard left Virginia. Francis Fauquier was now governor. Col. Washington had wooed and won the hand of widow Martha Custis, and had settled down to plantation life and a seat in the House of Burgesses. William Byrd III was now Colonel of the Virginia Forces. Richard still owned the plantation near Winchester

CHAPTER ELEVEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS, THIRD BATALLION PENNSYLVANIA REGT.

A LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NEW LEVIES & THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS—1759. (a.)

Colonel.

William Clapham.

Surgeon.

William McMeehan, May 7, 1759.

Chaplain.

Andrew Bay, May 1, 1759.

Adjutant.

William Ewing, May 30, 1759.

Capt.—William Clapham, April 21, 1759.
Lieut.———— ————, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—John Mather, April 22, 1759.
Lieut.—Ezekiel Dummey, April 21, 1759.
Ensign—Cearly Campbell, April 21, 1759.

Capt.—Robert Curry, April 23, 1759.
Lieut.—William Darragh, April 29, 1759.
Ensign—David Peasly, April 22, 1759.

Capt.—John Haslet, April 24, 1759.
Lieut.—David McCay, April 30, 1759.
Ensign—Alex. McDowell, April 23, 1759.

Capt.—John Singleton, April 25, 1759.
Lieut.—William McDowell, April 27, 1759.
Ensign—George McDowell, April 24, 1759.

Capt.—Robert Boyd, April 26, 1759.
Lieut.—William Boyd, April 23, 1759.
Ensign———Simerel, April 25, 1759.

Capt.—James Sharp, April 27, 1759.
Lieut.—Sir Collingwood Flemming, April 24, 1759.
Ensign—Samuel Lindsey, April 21, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Nelson, April 28, 1759.
Lieut.—John Nelson, April 26, 1759.
Ensign—John Brisbane, April 26, 1759.

Capt.—John Bull, April 29, 1759.
Lieut.—William Ewing, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—David Hunter, April 30, 1759.
Lieut.—Andrew Finley, May 2, 1759.
Ensign—James Sinkler, May 3, 1759.

Capt.—Thomas Hamilton, May 1, 1759.
Lieut.—William Clinton, April 22, 1759.
Ensign.—Hugh McKean (McKeen), May 1, 1759.

Capt.—John Clark, May 2, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel Scott, May 3, 1759.
Ensign—Robert Lowry, April 27, 1759.

Capt.—Richard Pearis, May 3, 1759. ✓
Lieut.—William Work, May 4, 1759.

Capt.—Evan Shelley, May 4, 1759.
Lieut.—Reason Bell, May 10, 1759.
Ensign—Evan Shelley, jr., May 7, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Jones, May 5, 1759.
Lieut.—George McKnight, May 5, 1759.
Ensign—John Mullen, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—Andrew McDowell, May 6, 1759.
Lieut.—James Bambridge, May 9, 1759.
Ensign—Ratchford Duffield, May 5, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Grubb, May 7, 1759.
Lieut.—James Massey, May 6, 1759.
Ensign—Rees Howell, April 29, 1759.

Capt.—Joseph Richardson, May 8, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel West, May 7, 1759.
Ensign—Josiah Harper, April 30, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Postlethwait, May 9, 1759.
Lieut.—James Fulton.

Capt.—Richard Gardiner, May 10, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Ford, May 8, 1759.
Ensign—John Potts, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—William Johnston, May 11, 1759.
Lieut.—David McAllister, April 20, 1759.
Ensign—Menucan Hughes, May 2, 1759.

Capt.—Francis Price, May 12, 1759.
Lieut.—John Shelly, May 12, 1759.

Capt.—James Armstrong, May 13, 1759.
Lieut.—John Forster, May 11, 1759.
Ensign—Benjamin Polstain, May 6, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Price, May 18, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Stuart, May 13, 1759.
Ensign.—John Foulke, May 4, 1759.

Captains—Old Levies.

John Prentice, May 14, 1759.
Samuel J. Atlee, May 15, 1759.
Charles Brodhead, May 16, 1759.
James Hyndshaw, May 17, 1759.

Lower County. (Delaware)

Captains—John McClughan, May 21, 1759. Comm. revoked.
French Battell, May 22, 1759.
Henry Van Bibber, May 23, 1759.
John Wright, May 24, 1759.
Lieuts.—Benjamin Catin, May 21, 1759.
Archibald Towney, May 22, 1759.
William Conwell, May 23, 1759.
Ensigns—William McMeehan, May 21, 1759.
Ryves Holt, May 22, 1759.
Jonathan Caldwell, May 23, 1759.

PA Arch. (5th Series 1:295)(1906)

I have not yet found any rosters of Captain Pearis's Pennsylvania troops if they still exist, but it is obvious from what Col. Bouquet wrote to General Stanwix that some of them were Marylanders. It would be interesting to compare the list to his last Maryland command to see how many stayed with him but, as we have seen, that roll has not been preserved for posterity. The Maryland Gazette item in Chapt. 9 shows him in Annapolis recruiting as late as 14 June 1759, and we know that he had Governor Sharpe's blessing to do it.

Bouquet Papers do not mention him again until early September, still very busy at Fort Cumberland. One assumes, because the need was so obviously there, that much of his time, besides recruiting, was spent in making the route to Pittsburgh safer. Not only was Braddock's Road deteriorated and overgrown through neglect and bridges washed out, but northern Indians were increasingly on the prowl again, even with less French instigation.

Col. James Burd to Col. Henry Bouquet

My Sear Sir Camp at Martines* 10 miles from Fort Cumberland
5 September 1759

I have only gott thus farr upon my march, we have had a prodigeous heavy Constant Rain for those three days past which makes it very difficult to gett our Wagons along, however, you may depend no time will be lost. from Cumberland hence is hilly road & stonny & we have crossed in this little distance I think 14 or 15 Creeks so farr as I have March'd there is not one single Bridge repaired neither can I observe any thing done on the road by Mr. Fenny** and I am told theres very little done before me but I shall Suspend my Judgement untill I see it.

I have lost 17 men by Desertion since I left Cumberland. A great many of them old troops of the best men in my Battallion. I have sent Advertisments to Virginia & Maryland & as Capt. Vanbiber*** is on his March from Pitsburg to Cumberland his Reinforsement will make that Garrison very strong. I have desired Captn Paris to send one Officer & twenty or twenty five men, down the Pottomack to try if some of these fellows could not be taken lurking about these Remote places. ....I have had a Vyolent fever for some days past but I'm in hopes I shall gett the better off it by the Assistance of Jesuits Bark.**** I don't know wheither I mentioned to you in my last that the Virginia Pack horses are the best we have ever had in the service but the Horse Mastr Complains very much of the badness of the sadles he says they will Ruin all their backs which will be a very great pity... Col. Shippen desires his kind Compliments to you.
P.S. Since writing the above I have Reced A letter from Capt Paris from Fort Cumberland acquainting me that he is in great distress for want of meat for his Garrison. I gott 4 bullocks that had been lost from the drove that went up to Pitsburg & I sent Captn Paris 3 of them the 4th being killed.

(*This was at John Martin's plantation located on Braddock's Road, about halfway between Fort Cumberland --west of the fort-- and Little Meadows overlooking present Frostburg MD. **Alexander Finnie, head sutler of the VA Regt. ***Capt. Henry Van Bibber of the Lower Counties (Delaware) troops. This is an exanple of the many areas from which the present War Department personnel came. ****also known as Peruvian bark, used to treat malaria and other maladies. In the present US known as marsh elder.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir Fort Cumberland 7 September 1759

Last Night I Recd a letter from Coll. Burd wherein he mentions 17 Men being deserted from him since He left this & desires that I would send 20 or 25 Men with Lt. West* to Scour the woods about Potomack in order to find them if Possible. I have offer'd the men to Mr. West but he says it is to no purpose to go out without he goes to Susquehannah or perhaps over, therefore I think Proppor not to let the Men go so far without your Orders. theron. I have therefore sent Mr. West to You in order to Receive Your instructions. I have just now

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My Dear Sir Camp at Bartines* 10 miles from Fort Cumberland

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Captain Paris to Colonel Bouquet

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Last Night I Rceed a letter from Coll. Ford wherein he mentions 17 Men being deserted from him since he left this & desires that I would send 20 or 25 Men with Lt. Henry* to Scour the woods about to Towsen in order to find them if possible. I have offer'd the men to Mr. Ford but as anys it is to no purpose to go out without he goes to Augus-Bannah or perhaps over, therefore I think Proper not to Lett him go so far without your Orders thereon. I have therefore sent Mr. Ford to You in order to Receive Your Instructions. I have just now

heard from Coll. Mercer he is Expected as far as Crissops** this Night. I have just now sent an Officer & 20 Men to Clear the Roads as far as Ashby's Fort*** Have also sent another Party clearing the Road to Crissops meddow. they are in great want of Axes. I hear of no Provision comeing from Virginia.
(*Lt. Samuel West had at Burd's request come there on his way to deliver the above letter to Bouquet.**Col Thomas Cresap, the man who had lent the money for the MD troops. ***Fort Ashby, now W VA, was located 5 miles south of the Potomac River on Patterson Creek. Captain (now Colonel) George Mercer was the Virginia officer (see Chapt 8) who was so bewildered about how to deal with Swallow and the recalcitrant Wahachy two years before.)

The mention of all those Winchester people in the following communications, like Col. Mercer and provisioner Rutherford, made it sound to me as though they were speaking of Captain Robert Pearis rather than Richard. But the book positively identifies him as Captain Richard Pearis. Since he, also, was well acquainted with all those people, still had the plantation in Winchester, and the provisioners' route was certainly through Fort Cumberland, it does make sense that it would be he. So now we see him rubbing elbows with Virginians in a mutually cordial way.

Instructions to Captain Woodward (no signature)
Sir Fort Bedford 10 September 1759
In Answer to a Letter of this Day's Date to Colonel Bouquet, I am desired to inform you that Mr. Rutherford being acquainted with the scarcity of Provisions at Fort Comberld will immidiately Supply that Garrison. it is a Pity he was not informed of your Stock some time before it got so low.

I am Surpriz'd you could not get a Horse to Send with the Express, two went from hence to be Stationed at Fort Cumberland for that purpose. The two Hundred Pack Horses carrying from Winchester to Your Garrison are to be disposed of in the following manner. The first 100, loaded with Forrage, are to proceed to Pittsburgh, under Escort of an Officer & twenty Men of your Garrison (none of them to be of Burd's battalion) Pennsylvanians. The Second 100 partly loaded with Forrage & partly Flour, to go to Redstone Creek Escorted by Captn Pearis & his Company. *

The Bullocks also coming from Winchester to be forwarded to Pittsburgh and Escorted by an Officer & 25 Men. And as Lieut Jones of the 2d Batt Pennsylvania is to join his Corps at Red Stone Creek with his Party of 25 Men, you will Order him with the next Convoy that goes that Road, after Captn Pearis.

In general you are to furnish Small Escorts to any Considerable Convoy going either to Pittsburgh or Redstone Creek in Case they apply for it or as you Judge it necessary. Any Application from Lieut Coll George Mercer, for Men to Escort Convoys, or any Duty relating to the Service, is to be Complied wth. When the Pack Horses return from Pittsburgh or Red Stone Creek, They are to be put into Pasture to recruit, and allowed a reasonable time to get strength, and in that time the

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*See Fort Burd (Redstone Old Fort) on map following, also next page. This was on the Monongahela west of Braddock's Road, which was closer to the Youghiogheny.

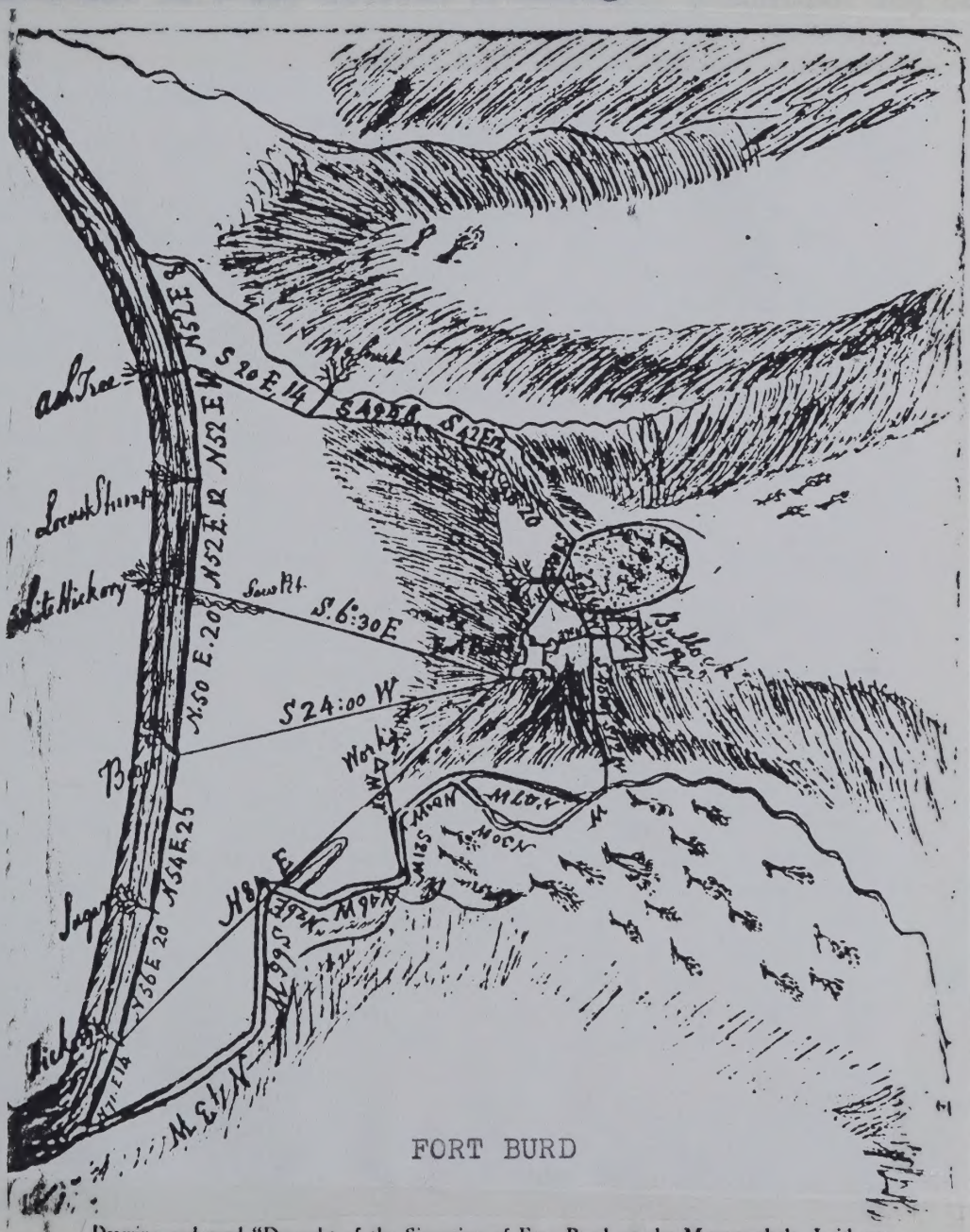
Saddles, Bags, &c are to be refitted, the Horses Shod and everything prepared for their next Trips. And theirloads to be either flour or forrage, every Bag to be weighed, and not to exceed 150 or 160, according to the strength of the Horses, who are for the rest of the Campaigne to Carry to Red Stone Creek only. And in Case you should be relieved, this is to be delivered to the Commanding Officer that Succeeds you, for his Instruction.

Col. Burd to General Stanwix

Camp at the Mouth of Memocallings* Creek on the Monongahela, one Mile above th Mouth of Redstone Creek

Sir 30 September 1759

I have cut the Road from Guests** and came to this Ground the 23rd Currt I would have wrote your Excellency ere now but have been hourly expecting the arrivall of a Battoe from Pitsburg.



Drawing endorsed "Draught of the Situation of Fort Burd on the Monongahela, Laid out by J.S. jr & built by a Detachment of Pennsylvanians under y" Command of Col" Ja" Burd in October 1759." [Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Shippen Family Papers,

I think this Will be a very fine Post. It is Situated upon a Hill in the fork of the River & Creek, Commands both, & is not Commanded by anything. the Hill is about fifty yards from the River & joins the Creek. I have kep't the People Constantly employed on the works since my Arrivall. Altho we have been for eight days past upon the Allowance of one poind of Beaff and half a pound of flour p man a day and this day we begin upon a pound of Beaff not having one ounce of flour left & only three bullocks I am therefore obliged to give over working untill I Receive some supplys, I have expected Captn Paris with a Quantity of Provisions some time, & know nothing of the Reason of the delay, I wrote Six days ago upon this Subject and shall send an Express to Cumberland this day.

(*Nemacolin. **Christopher Gist's Plantation, located on Nemacolin's path, was about half-way between present-day Uniontown and Connellsville PA. The town of North Braddock is on the plantation site.)

Col Burd to Col Bouquet

Dear Sir Camp on the Monongahela 30 September 1759

I wrote you the 25th Currt since when I have not been favour'd with any from you. I am sorry to be under the Nesessity of imformg you of my want of Provisions, the Troops here have been for eight days past, upon the allowance of One pound of Beaff and half a pound of flour, & this day we begin the allowance of One pound of Beaff, Only, not having one ounce of flour left, & but three Bullocks; I know nothing of my Supplys being on the road not having heard from Cumberland since the 14th Currt, I can't Conceive what is become of Captn Paris, I have this day wrote to Captn Woodward upon this subject.

I have keep't the People Constantly upon the works Since my Arrivall, but now I am obliged to give over working, very much Contrary to my Inclination you will believe, but I hope I will soon Receive supplys; at present I have but five days at theallowance of One pound of Beaff. No Battoes Arrived here yet, I send to Pitsburg this day.

(Since we hear no more complaints about the missing flour, we may assume Richard's crew arrived shortly afterwards. There could have been myriad reasons for the delay, conditions being what they were.)

Col. Burd to Col. Bouquet

Dear Sir Camp at Monongahelo 29 October 1759

It was with great pleasure I Reced your Agreeable favor last night of the 24th Currt. I am glad the Genl approves of thebuilding the two houses at the Crossing. Our affairs there go extremely well. I likewise observe the Genls approbation of a Bridge across the Little Youghyogany & that he desires I would have it done, which you may assure his Excellency I will with pleasure; I have sent Captn Paris this morning to the little Crossing to Vew the propper place & to Return & make a Report to me; as I shall leave Captn Paris here I thought it proper he should see both Crossings in order that he might understand my instructions to Him. ....I sent Lieut Scott & four men in the Battoes with 5 deserters as I thought they might be a hindrance in my March...from here to Pitsburg on Sunday...
I shall give the Officer here particular Directions concerning the Regularity of his Entrys & Certificates for Stores, & every respect leav things on such a footing as to prevent all manner of Confusion...

I have Keep's the People Constantly upon the works Since my Arrivall,
but now I am obliged to give over working, very much Contrary to my
Inclination you will believe, but I hope I will soon Receive supplys
at present I have but five days at the allowance of the pound of

Col. James Burd - Instructions to Captain Richard Pearis

Sir Camp at Monongahela 29 October 1759
As I intend to leave you with those of your Company that are here to Garrison Fort Burd, and the Great Crossings of the Youghyoganey, You are to detatch One Serjt & ten Men to Garrisson the Block house & storehouse at the Crossing. Give the Serjt a particular Charge of the Flatt and what Stores may be left there &c with the Remainder of your Company. You'l Garrisson Fort Burd & you'l please receive into the King's Stores all Provision, Forrage &c that may be sent giving proper Certificates for the same & Inform the General or Colo Bouquet thereof that they may order up Batteaus to carry the Stores to Pitsburg.

You'l please to keep a Book in which you'l make regular Entrys of all the Stores you receive & what you send to Pitsburg sending all ways Invoices with all you send from hence. And you'l please observe that you myst raise three acctts in your Book viz One for Mr. Adam Hoops, one for Lieut Colo Geo: Mercer and one forMr. William Ramsay & in the Invoices you send to Pitsburg you'l mention of whom the different Articles are received.

You will proceed from hence to the Great Crossings this Morning & from thence you will take with yo Ensign Duffield with as many Men as can be spared from the Work there conveniently and goe to the little Crossing at Youghyogany and endeavour to find the best place there for building a strong Bridge with his Party and give him the necessary Instructions there anent; The Leggs must be well pin'd down upon the Peers with dry Locust Pinns and covered with good Fascines & Earth.

You'l please desire Mr. Duffield to keep a regular Acctt of the Men that work at both Places & I will gett them paid at Pittsburg & acquaint him that I will send a Waggon with Rum for the Men that work in the Water at the Bridge & all the Tools that he will want in a few Days.

As soon as Mr. Duffield has finish'd theBridge & the Houses & Flatt at the Great Crossings he is to march immediatly to Pitsburg with all the Soldiers of the Sec Battn The Ship Carpenters & Sawyers & to carry wth him in the Waggon all the Tools leaving only at the Great Crossing with the Serjeant two falling axes.

I must begg that you will superintend all New Works & contribute as much as yo can to have them soon finish'd and well; Shall always be glad to hear from you and I am with Esteem, Sir, Your most hble Servant

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Colonel Bouquet to Captain Pearis

Sir Fort Cumberland 27 November 1759
You are to march to morrow Morning with Your Company to the Bridge now making over The little Crossing of the Youghyogeny with four days Provision for your Party, Cutting and clearing away all The Trees & other incumbrances that you may find on the Road from hence to that place and Cut a New Road round such places as the Waggons can't pass

You will find A Tree with Three Noches upon it about A quarter of a Mile on this side the little Crossing, from which Tree you will open a New Road to the Bridge along the Valley, and from the other side of the Bridge you will cut as good a Road as you can into The present one. At the present Crossing you'l find a Bridge out of Repair, you'l cutt new Loggs and make it Sufficient.

You are to Join Ensign Duffields Party and work upon the Bridge until it is quite Compleated, after which you are to march your whole Detachment to Fort Bedford and there wait for further Orders. when you have finished Bridge you will find at the Great Crossing the Sillards* all the Tools and what Provisions &c you have not occasion for and take The Sergiants Receipt for the same. You take with you three Bullocks, and you'l send to thegreat Crossing for what flour you may want for your Detachment, and you will give each Man of your Detachment one Jill of Rum pr day and keep a Regylar Accompt of those that work & send it to Colo James Burd who will pay them. you are to pin down every Logg upon the Bridge but you need not Cover them with Fasheens** and Earth as formerly directed.

(* by sillards he meant steelyards, a type of balance for measuring weights used in olden days. **fascines are bundles of sticks. They used them for filling ditches or building parapets.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir Fort Cumberland 12 December 1759
Agreeable to Your orders I have finished theBridge Clear'd & Cut the Road on both sides thirty feet wide. I did not cut the road the way you mark'd as I found Washington's road* much the best & measured both the old & New roads and find the New to be nigher than the old by fifteen chains** I have also renewed & made good every Bridge between the little Crossings and this Place, Cut round all Places where Waggons could not easily pass, have measured the road from the Bridge to this Place & markd it and find the distance to 23 1/8 Miles. I was oblidged to get more Liquor for the Men as Mr. Duffield deliver'd me but three Gallons. I have sent all theTools on the Great Crossings but 12 Axes one Spade one Shovel & one Grubbing hoe which I have delivered at Cumberland with the Horses & Guns &.

I have Inlisted Ten or Twelve Men & expect a great many more, should be glad you would be Pleased to order an officer to Receive them from me at Carlisle as my Bussiness requiers me to return from there if discharged at that Place. I am Sir Your most obedt Hum Servt
Richd Pearis Captn, 3d B.P. R, (3rd Branch PA Regt)

(*He preferred the road taken by Washington in 1754, ** 15 chains equaled 22 yards. Men who worked in the murk under bridges were given liquor, often rum, as a health precaution, in Colonial times.)

The only other mention of him in Bouquet Papers is in connection with the following statement, which seems to have been in connection with a court hearing.

I gather from the last paragraph above that he was not re-enlisting.

PEARIS FAMILY

A quarter of a Mile on this side the little

Pearis and Duffield: Statement against Livingston

COPY Fort Cumberland 19 December 1759

This is to Certifie That we the Subscribers were present and heard Major Livingston Tell Mr. Richard Graham that he the Said Graham was very much to blame for bringing back Macraes* Horses. And that Said Graham Answer'd that he tho't it was agreeable to all the Gentlemen here at the time as they were all present when the thing was propos'd, on which we the subscribers heard Maj. Livingston reply that it was not agreeable to him, and further added that he would not Suffer another Horse that was coming up the Road, to be impressed to Carry Salt, let the consequence be what it would. And he the Said Livingston further Said that Colo Bouquet would not Suffer to be taken the Horses that were coming up for that Service. with many other things to the same purpose, Still blameing Said Graham to the highest degree for offering to proceed in that Manner.

As witness our hands this 19th Day of Decemr 1759, Fort Cumberland & Sign'd

Richd Pearis Capt 3d B. P. Regt — Ratchford Duffield Ens. 2d B. P. Regt

(Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting, Certificate of Mr. Graham against Mr. Livingston Fort Major at Cumberland. *Clerk's misspelling of Edward McGeary, horse master. In days before refrigeration, salt was vitally necessary to preserve food.)

The rest of that year, the Bouquet Papers are full of the settling of accounts with Virginians and other duties necessary for winding up the affairs of the late campaign. Forts were built at Pittsburgh, others like Fort Burd on the Monongahela and so on, roads widened, bridges built, river travel improved, and Prime Minister Pitts' mandates were bearing fruition. Everything might not not be perfect yet, but the framework had been built.

Some books mention Richard's being an Indian agent at Fort Pitt. I have not seen evidence of that, and it was the southern Indians, not the Shawnees, etc., that he was involved with. Perhaps he was appointed an agent to them soon thereafter, as the Cherokees were the next year defeated by an invasion from South Carolina, not Virginia. As stated before, he NEVER would have fought them. If important new details on that subject are found, they will be added later. Confusion with Robert? ~~See Page 31, paragraph 2.~~ Militia Station at Fort Pitt?

The war was not yet over in the northern sector in January 1760, but the final outcome had been more or less assured when General James Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec on 13 September 1759, though both lost theirlives. Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point* fell to General Jeffrey Amherst the next summer, Fort Niagara to Sir William Johnson 24 July 1760, Montreal to Amherst 8 September 1760, when hostilities ceased. The Cherokees,who retaliated due to Governor Lyttleton's mismanagement, were invaded through South Carolina the same year, and soundly defeated--crushed is a better word. The Treaty of Paris was finally signed in 1763.

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*Our ancestor in quite another line altogether, Lt. Samuel Freeman of Sturbridge MA, fought at Crown Point.

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

- cont'd -

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell] for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'DANL. WOLSTENHOLME.
'J. RIDOUT.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

Abstract of Deeds of Rowan Co., North Carolina 1753-85
- Jo White Linn (WI SHS F262 R8 L47 -1983)
Book pg/Deed Bood/page/date/data Spellings original

27- 4:195. 13 Oct 1759. Squire Boone & wf Sarah (s) to Daniel Boone, son of Squire Boone for £90 proc, 640 acres on Bear Creek granted by Granville 29 Dec 1752. wit: Thos Banfield, Richard Neely, Charles (h) Hunter. Pvd Oct Ct 1759

66- 5:465 14 Mar 1764. Francis Quine tailor to Robert Pearis, merchant, for £20 proc., lot #5 in N square of Salisbury. Wm. Harrison, Wm Steel, Will Cabeen. Pvd Apr Ct 1764/466 FQ to RP £ Kots #27 & 28 in N Sq Salisbury

73- 6:40. 6 Jan 1765. Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis mcht for L4 proc, lots 45, 6, 13, 14 in S Sq Salisbury. Wm. Temple Coles, Henry Horah. Pvd Jan Ct 1765

6:41. 6 Mar 1765. Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis for £2 proc, lots #21, 22, in S Sq Salisbury. Wm Temple Coles, Henry Horah. Pvd Jan Ct 1765.

6:42 6 Jan 1765. Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis for £2 proc, lots #7, 15, in S Sq Salisbury. Wm. Temple Coles, Henry Horah. Pvd Jan Ct 1765

6:43. 24 July 1764. Carter & Forster to Wm ,cConnell for £24, 24 lots in Salisbury. Robt. Pearis, John Lewis Beard. Pvd Oct Court 1764.

77- 6:100. 28 Feb 1765. Robert Pearis witness

82- 6:274. 10 July 1766. Robert Pearis & wife Elizabeth to William Neeley, tavern keeper for £ proc, lot #6 in E Square Salisbury bought 6 Jan 1765 Wm McConnell, Henry Horah. Pvd July Ct 1766.

83- 6:300. 18 Oct 1766. Benjamin Robison & wife Ealce to Wm. Neely fpr £10 proc, lot #7 in W Sq Salisbury. Wm. Steel, John Braly.

86- 6:401. 13 Apr 1767. Robert Pearis ¢ wf Elizabeth to John Bone, Jr. a minor for £2.10 proc, lot 38 in N. Sq.Salisbury granted 15 Mar. Alexr Martin, Alice (x) Mc Ginn, etc.

94- 6:574. 14 June 1768. George Pearis of Mecklenburg Co. NC to Jacob Gayer for £9 proc, lot #99 om E Sq. Salisbury. Benja Miller, Wm. Martin. Pvd July 1768. (Robert Pearis signs for George Pearis.)

96-7:19. 20 Apr 1767. Robert Pearis to George Pearis of Mecklenburg Co.,NC for £129.16.10 peox, ¼ lor #5 in N Sq. Salisbury, also lots #27, 28, 5, 13, 6, 14, 7,15 in S Sq, #75, 28 in N Sq & Household effects. Wm McConnell, Sr., James Robinson. Pvd Oct Court 1768.

7:24. 21 July 1765. Robert Pearis to Henry Sloan for £10 proc, lots #67, 68, 75,76 in N Sq Salisbury. Richard Graham, Wm. Martin. Pvd Oct Ct 1768

7:36. 15 Dec 1768. William Nealey signed as witness to sale of Lots 65&66 E. Sq Salisbury. Pvd Oct Ct 1768.

100- 7:110. 22 Apr 1769. William Nealey, late of Rowan Co. to Hugh Magoune minor for £10 proc lot 7 in W Sq Salisbury. Wm. Temple Coles, Wm. Martin, Jas. Craig. Pvd May Court 1769.

7:110. 17 Sep 1768. George Pearis to Alexr Martin for £ proc lots #21-22, S sq of Salisbury. Edward Hunter, George Magoune. Pv May Ct. 1769

7:111. 14 Sep 1768. George Pearis to Alexr Martin Esq for £20 proc ½ of lot #7 in S Sq Salisbury. Edward Hunter, Geo. Magoune Pvd May Ct 1769.

132- 8:308. 25 Apr 1769. William Nealley to Daniel Clay for £ proc, ½ lot in S Sq Salisbury. Wm. Temple Coles, John Holland, Pvd Aug Ct 1775.

140- 8:489. 19 July 1771. William Nealy late of Camden Co. So Carolina to Wm. Frohock for £20 proc, ½ lot in S Sq Salisbury . Wm Harrison, Thos. Frohock. Pvd May Ct. 1778.

141- 8:516. 5 Aug 1778. John Lewis, Bon? & Peter Little Abasel Wm. Taylor lot #15 in S. Sq Salisbury & ½ lot 7, being part of lot formerly held by Robert Pearis....

156. 9:262. 6 May 1783. Absalom Taylor blacksmith to Robert Gray for £2000 (same property above formerly belonging to Robert Pearis).

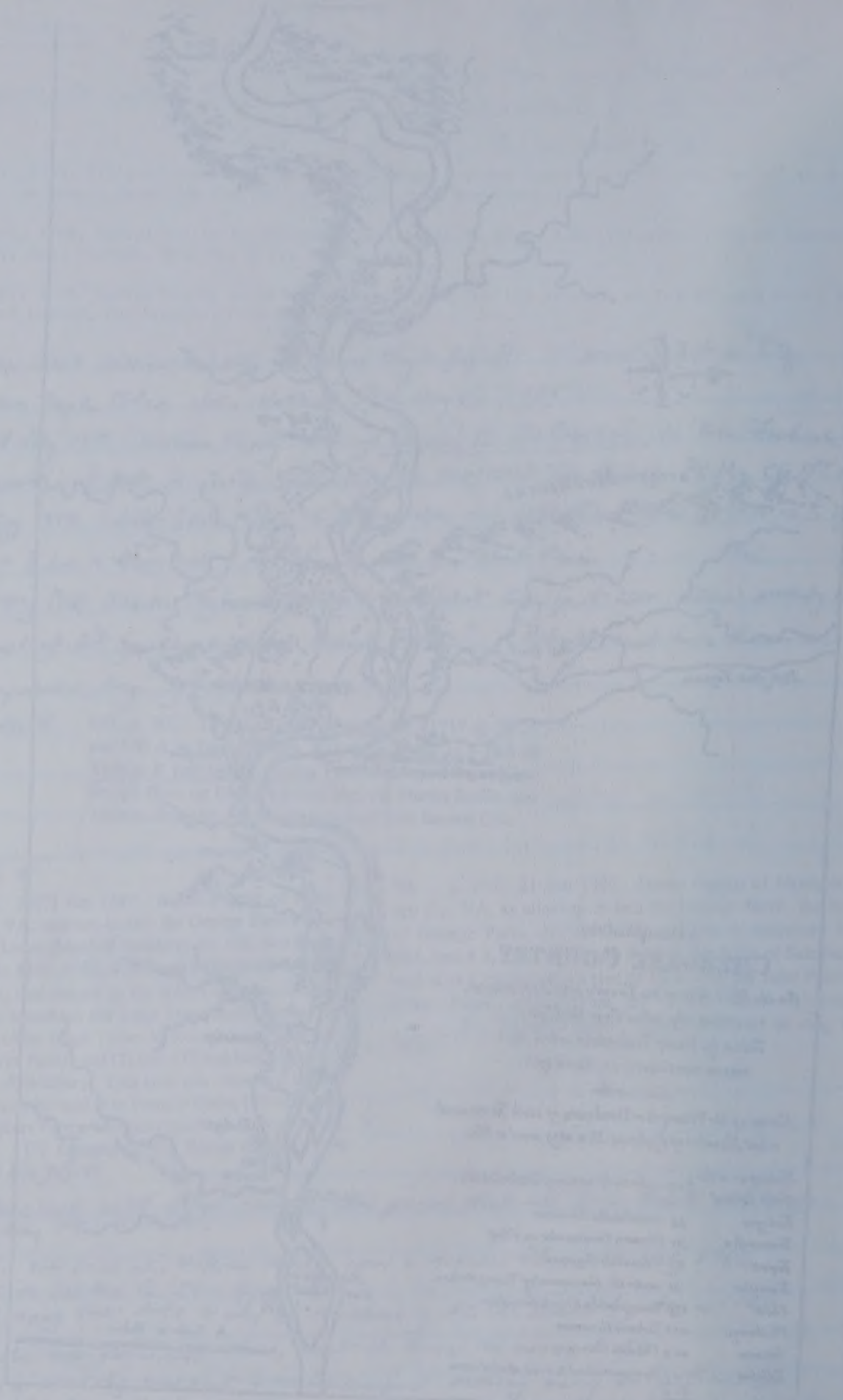
43 Deed book 11 999 p. 807. 18 May 1789. State Grant #1717 @ 50 sh per 100 A on S. Side of S fork of Yadkin River just below Peariss Ford adj John Howard & Joseph Biles, also adj Martom Beffle & Thos Frohock; just above mouth of Irish Second Creek.

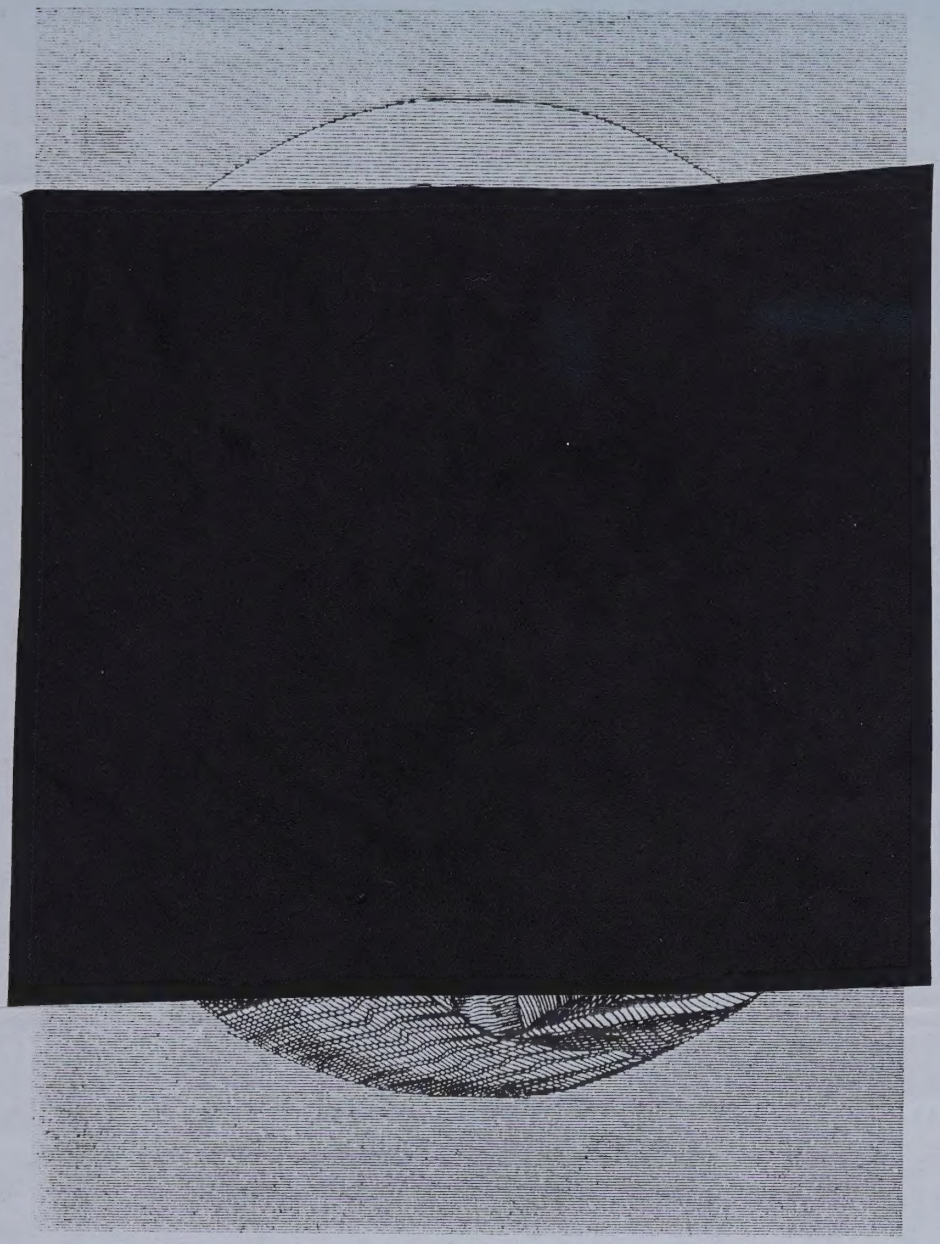
41-Deed book 15. 61. p 94. 21? jun 1797. James Pepper of Montgomery Co VA atty-in-fact for George Paris/Parris deceased, to Lewis Beard of Salisbury for £15, two tracts. (1) Lots #100, 101, 102, 103, & 104 in the E Sq of Salisbury, adj. land owned by said Beard estate and adj. land known as the Luke Dean land. These lots were conveyed to Hugh Foster to Robert Paris, who sold them to George Parris; and (2) (2) Lot #27 and half of Lot 28 in the N Sq of Salisbury. This land was conveyed to Wm. Harrison who sold it to Francis Quinn and by him to Robert Parris who conveyed it to George Parris. Wit: Jacob ? Consant ? Barnet Cryder. Pvd by Cryder Aug Ct 1797.

(DB 15) 79. p. 117. 21 Jun 1797. James Pepper of Montgomery Co. VA, as attorney-in-fact for George Parris, the heir of George Parris, dec'd, to Henry Giles of Salisbury for £25, lots #5, 13, 27 and 28 in the N Sq. of Salisbury and ¼ of a lot that was part of lot #5(?) ad / John Patton, Peter Faust, and Corbin St. Wit: Jacob Utzman, ?, Barnet Cryder. Prvd by Cryder at Aug Ct 1797. (the names Mrs. Linn could not decipher were probably written in German script--common in that locality. NZ)

In February 1764 Robert Pearis of Salisbury, North Carolina, sold 1195 acres of land to his brother Richard for a thousand pounds. Except for 200 acres inherited from his parents, he had bought the rest from Lord Fairfax. In October Richard, acting on his behalf, sold the 7-acre lot in Winchester to Christopher Aldred, a "baker." Except for quaint court records shown on the preceding page, North Carolina records have not been thoroughly searched for information about Robert or his family which, as you can see, leave much to be desired. Discrepancies appear immediately when one tries to recap the transfers of lot numbers. (Though not so stated, the bracketed numbers following each transaction are probably deed book number and page. If found, deed books might straighten some of this out, and perhaps mention relationships.)

Anyone wishing to search further should keep in mind that most of the next generation seems to have simplified the spelling to "Paris." For instance, his nephew Robert Paris (George's son) and niece Sarah (Richard's daughter) did so. She named her youngest son Paris Teter. Both of those mentioned were Kentucky pioneers, and it is entirely possible some of Robert and Elizabeth's children went there, too. Many from their area did. The 1795 Kentucky census index shows many Parises and Parrishs, including four Roberts. One Robert Paris migrated to Madison County at the same time as Sarah (Pearis) Teter, in the record-breaking cold winter of 1779/80. Could that have been Robert's son rather than George's?





Outacite or Antossity Usteneeka, the Cherokee "great warrior" who aided the Virginia frontiersmen during the winter of 1755-56 and served with William Preston on the Sandy Creek Expedition. (Photograph from the collections of the Library of Congress)

"Mr. Preston." As the people pushed in to vote the sheriff struck some on the breast and shins with his staff threatening to "push it down their throats if they did not stand back." As voting proceeded he asked people how they voted and then refused some the vote. He seized Lapsley and pushed him back on a bench. Cloyd with some heat said, "Collar me too, Sir," after which the sheriff let them vote. They then went outside and offered wagers that Preston would win. Someone came out of the courthouse and told Cloyd, "The election is going against us." Cloyd answered, "If we cannot carry it one way we will have it another. I will put a stop to the election." The sheriff was seized and thrown against a table which broke under him. Woods doused the candles and the riot began. As the fighting was hottest, Lapsley yelled, "Lads, stand by me. I'll pay the fine, cost what it will. You know that I am able." The election was stopped and a report was sent to the General Assembly which ordered an investigation.[10] Preston had not become burgess and his good name would be prominent in an embarrassing investigation by the Assembly which would run into the first months of the new year.

While Preston had been electioneering others had been planning a punitive expedition against the Shawnee villages on the Ohio River. Continued Indian attacks on the New and Greenbrier convinced everyone from the Governor down to the youngest volunteer that the war must be taken to the Shawnees in their own villages. The Cherokees may have given Dinwiddie the idea at their council with him in September when they said, "It is not so far to these People (the Shawnees) . . . as you imagine, for we can go there in seven Nights."[11] Obadiah Woodson also proposed the expedition and Dinwiddie wrote, "In February or March we may then endeavour to prosecute what you formerly proposed."[12] Also active in formulating plans for the expedition were Samuel Overton of Hanover, William Ingles and Andrew Lewis of Augusta. Considering the impassable mountains and distance to the Shawnee villages on the Ohio, it is surprising that these plans got beyond the speculative stage.

But in November something happened that strengthened the conviction that a body of men could march through unknown mountains to the Ohio. Mary Draper Ingles, wife of William Ingles, who had been captured at Draper's Meadows and taken to the Ohio villages, had escaped her captors and with an "Old Dutch woman" followed the Kanawha and New River back to the settlements to what is present Giles County, Virginia.[13] The frontiersmen believed if two women with no provisions could do this they certainly could. Besides, they only intended to go to the upper Shawnee town near present Portsmouth, Ohio, while the women had walked all the way

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Map of the East Tennessee area showing forts and Indian towns. (Map courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

If Rhoda Pearis was Richard's Indian sweetheart, referred to on page 49 by Nathaniel Gist and Old Hop, She came from the Cherokee town at Toquo, shown just below Fort Loudon, far left center on the map above. (Taken from History of Washington County, Tennessee page 17 (1988). Long Island at upper right.

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Quoting General Forbes, in mid-November 1758, his army was "400 miles in the wilderness through the most miserable roads in the world," ill-clothed with winter closing in, short of blankets, tents lacking, with food only on a day-to-day basis. He was about to turn back when Captain Pearis and his reconnoitering Indian spies saw smoke billowing out over Fort Duquesne and fleeing Frenchmen. Considering their part of the war over, most troops left, their respective colonies unwilling to pay for them. But His Majesty's government, now still in the midst of a worldwide "War for Empire" in New York, Canada, Europe and India,and demanding that Fort Pitt be established there to hold onto the conquered territory, now took over the cost of salaries and material. The task of getting supplies there, awesome under the best of circumstances,was made almost impossible by the extreme severity of the weather that followed, but act they must, and Indian goods were an immediate necessity to placate the fickle local Indian tribes, now in self-interest declaring their friendship for the English. They might turn at any moment (as they did a decade later with dire consequences).

Captain Richard Pearis, Commander at Fort Cumberland, now stayed on to be a part of His Majesty's team, he to ensure as best he could that supplies get through the rugged old Braddock's Road route. That task was greatly complicated by the ensuing weather--heavy snows then record-breaking floods and rain. Currents on the rivers were so swift that bridges washed out, including the one at Will's Creek next to the fort. Many men and horses perished trying to get supplies across. Canoes and cargo were swept away.

Now we introduce a new character, a conscientious young Quaker named James Kenney, who kept a diary starting "1758 12 month 10th day" describing his attempts to help "ye public interest" at that crucial time. It is particularly precious to us descendants because it contains rare details about "ye Captain's wife," our ancestress, who was living there at the fort with him. Though it was not mentioned, one supposes

Geoffry Pocok, Engl. c. 1272 (RH). Hence the Baronets Peacock and Pocock.

Pead, for Pied or Pie. *See* PAY.

Peak, armorially identified with PECK.

Peake. *See* PEAK.

Peal. *See* PEEL.

Peall, for PEEL.

Peaple. *See* PEOPLE.

Pear, for St. Pierre or St. Peter. *See* BUNBURY.

Pearce, for PEARS.

Pearcey, for PERCY.

Pearcy, for PERCY.

Peard. Ralph and William de Parde, Normandy 1180-95 (MRS).

Pearkes, for PARKS.

Pearks, for PARKS.

Pearl. John and Tustin Peril or Perol, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Egidius and Richard Perles, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Pearless, for Pearles. *See* PEARL.

Pearpoint, for PIERPOINT.

Pears. Richard, Odo, Thomas de Piris, Normandy 1180 – 95 (MRS); eight of the name 1198 (Ib.); Richard, William Peris, John Pers, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Pearsall, said to be of Norman origin.

Pearse. *See* PEARCE.

Pearson, for Person or PARSONS, sometimes a patronymic, including various families.

Peart. *See* PEARD.

Peartree, for Partry or Patry. *See* PATRICK; also perhaps local in some cases.

Pease, for Peace, or PACE.

Peasley, for PASLEY.

Peat. Richard and Tustin Peet, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Richard Pet, John Pitte, Engl. c. 1272 (RH).

Peate. *See* PEAT.

Peavey, for PAVEY.

Peay, for Pied. *See* PAY.

Peberdy, for PEABODY.

Pebody, for PEABODY.

Pech, for PEACH.

Peck, for Peché (Lower). It is armorially identified with the latter. *See* PEACH.

Peckett, for BECKETT.

Peckitt, for BECKETT.

Peed, for Pied. *See* PAY.

Peek, for BEEK or Bec.

Peek, for PEAK.

Peeke, for PEAKE.

Peel. Radulphus Pele occurs in Normandy 1180; Robertus Piel 1180 – 95; William Pele 1198 (MRS). Of these, Robert, son of Robert le Pele (c. t. Henry II.), gave lands in Monk Bretton, York, to the abbey there (Burton, Mon. Ebor. 93). Hugh le Pele occurs 1242 (Roberts, Excerpta, i. 377). Richard and William Pelle were bailsmen for the M.P.s for Preston, Lancashire (PPW). From this northern family descended the Peels of Yorkshire and Lancashire, ancestors of the celebrated minister of England, Sir Robert Peel.

Peele. *See* PEEL.

Peeling, for PALIN.

Peell, for PEEL.

Peen. William Peigne, Normandy 1198 (MRS); Richard Peine, Engl. 1194 (RCR).

Peerless, for PEARLESS.

Peers. Roger de la Perre, Normandy 1180 (MRS). *See* PIERS.

Peers. *See* PEARS.

Pees, for PEASE.

Peet. *See* PEAT.

Peete. *See* PEAT.

Peever. *See* PAVER.

Peevor, for PEEVER.

April

13th.—One of y^e drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y^e journey out again, & y^e drivers generally insisting that some more of y^e horses are like to fail, having no food but y^e young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14th.—As we had y^e loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap^t Paris's wife have one of y^e little Brass Kettles, which weighed 2¼^lb, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y^e least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.

17th.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam M^cCarty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y^e Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18th.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after M^cCarty, but no account of him I returned & got y^e Captain's wife to engage to take y^e cow if he brought one, & pay us y^e money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y^e pack-horses & walked y^e most of y^e way, so kept on until I got to y^e Little Meadows, some time about y^e middle of y^e night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19th.—In y^e morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y^e company in about four miles farther, so they [illegible]t Bear Camps within

23^d.—As y^e pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y^e horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y^e loads along without y^e horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y^e dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y^e officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y^e lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24th.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y^e letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y^e other road.

25th.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y^e goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

May

17th.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y^e care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18th.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came

CHAPTER ONE - THE FIRST GENERATION

There was an old tradition of Indian blood in Grandpa White's family that your skeptical author used to think must have originated in some ancestor's overactive imagination, for not a single one of his relatives had any hereditary Indian feature I could see--like high cheekbones or a dusky complexion. Grandpa, a cute little tyke and the oldest of many grandchildren on both sides, had had such bright yellow hair that his Averill grandparents dubbed him their "little gold dollar."

The Averill Genealogy traces that family back to Tudor England. We ourselves traced all the female lines branching off from it back to pioneer New England, with nary a hint of an Indian. If one were really hiding in there, it had to be on the side of his father's mother, a young lady named Susannah Griffith, who died before she was thirty, leaving few traces behind. Being then new at Genealogy, it took us years to even learn whom her parents were, and longer yet to finally discover that her great grandmother, born Sarah Pearis, had a brother George Pearis with a Cherokee mother. There is no question of this well-documented fact. Did Sarah have the same mother? Was she our missing Indian? Part of this story is a search for that information.

The Pearis family were early pioneers in old Frederick County, though they don't seem to have been in the original emigrant train led there in 1734 by old Jost Hite, owner of a huge new Virginia Colony grant. It is important for us to know when they got there because for Sarah to have that mother, the Pearis Family has to have been there by around 1743, at which time her father, Richard Pearis, must have begun his occupation as a fur trader, trekking up the ancient Indian trace leading to Southwest Virginia to trade with Cherokees before white encroachment drove both them and the animals away. As a teenager, he was probably sponsored by Jost Hite's son Jacob, who was early engaged in that venture. Boys became men very early on the frontier and, as you will see, Richard was a very talented unusual man, who led a daring life of adventure.

Historians writing about Richard generally say he came there from Ireland "before 1750," which is much too vague to help us. British documents unavailable at the Wisconsin State Historical Society where I research* reportedly say he came to America at age 10. The earliest Frederick County Deed Book mention of any of the family was on 11 February 1747/8, when Richard witnessed a Grub Family deed in which Emanuel Grub of Newcastle, Delaware, sold 115 acres bought from Jost Hite to Benjamin Grub, bordering on the land of John Grub. Nothing else seems to connect our family to the Grubs, but this does show they were there then. Those deed books do not usually (but occasionally do) tell us when land was originally acquired by patent. They do show any subsequent sales of already patented land. The patents themselves were recorded on the manor rolls of the first grantee,

*American Loyalists Audit Office Transcripts (76 vols) Public Records Office of England, ii (we need Vol XXVI, pages 362-385).

such as Hite, Ross, Morgan, Lord Fairfax, et all, who issued the patents. Some Manor Rolls never became public. When the settlers first came, the area was part of Spotsylvania Co., then Orange Co., from 1734-1738, then Frederick though deed books of the latter do not begin until 1743--before that such records as survive are spotty at best. However, proof (albeit negative) that they were there before 1743 is that the will of George Pearis, Sr, Richard's father, left him land he had purchased from Peter Helton, and land from Richard Morgan to grandson George III, his son George Jr.'s son--both tracts purchased before the Frederick County deed book started.

Our Sarah (named for her grandmother) was probably at least 17 when she married Sgt. George Teeter in Spring 1762, which means born by 1745 when her father was 20. By that time Captain Richard was well-to-do, whereas his son-in-law came from a modest German immigrant family. That helps strengthen the premise she was part Indian, but proves nothing. To give George credit he was an exceptionally bright, brave, hard worker who planned ahead well. By then Richard had a wife Rhoda who signed deeds with him. Most Cherokees were then illiterate but a well-loved Cherokee wife could have been taught to write. Some books state she was Cherokee; others assume she was white. Though it is by no means proven, this book will proceed on the assumption that Rhoda was Richard's only wife, and that she was a Cherokee.

Jost Hite had worked very hard to gather settlers in a hurry, for part of his grant was purchased from the VanMeters, and the clock was already ticking on time allotted for settlement of that sector. While he and other relatives scurried around touting his land in Pennsylvania son Jacob went to Ireland encouraging families to emigrate to Hite's green acres--were the Pearises among them? We honestly don't know, but it is true this same Jacob Hite was later associated with Richard in the fur trade. It is equally possible the Pearises were in the Lancaster PA area for a little while, for it appears Richard's older brother, George Jr., met his wife there. That seems to be where Hite picked up George Teeter's parents, rather newly-arrived German immigrants who were in the first immigrant train. Even then Lancaster was becoming overcrowded and farmland overpriced.

On 12 November 1750, George Pearis Sr. already of Frederick County* purchased from William Hoge, Jr., of Bucks Co. PA, a 200-acre tract, part of his late father's estate. It was a particularly nice piece of property. The mansion-house became the family homestead. Deed books do show the origin. William Hoge, Sr., got it from Isaac Parkins who received it by patent from original grantee Alexander Ross in March 1735. Ross, a Quaker, sponsored a settlement of Hopewell Quakers slightly NW of the Hites. Some land bordering on the new Pearis homestead had been sold to the Quaker Babb family who hung onto it. A map on the following page shows "Hogues" Creek, "Babbs" Run, and "Parrish" Run, named for these families. Time has twisted the spellings, but it is easy to see where these families lived as pioneers. Perhaps before this they were on the land from Helton or Morgan. Richard, then having wife and children, very likely moved into the Helton place.

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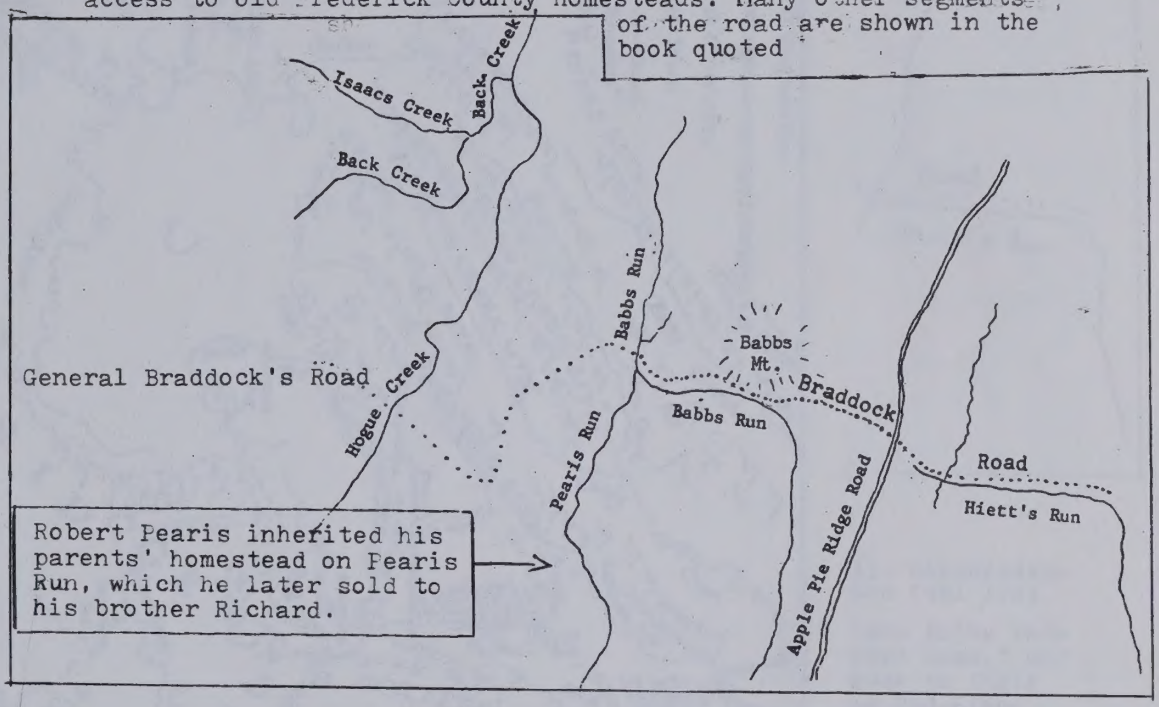
*Frederick County VA Deed Books 1743-1776 abstracts by Amelia C. Gilreath (1989) Book I page 389 of the original records.

This sketch demonstrates how the French & Indians had such easy access to old Frederick County homesteads. Many other segments of the road are shown in the book quoted



From: Braddock's Road Through the Virginia Colony - by Walter S. Hough (Vol. VII, Winchester-Frederick County Hist. Soc Publ 170)
Pages 44-6

"Before the road to the West was officially opened it was traveled by early settlers going into the wilderness. In Frederick County the road was known as "The New Road," "The Great Road," and later "Red Stone Road"; the latter referred to its use by Friends (Quakers) on route to their first meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains, namely Westland and Red Stone near Red Stone Creek a few miles east of Brownsville. After Braddock's Expedition it was sometimes called "Sir John's Road."

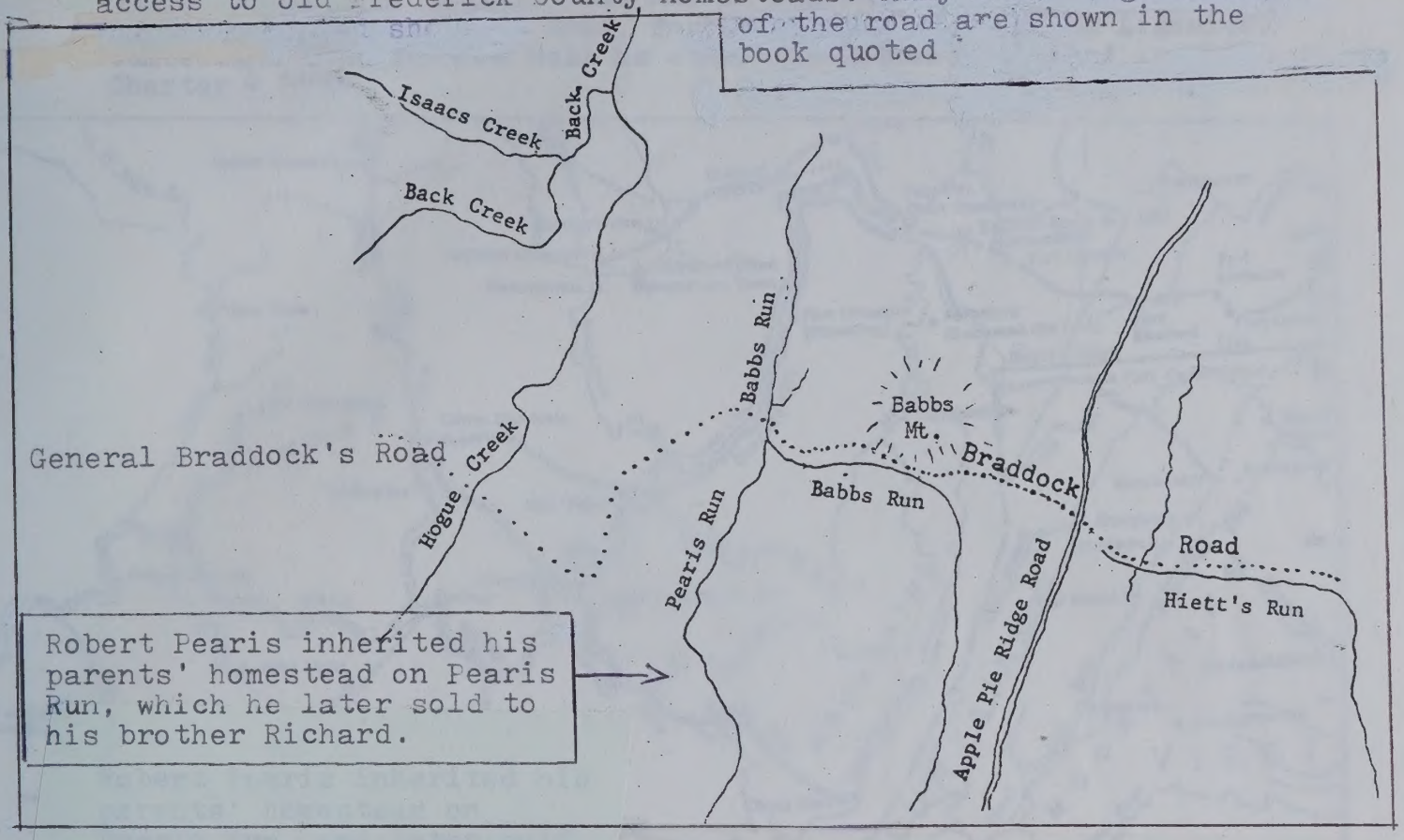
"Washington no doubt traveled the road when he went over the Allegheny Mountains to the Forks of the Chio on a mission sent by Governor Dinwiddie in the autumn of 1752. He states, "From thence (Alexandria) we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek."...On May 27, General Braddock ordered a captain's guard and 30 wagons to return from Fort Cumberland to Winchester to get provisions that were previously stored there. It is highly probable that the wagon came into Winchester by the shortest road available from Back Creek, namely the Wappacomma road through Indian Hollow. This might account for the frequently repeated legend that Braddock's army went through Winchester and Hollow. It is probable that the arriving Seamen used that road to get into Winchester Aug. 5 when on their way back to embark at Hampton. The Wappacomma road is the only road leading to the west from Winchester shown on the Jefferson & Frye Map issued in 1754 ... Braddock's army marched westward from the Gainesboro area over a road opened only a few years before 1755.

"Babbs Run and Pearis Run Confusion seems to exist in naming Pearis Run and Babbs Run...Pearis Run has been known as "Parrish" Run, Parletta Run and now at the bridge where US 522 crosses the stream is a highway sign calling it "Babbs Run."..Babbs run turns eastwardat a point near the south end of present artificial Lake St. Clair. It passes Cedar Grove and Babbs Mountain before turning south and does not extend to the highway. Babbs Run gets it name from Thomas Babb, one of the earliest landowners, 600 acres, along its banks. His will was probated Nov. 4, 1760. Pearis Run continues southward from the artificial lake, crosses US 522, and originates on the farm formerly known as the County Home, hence the name "Parrish" Run. Pearis Run derived its name from one of the earliest settlers along its drains, George Pearis who died in the early 1750's."

The VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1754-1758
SOUTHERN AUGUSTA, BEDFORD, AND HALIFAX COUNTIES

Map from inside front cover of George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)

This sketch demonstrates how the French & Indians had such easy access to old Frederick County homesteads. Many other segments of the road are shown in the book quoted



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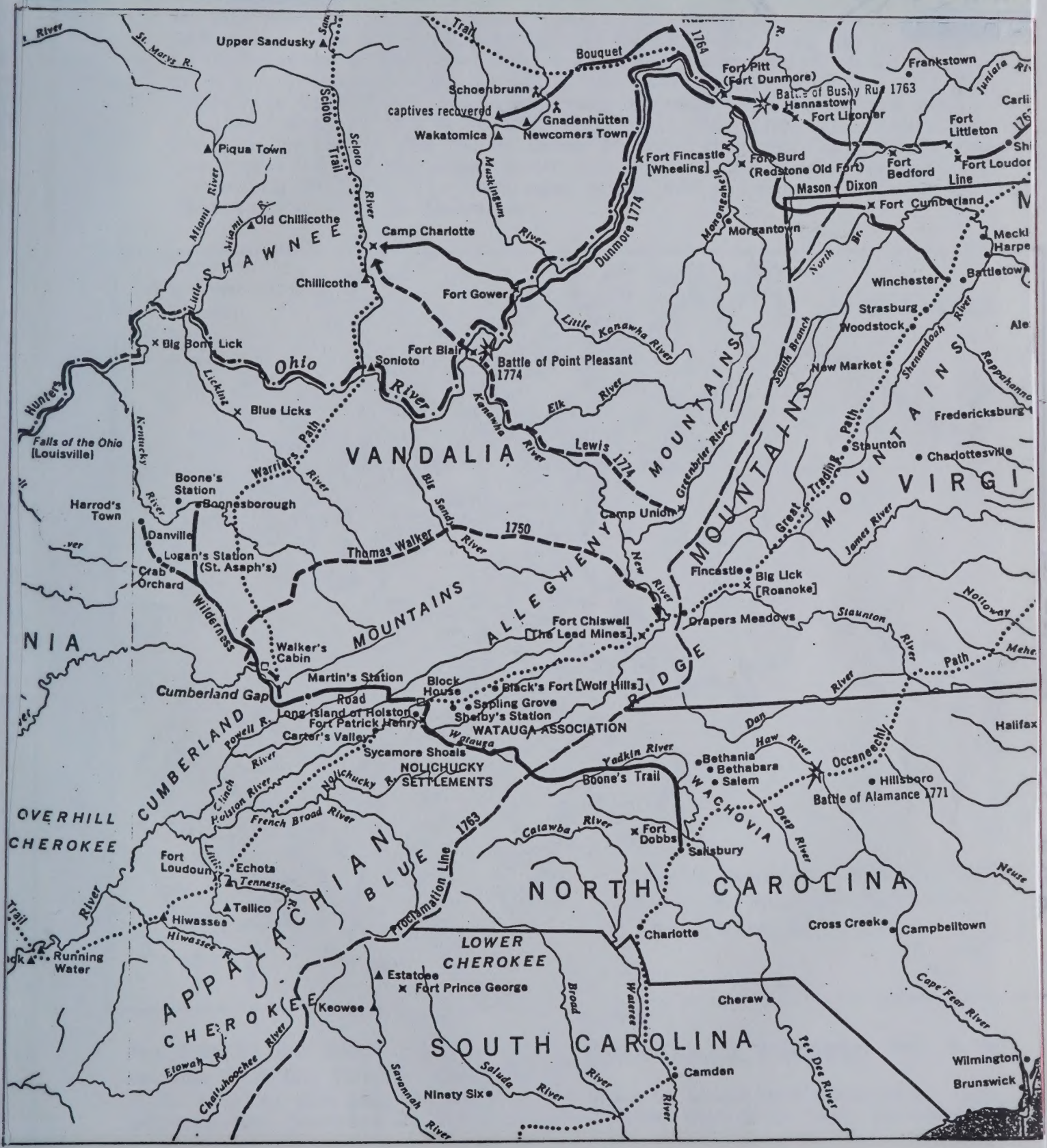
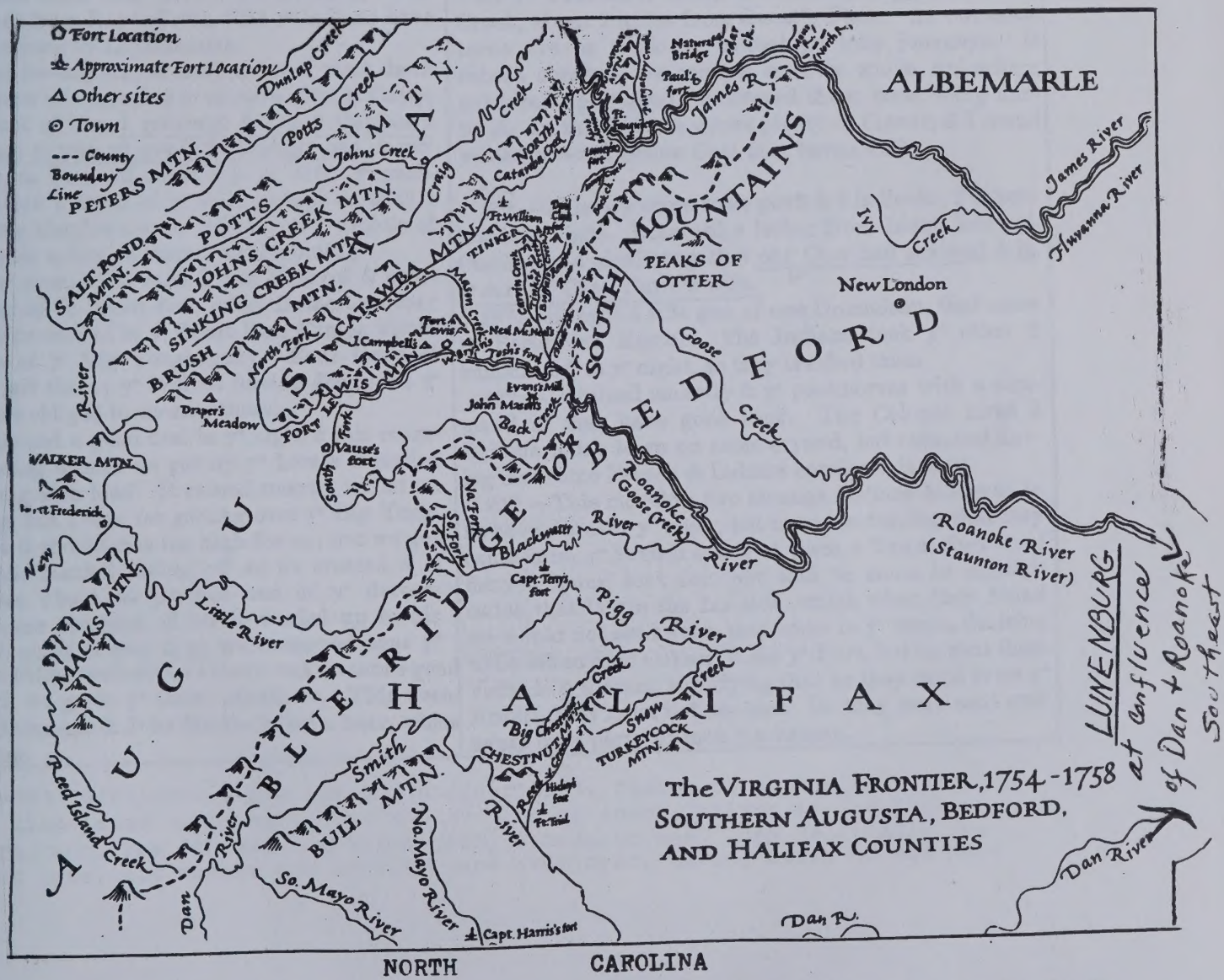
PEARIS FAMILY

You might want to consult this map in regard to later events, but it clearly shows Braddock's Road, Forbes' Road, Forts Burd & Ligonier, Cumberland & Bedford as well as other localities mentioned in this Chapter & next.



Though designed to show frontier forts, this little map will give you some idea of where encounters with angry Cherokees occurred. Little of the then enormous Augusta County is shown, its Eastern boundary being the Blue Ridge. Bedford and Halifax Counties were separated by Blackwater & Staunton Rivers. A map on page 135 shows the route of the Occaneeche Path, avoiding the mountains, used by this group. Lunenburg Courthouse where Wahatchy's group created such a stir, is a little east of where the map ends, but this indicates where it was. Another incident, described later in this chapter, took place near the banks of the Staunton River--in which a group of frontiersmen including "Old Mr. Verdiman aged about 60" confronted a band of Cherokees posing as Shawnese.



Map from inside front cover of George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)

Also see map 2nd page of Chapter 10 showing where the Occaneechi Path crosses the juncture of the Dan and Stanton Rivers in then Lunenburg Co.

April

13th.—One of y^e^ drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y^e^ journey out again, & y^e^ drivers generally insisting that some more of y^e^ horses are like to fail, having no food but y^e^ young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14th.—As we had y^e^ loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap^t^ Paris's wife have one of y^e^ little Brass Kettles, which weighed 2½^lb^, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y^e^ least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.

17th.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam M^c^Carty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y^e^ Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18th.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after M^c^Carty, but no account of him I returned & got y^e^ Captain's wife to engage to take y^e^ cow if he brought one, & pay us y^e^ money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y^e^ packhorses & walked y^e^ most of y^e^ way, so kept on until I got to y^e^ Little Meadows, some time about y^e^ middle of y^e^ night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19th.—In y^e^ morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y^e^ company in about four miles farther, so they got loaded & proceeded to y^e^ Great Bear Camps within Seven miles of y^e^ Big Youghogany. Four loads of Lead being left there; y^e^ Wolves having destroyed y^e^ ropes we were obliged to encamp there.

20th.—It Rained a good deal in y^e^ night & this morning, but abating awhile we got up y^e^ horses & loaded them, covering each load. It rained smartly whilst we were loading, but I was for getting over y^e^ Big Youghogany least it should rise too high for us; but we got over safe, one blanket falling off as we crossed & it floating down about 40 perches one of y^e^ drivers Thomas Mercer stripped all off & waided up to his armpits & brought it out, & so we encamped near y^e^ river upon a little creek-side, as there was no more good pasture until we go to y^e^ Great Meadows. This evening James Hammons & John Mickle killed a bear, which is good eating.

23d.—As y^e^ pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y^e^ horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y^e^ loads along without y^e^ horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y^e^ dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y^e^ officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y^e^ lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24th.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y^e^ letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y^e^ other road.

25th.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y^e^ goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

May

17th.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y^e^ care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18th.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came as Packhorse Master. The Indians took y^e^ other 2 bullocks off in y^e^ night, as they tracked them.

19th.—It rained smartly & y^e^ packhorses with a command of men have gone back. The Colonel hired 2 Indians today to go on some errand, but returned having met some French & Indians coming this way.

20th.—This morning two strange Indians hollowed to be brought over y^e^ river, but upon confessing that they came from y^e^ French & one of them a Tawa, they were denyed being sent for, but told to come in another canoe that lay in the far side, which when they found we would not send over, they came in y^e^ canoe, desiring to be taken to y^e^ Colonel & see y^e^ Fort, but he sent them victuals & a dram, signifying that as they came from y^e^ French they must not see him. So they were sent over again by a party of men & a bateau.

"Guest" mentioned above was Christopher List, father of Nathaniel. He died later that year. From the mention of enemy Indians in the last paragraph, one can see how vital Denny's mission was. When he finally got back home, his mother and brother were overjoyed, having heard he was dead.

David Fanning's Journal certainly is exciting, but it covers so much in few words that much of the story is left out. As he admits, he did not know what was in treaties and the like. We have to consult other versions, including those of Richard Pearis's enemies, to get details--and even then there is much we cannot know. What seems to me to be proof that if Richard expected to receive any appointment from the Council of Safety, it could not have been that of Galpin, who according to the following must have been appointed in late July 1775, before Drayton contacted Pearis for any reason.

From Cameron, before 2 August 1775*

(He is trying to keep peace between Creeks and Cherokees as well as prevent any clashes with whites).."they seemed exasperated at the Virginians (as they call all the northward people) for stopping their ammunition and fighting against the King's people. They told me that if ammunition could be got soon things might remain quiet among them, but if they could not be supplied they could not answer for what their young people might do...But by some traders that arrived yesterday at this place I am informed that the ammunition is seized at Savannah; if so, God have mercy on them, for I am afraid it will be out of my power to save them. I am just now informed that the Carolina Committee have appointed George Galpin, Leroy Hammond, and David Zubly superintendents of Indian affairs among the Creeks, and three others for the Cherokees. .....Most of the traders except Gaulpin's are come up with goods but not a pound of powder with any of them....."
(Without ammunition the Indians would starve. They had long ago given up the bow and arrow and were dependant on the White man to live. Now the Council of Safety had raided the arsenal at Savannah.)

Col. William Thomson to The Honble Henry Laurens**

Sir Congarees, 6 September 1775 (now Columbia)

Since I wrote You from Camp Amelia 2d Instant I received Your Favor of the 31st Ultimo..You may depend that I will as soon as possible exert' myself in following Your Orders for raising Volunteer Companies..... follow Your own and The Honble Mr Drayton's Instructions ...and give such Orders with regard to the Post of Fort Charlotte & for the safety of our associated friends at Augusta , as I may think the most prudent at this alarming time...The re-appointment of Capt Ezekiel Polk, I hope will be attended with every good consequence...Yesterday about noon when the several Companies were getting ready to proceed on their march for the Ridge, We received an Express from Capt Parris informing us that a Captain Hendrik*** and several others belonging to Colo Fletchall's Regiment stopped him (torn) Cherokee Indians from coming down here, at about ten Miles distance (torn) this & hoped that we could come to their assistance. The Companies were immediately Ordered to go and rescue them and to take Hendrick & his associates Prisoners. I arrived there just before night and took Capt. Hendrick; but the others escaped soon after he was taken and before any of the Companies came up to the house they were sent in. I ordered the Prisoner, under a Guard, to the Camp where he now is in confinement. Capt Parris with the Indians

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*Documents of the American Revolution, Davis

**Papers of Henry Laurens, David L. Chestnut, Editor (1992) Vol 10 pages 371 and later. Volume 11 will also be quoted, see index

***Wm. Hendricks, Capt. in Major Patrick Cunningham's Loyalist Regt, Little River Militia, Ninety-Six Brigade in 1780

OMIT

"In South Carolina William Henry Drayton wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba reservation for a term of years. Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773, ""The King much approves the step you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the Council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it."" " The information in this paragraph is particularly revealing to us, and we wonder if it had anything to do with Drayton's resolve two years later to rebel against King George. He and Pearis soon became bitter opponents, and we will soon hear more from him.

In those days, though they might cover several square miles, such places as Cameron's were called by the strange name of "cowpens," perhaps because they often contained sections corralled off for various purposes in cattle care. The famous Revolutionary War Battle of Cowpens was fought at such a place about 50 miles northeast of there. Nowadays they are called ranches, and the herders cowboys,

Cameron never passed up an opportunity to try to get Pearis in trouble. Richard would have been a despicable person if even half of the stuff the man wrote Stuart were true, who then passed them on to Lord Hillsborough and later Dartmouth, in England. He tried unsuccessfully to get Richard's trading license revoked, get him evicted, etc. Some of those letters* give such fascinating insights into customs, people, and events of the times that it is no wonder historians often quote them. Though exasperatingly critical of our hero, we learn of many things that happened to him. The Greenville County history concludes from a 1775 letter of Stuart that he never, at any time, held legal title to the land, which is almost but not quite correct. Their quote is from a speech in which he scolds Cherokees, saying, "you are constantly listening to Richard Pearis, who cheats you of your lands."

The letter of 11 October 1773 of Cameron to Stuart in which he tries to get the license revoked for alleged rum selling and peddling of stolen horses received through the Indians, also says, "Agreeable to your orders I have warned Richard Pearis to be and appear at next Circuit Court at Ninety-Six. I have also sent to warn John Prince who was his clerk at the cession and Thomas Price who was his interpreter. James Jones the other interpreter will be there likewise. There can be no difficulty in proving the meeting and their purchasing of the land.

"I have prevailed upon the Great Warrior to be at court to declare how artfully Pearis had imposed upon them when the first deed of gift was made to him and Jacob Hite at Chote of 150,000 acres of land. Jamie Brakham who was his interpreter will also be at court. The Great Warrior was very glad when I told him that you would be at Ninety-Six and immediately agreed to come down and take you by the hand and open his breast to you. He will want a piece, strouds, some shirts, and calico for his wife, a saddle and rum, etc. (Note: In other words, a nice bribe! "Piece" is an antiquated word meaning "firearm" or gun.)

"Your old friend the Little Carpenter is gone to war with a party of about 30 men. He left a string of whampum for you that in case he should fall, to remember his two children which he left. He desired me to tell you that all his relations have been killed by the enemy, that he will take care that no white man will suffer by his party, but should any of them meet him in his way he will take care of them like brothers, that he shall hunt only for his enemy, the Yaughtinoos,

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*Documents of the American Revolution, K.G. Davis, Ed., Vol IX:232-3, and others-several of the many volumes will be cited, too many to list.)

"Kickapoos, Piankeshaws or Twightwees, that you'll be surprised to hear of his going to war at this time of life but the rogues would not let his people live, that he hoped you would approve of his endeavors to get satisfaction..." This last does not concern the Pearis family, but I wonder if it might indirectly concern Major (but now Colonel) Andrew Lewis and Dunmore's War, now heating up. That war was brought on by land speculators, Lewis being one of them. The tribes listed above are from north of the Ohio River.

Section of letter of 31 December 1773, John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth: "...The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite who had illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon, Indian lands beyond the established boundary line came on before the Circuit Court at Ninety-Six last month when judgment was given against them and they relinquished all claim or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue of any deed or conveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have a good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future. But I beg leave to observe to your lordship that this success is owing to the existence of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist I should be very doubtful of success.

"The Great Warrior of Chote attended the circuit, but as I could not possibly attend there also, he came to Charleston to see me and we conversed together for several days. He is the supreme governor of his nation where his word is a law, which ascendancy is entirely owing to his personal bravery and other superior talents. He seemed much hurt that his nation should be suspected of joining in or encouraging any combination or confederacy against the white people..." He neglects to say that Ouconnastotah had come partly or mostly to collect the presents owed to him for testifying at the Ninety-Six Courthouse.

As we have seen, this was only a temporary setback to our Richard, determined as always to stand on his rights as he saw them. Stuart had played games with him by getting the acting attorney general Simpson to dredge up an obscure 1739 municipal law forbidding sales by Indians to a private white individual. But there was a loophole in the law he had not anticipated--it did not forbid transactions between Cherokees in Cherokee Territory. There is nothing in the records to prove or disprove the next point but, though popular with most of them, Richard was a well-to-do man, and it seems only reasonable to assume that he compensated them well for their trouble in re-granting the same land (the whole 150,000 acres) to their fellow Cherokee George Pearis, an adult. This having been accomplished, he had the land surveyed* and the following winter he persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out a title in George Pearis's name and record it at the Ninety-Six courthouse.

Records of most other land transactions in Indian territory have not survived. In all likelihood they were destroyed by the Revolution, though quite a few families lived there including that of Jacob Hite

*Cameron to Stuart 23 February 1775

Howsoever they may have been induced to do so, the Iroquois affixed a third condition to their cession in the south, a condition which was to prove most momentous in the development of the West. They insisted that their claim to the land south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee River was just and that the Cherokee had no rights to it; and the means they took of proving that right was the presentation of this large territory to the king. Sir William always asserted that in order to consummate the treaty he felt constrained to this departure from his instructions.

The line as finally established started in northern New York near the east end of Lake Ontario, ran in a southerly direction to the Delaware River, then westerly until it touched the Alleghany River, then down that river to the Ohio and westerly along the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee. The boundary line was now completed; it extended as an unbroken line from near the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River in northern West Florida; it closed the far West to colonization but opened up for immediate settlement land in New York, a large part of western Pennsylvania, and the territory back of Virginia as far west as the Great Kanawha.

Back to Alvord, page 78 et seq:

The colony most immediately interested in the "imperial line," as it was called, was Virginia. Her citizens had already made settlements beyond the mountains, and some of them had marked out claims and built homes a considerable distance beyond the limits established at the treaty of Hard Labour. In the territory of the upper branches of the Tennessee River there were several such settlements situated on the extensive land claims of Walker and Lewis who had been the representatives of Virginia at Fort Stanwix; but the speculators had ambitions that went far beyond the securing of these Holston River settlements. Their success in securing the cession of all the land south of the Ohio from the Iroquois and their allies paved the way for enterprises throughout this region, and they made preparations to utilize this opportunity to the utmost.

The claim of the Cherokee to Kentucky, regarded in Virginia as particularly shadowy, alone stood in the way of a westward movement of population. Immediately after their return from Fort Stanwix, Lewis and Walker were sent by Governor Botetourt to lay before the superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern Department the reasons why the boundary line with the Cherokee should be fixed farther to the West.[122] In his letter to Stuart the governor wrote:

> Our commissioners Colonel Lewis and Dr. Walker having informed me, that the line you have marked out in your several letters as a boundary betwixt the Cherokees and Virginia will determine a large tract of land to be their [Cherokees'] property, which Sir William Johnson has purchased of the Northern Indians at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix; I have by advice of the Council directed these gentlemen personally to confer with you upon that subject, that you may if possible agree together upon a fresh plan which may satisfy the Indians and observe [*sic*] to this colony the lands lately purchased as well as those which were settled before the late war.[123]

In spite of his well-based suspicions of the two commissioners, Stuart made no objection to the proposition of Virginia, provided the change were not too extensive; and in his answer he assured the governor that he would "resume a negotiation for a new line when his Majesty shall please to signify his pleasure," and in the meanwhile he would prepare the minds of the Indians for such an alteration in their agreement.[124] The new boundary to which Stuart agreed was not to include all the territory recently purchased from the Six Nations, but only to stretch over a sufficient area to include the Virginia settlements on the Holston River. In his later negotiations with the Cherokee, Stuart discovered that the Indians were willing to sell more of their lands provided the price was satisfactory.[125]

The Virginia government evidently expected this favorable reply from Stuart concerning the reopening of the negotiations with the Cherokee, for on the same day that Governor Botetourt gave Walker and Lewis their instructions, he wrote to Hillsborough of the necessity of this change. Since Stuart agreed in this necessity the Board of Trade in their lengthy report on the boundary line, dated April 20, 1769, made favorable comment on the subject but recommended that the expense of the new purchase should be borne by the colony of Virginia.[126]

This extension to the Holston River did not satisfy the speculative ambitions of the Virginians. Their imagination had pictured vast fortunes built upon the exploitation of western land and they had become impatient at the prolonged exclusion from the Ohio Valley which they looked upon as exclusively their own. The treaty of Fort Stanwix by the cession of land as far west as the Tennessee River had offered them a golden opportunity to enter into their heritage. In particular

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* Called Tryon's Mountain on following map.

the officers and soldiers who had been promised lands for their service in the late war were anxious to receive their reward. The result of the agitation of these men was a memorial by the House of Burgesses in December, 1769, to Governor Botetourt setting forth the needs of even wider limits than those proposed by Mr. Stuart.[127] The burgesses dwelt upon the great difficulty of marking and protecting a line through a mountainous territory, and they laid particular stress on the fact that "a great part of that most valuable country, lying on the Ohio, below the mouth of the Kanhaway, lately ceded to his Majesty by the Northern Indians, would be separated and divided from the British territory," within which area lands had been already legally patented. For these reasons the memorialists pointed out "that a line beginning at the Western termination of the North-Carolina line, and running thence in a due west direction to the River Ohio, may be accomplished at much less expence than the other line proposed."

To this memorial Stuart made an elaborate answer in which he criticized its contentions. The superintendent asserted that the proposed line would never touch the Ohio River and would run close to the Cherokee towns and cut off their most valuable hunting-grounds. The permission of settlements so far to the westward would arouse the hostility of every tribe and cause another Indian war. The opinion of Stuart in the end prevailed and the House of Burgesses determined on June 15, 1770, to enter upon a treaty with the Cherokee "for the lands lying within a line to be run from a place where the North Carolina terminates, in a due west direction, until it intersects Holstein River, and from there to the mouth of the Great Kanaway."[128] For this concession Virginia agreed to pay two thousand five hundred pounds.[129] The House of Burgesses assigned as the reason for renouncing the wider boundaries proposed in their memorial and their acceptance of Stuart's and the ministerial line "the menace to frontier interests resulting from the disquietude of the Indians;" but it may be that the news from London concerning the proposed establishment of a colony in the region may have been of influence upon their minds, since their purchase under the authority of the imperial government would establish more firmly Virginia's claim to part of the territory of the upper Ohio Valley.

When the idea of such a change in the line was first reported to Lord Hillsborough, he was pleased to confirm it. His letter of October 3, 1770, to Lord Botetourt offers sufficient evidence to prove his purpose at this time to permit a limited expansion of settlement to the west of the mountains. He wrote:

> I am convinced from the fullest consideration, that the extension of the boundary line, as proposed by the address of the House of Burgesses to you in December last, would never have been consented to by the Cherokees; or, if their consent could have been obtained, that settlement, so far to the westward, would not only have been inconsistent with the true principles of policy, but would also have been the ground of continued jealousy and disputes; and therefore it was very pleasing to me, to find that the House had receded from its claim, and closed with the proposal contained in my letter to you of the 13th of May, 1769.[130]

Some of the speculators were not yet ready to give up all hope of securing more extensive boundaries. On August 17, 1770, several Cherokee chiefs appeared before the colonial council at Williamsburg to discuss the question of western cessions. Governor Botetourt's mind was prepared for the Indians' speeches by a letter from Andrew Lewis, dated July 6, complaining of Superintendent Stuart's criticisms of Virginia's proposals and intimating that much better terms could be obtained by dealing directly with the Cherokee than through the mediation of the southern superintendent. Forged letters from some less well known speculators were also sent to the governor. One of the Cherokee chiefs spoke at length and informed the council that his people were ready to grant all the land the Virginians wanted. The governor was uninfluenced by the proceeding. He was in favor of promoting the land interests of his colony, but he was too good an administrative officer to attempt such a direct interference with the functions of another office. His answer both to the Indians and to Lewis was that cessions of land could be obtained only through the mediation of the superintendent.[131]

Stuart did not learn of this effort to circumvent him until he had completed his own negotiations at Lochaber; here, in October, 1770, he met one thousand Indians and carried out his promise to the Virginians. He reported to Lord Hillsborough: "Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self interested men in the province of Virginia to embarass me, in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation, to practice upon the Indians, and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me."[132] Stuart was able to carry through his own plans, however, in the face of this opposition. He pointed out to the Indians the necessity of changing the line in order to include the settlements on the Holston River. The Indians were not disposed to make so large a cession as was demanded, but the southern superintendent was successful in his arguments; and it was finally agreed that the line should follow approximately the course accepted by the Virginia assembly and approved by Hillsborough.[133]

Much more was told by Alvord, but we don't have the space. The results at Lochaber did not satisfy Lewis and Walker, soon let down by Botetourt, nor the Virginia French & Indian War veterans who had been promised land grants for service (Richard's son-in-law included). Sgt. George Teter finally received bounty land in Kentucky early 1780.

WILLIAM TRENT TO GEORGE CROGHAN

A. L. S.[1]

Lancaster, March 19th. 1758

Dr Sir:

This day I received yours from the German Flats — Last night I came home from Winchester which place I left the 14th of this Month, the day before I left it came in a Party of Fifteen Cherokees from the Over Hill Towns (these — all the seven or eight Hundred Indians are come too which for these several Weeks past we have had Accounts of being in the Road for Virginia) the enclosed Speech of the first February 1758 was sent by them from the head Warrior of Chite [?] & the other Speech of August 1757 came last fall; I inclose you the speeches that you may see the Govt. of Virginia pursues their old Method of making great promises performing nothing by which probably we may loose the Southern Indians [2] About three Weeks agoe a Party of Ten Cherokees came in to the So. Bra [2] from Fort Du Quesne they set out from their own Towns in order to get more S(calps?) [2] from the Fort but the Snow falling very deep while they were near the Fort [2] remained a Fortnight in one place till their Provisions were out [2] two to view the Fort & get a Scalp if possible but were discovered and [2] obliged to run all the way in, these two Partys with 60 that have been in [2] winter make 85 in all — this last Party have attempted to goe out twice [2] Snow's which fell very deep obliged them to return — some of them are gon [2] Annapolis with a Complaint against Capt. Paris — I imagine set on by Smith [?] who I look upon to be a very good for nothing fellow

[1] From the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 19:1, p. 64–65. The badly burned original of this letter is in the Library Collection.

[2] Manuscript torn previous to the fire of 1911.

— as soon as they return [1] the whole goe to War — Watts writes that he expects to be in the begining [1] April with a large party — Thirteen days ago Capt. Bosomworth set out from this Town for Williamburgh it is said he is gone for the Cherokees. Upon application being made by my L. Loudoun our Assembly [1] him Eight Hundred of their Provincials & Sent a Bill to the Govenor [1] but as the Proprietor is taxed it is doubted whether it will pass [1] Assembly has voted 400 Men & sent up a Bill for Thirty Thousand Pounds but for the same reason the Govr: refused it.

Coll: Burd [2] tells me that some Indians from the Ohio are gone to Philadelphia with some Belts of Wampum I have not heard the Speech neither could I learn from him whether they were Delawares, Shawnesse or foreigners — he tells me that Tudjuscungs son with two or three more [1] Gang are gone to Ohio to bring a Prisoner — I find by him that they are still in hopes of getting a trade fixed with the Indians as I heard him say he knew some gentlemen that would advance Twenty Thousand Pounds towards carrying it on. There is a good many Indians of one sort or other at Shamokin Mr Carson who is appointed to trade with them Indians is gone to Philada. and as I did not see him I cannot learn who they are. I am

Dr Sir

Your most humbl Servt

WILLIAM TRENT

[1] Manuscript torn previous to the fire of 1911.

[2] Colonel James Burd, of Pennsylvania. He was in command of Fort Augusta at Shamokin from 1756 to 1757.

VA Mag Hx & Bx 1911 — p64/5 Look for Peoria in Indexes.

+ Dunmore etc

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+ Dan'l Wetzel etc

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6. This was probably Youghtanno, the Cherokee warrior from the Overhill town of Telassie. He led a party north into Maryland and Pennsylvania with Wawhatchee when he and Wawhatchee left Winchester with Richard Pearis on 29 April.

7. For the Catawba Indians who had been in Winchester in March, see Clement Read to GW, 15 Mar. 1757, n.1.

8. Dinwiddie wrote Mercer on 26 Jan. 1757 rebuking him for improperly enlisting indentured servants, saying that he could send no money to Mercer to settle with the masters of the drafted servants until after the April court (Brock, *Dinwiddie Papers*, 2:586).

9. This is probably Henry Heth of Winchester.

From George Mercer

Dear Sir. Fort Loudoun April 26th 1757.

Since my last to you, we have held Council after Council every day with the Indians. They seem at last pretty well satisfied, and a Party of them sett out this Day to War; the others will follow so soon as they get their Shoes made. There is a great Scarcity of Deer Skins, and I am obliged to send thro' the whole County to provide them.

Inclosed are two Letters from the Head Warriours to the Govr, which they insisted I should write, and desired I might not be afraid to do it; it was their Talk they said, which I wrote, which they intended to give him freely.[1]

By every thing you'll observe, the chief thing is A PRESENT, and they expect a very good one, and have not omitted upon all Occasions to tell me what the French give their Indians. They make no Secret either of their Intentions in Case they are not properly encouraged. One of the Warriours told Major Lewis in Augusta, that he had been often told Lies in his Nation, but now he was come himself to see if they would never tell the Truth. If they did not now, he said, as the Govr had promised them a large Present if they would come & fight, and if he did not get it when he came here, he would turn back and take every thing from the Inhabitants as they went along, and maybe, said he, scalp some of them too, for he said if they had stayed at home and hunted, they could buy as much Goods as they wanted with their Skins.[2]

You'll observe, Wauhatchee has desired the Govr to meet

them here, and I am certain it will be of the greatest Service if he does; they have much to ask of him, which they say, he shall hear when they see him. I know the one part of their Request is to send some of their Warriours Home to talk to his Majesty.

Many of our Soldiers have made Application to go out with them, but as their Destination is uncertain, and may suddenly be ordered away, I have not allowed any of them to go.

Smith the Interpreter I believe is one of the best on the Continent. he is an extreme modest Man, and behaves himself very well in every particular. The Warriours have desired that he may have a good Suit of Clothes provided for him against he returns. Really the Man's Behaviour entitles him to some Notice from the Governour.[3]

I am much at a Loss what will be done with the next Party of Indians, which I am told are now in Augusta. We have neither Shirts nor Blankets to give them; nor do I know where to get them, nor is there more than 24 or 5 Guns for them, all have been taken from Bedford and Augusta Courthouses, and there are 80 Indians in the Party that's on their March, I am informed.

I sent down to the Ohio Store for some things for these; Colo. Cresap writes me that Trent has made a Contract with Sir Wm Johnson for them. There is neither Paint, scalping Knives, Wampum nor pipe Tomahawks to be had there, nor is there any Silver Truck.[4]

Pray Colo. push this Matter as much as possible, for you know how much depends upon the Interest of these Indians. If they are not properly rewarded, they will all forsake us: the Consequences then are plain. They will not be idle Spectators, but will be employed.

Excuse me I pray, for troubling you with this long Epistle; tho' I have been so full, I do not presume to direct or offer my Sentiments, but represent every thing in the very Light the Indians now consider them, which I am certain from your Knowledge of those people, you'll know to be true; therefore I need not have been so explicit.

Colo. Stephen is not arrived yet, nor have I heard of his March. I am Dear Sir Your most obedient and obliged humble Servant

Go: Mercer

Due to his line of work, Richard settled in Indian territory in what is now Greenville, South Carolina, in 1768, to be among the Cherokees who sold him a 10-sq. mile tract in that beautiful place, though Charlestonians did not approve. Settlers there were displaced during the Revolution, after which the bankrupt new state sold the land to new settlers to raise revenue. Few pre-Revolutionary records for that area still exist, but perhaps Robert joined his brother there. The mystified author of the county history wrote,*

> "Samuel Earle was one of the first settlers of the new county, having secured a grant of 400 acres on both sides of Reedy River NW of the ancient boundry, including improvements formerly claimed by Robert Paris. Whether these were were lands formerly held by Richard Pearis, and the description in the deed erroneously referred to him as Robert is unknown. There is no record of any Robert Paris ever having resided in Greenville, but the spelling of the name is "Paris" while Richard always used the spelling "Pearis." Could it be possible there was a Robert Paris and that Paris mountain derives its name from him and not Richard Pearis as generally thought? Possibly, but not at all probable."

I think the Revolutionary War Loyalist militia rolls following refer to Uncle Robert, but it would be hard to prove.

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*History of Greenville County, South Carolina by James M. Richardson (1930) page 66

Charge options - Robert evidently son of Richard
But who was Ely?

The Teter Family details more about the life of Sarah and her husband, Sgt. George Teter, so that will not be repeated here in detail. They were married in March 1762 and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. In 1768 they bought a nice small farm on Crab Creek where it empties into New River near present Radford, but sold it three years later to move to a plantation several miles NE of present Abingdon while that was still part of the frontier, where George became an ensign in the local militia. Soon, though ttere was a perilous war going on in the Kentucky bluegrass area, George became eligible for a military land grant for his service in the French & Indian War and decided to take advantage of it before the best land was all taken. Despite the fact that Sarah was very pregnant with their fifth and last child, they left during what turned out to be oneof the most frigid winters in history--1779/80. Though they were fired upon just beyond the Cumberland Gap and George was wounded, they made it safe to one of the forts of Gen. George Rogers Clark, on Clark's Run just east of present Danville KY. The Kentucky River was solid ice and starving people had the influenza, but once settled thefamily prospered. Our descent is from their only daughter, Sarah (Sally) Teter, who married Samuel Griffith from North Carolina who was either a nephew or son of Jonas Griffith, mentioned in the Pepper Family sketch in Chapter 3.

After arranging his daughters' doweries, Captain Pearis set off to the Carolina border to meet Cherokees arriving, mostly from the Lower Towns, to assist Washington but the Occaneeche Path in error, too far to the east, expecting a lavish welcome and many gifts just as soon they got there. Disappointed outraged Indians misbehaved badly and got him into a quandry, to put it mildly. Had he reproved them, they would have turned on their heels and been lost as allies. On the other hand, he understood why they were unhappy. In trying to defend the Cherokees Richard has in many histories been dubbed as a "mercenary scamp who attempted to rake in shekels." That is far from the truth, of course, for he stood to lose all his military back pay, not to mention the mostly unrecouped loss for "burning his books" a couple of years before.*

*But 2 years later, after service in Forbes' victorious army, the VA Assembly awarded Richard Pearis, Frederick Co. Captain of the Cherokees £81/18/0 - Kellogg pg 255

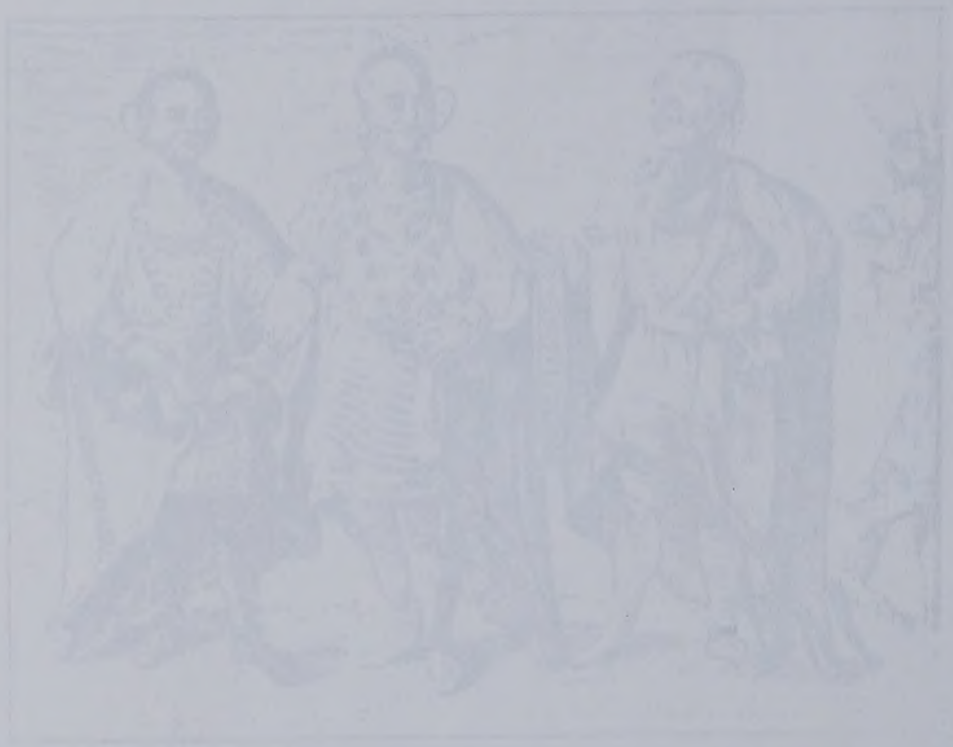
According to Chalkey's version of the deed book entry, the daughters were also gifted with money, signified by inclusion of a pound sign (Ł) in addition to the slaves and horses, but the amount was unspecified. The most amazing extra notation was that Pratchey, given to Margaret, was an Indian wench! Pratchey could not have been Cherokee--was she a captured member of an enemy tribe? My instinct says probably a part-black descendant of one such, but I could easily be wrong. Since in those days some wealthier Cherokees owned several slaves, that may be where she came from.

Some years later when, to clear the record, Captain Peter Hogg told the court that the presents had been delivered (probably long before he appeared in 1770) the Pearis family was already living in upper South Carolina--that is, Richard, Rhoda, three sons, and two younger daughters. We ~~have not learned whom~~ Margaret married nor exactly when, but would guess it was probably in Virginia in the 1760's, and I've often wondered whether in later years Margaret lived near Sarah but that we do not realize it because we don't know whom she married.

The Teter Family details more about the life of Sarah and her husband, Sgt. George Teter, so that will not be repeated here in detail. They were married in March 1762 and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. In 1768 they bought a nice small farm on Crab Creek where it empties into New River near present Radford, but sold it three years later to move to a plantation several miles NE of present Abingdon while that was still part of the frontier, where George became an ensign in the local militia. Soon, though ttere was a perilous war going on in the Kentucky bluegrass area, George became eligible for a military land grant for his service in the French & Indian War and decided to take advantage of it before the best land was all taken. Despite the fact that Sarah was very pregnant with their fifth and last child, they left during what turned out to be oneof the most frigid winters in history--1779/80. Though they were fired upon just beyond the Cumberland Gap and George was wounded, they made it safe to one of the forts of Gen. George Rogers Clark, on Clark's Run just east of present Danville KY. The Kentucky River was solid ice and starving people had the influenza, but once settled thefamily prospered. Our descent is from their only daughter, Sarah (Sally) Teter, who married Samuel Griffith from North Carolina who was either a nephew or son of Jonas Griffith, mentioned in the Pepper Family sketch on page 12.

After arranging his daughters' doweries, Captain Pearis set off to the Carolina border to meet Cherokees arriving, mostly from the Lower Towns, to assist Washington's army. ~~Infortuna~~tely they showed up too far to the east, expecting a lavish welcome and many gifts just as soon they got there. Disappointed outraged Indians misbehaved badly and got him into a quandry, to put it mildly. Had he reproved them, they would have turned on their heels and been lost as allies. On the other hand, he understood why they were unhappy. In trying to defend the Cherokees Richard has in many histories been dubbed as a "mercenary scamp who attempted to rake in shekels." That is far from the truth, of course, for he stood to lose all his military back pay, not to mention the mostly unrecouped loss for "burning his books" a couple of years before.*

*This is getting ahead of the story, but 2 years later, after he had served in Gen. Forbes' victorious army, the VA Assembly voted to give Ł81/18/0 to Richard Pearis, Frederick County, Captain of the Cherokees--Kellogg's Virginia Frontier, pg 255.

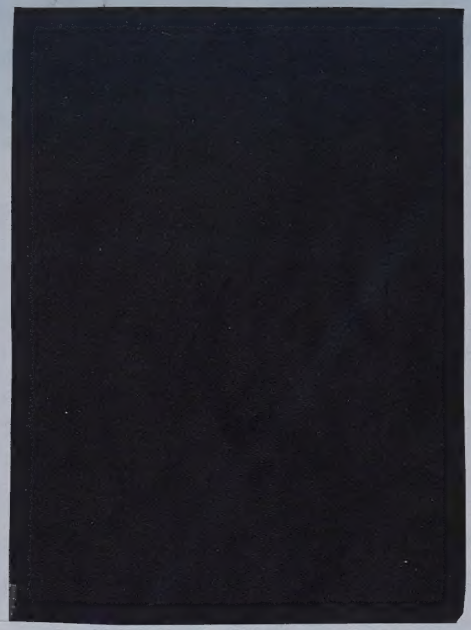


Excerpts from History of Greenville County, South Carolina Chapter 7 (previously cited) (.... stands for omissions)

After the flare-up of 1775 had subsided, a majority of the frontier settlers were doubtless friendly to the Patriot cause, but their proximity to the Indian country kept them from taking an active part in the war. They knew that Alexander Cameron, ..was exerting every effort to secure the Cherokees' assistance for the British... and the success of his plans would bring the Indians down upon them... During early summer 1776, the frontiersmen began to feel that all was not well in Cherokee country. Rumors..drifted in. And knowing something must be done at once if (they) were to remain neutral, .. thought it well to send emissaries into the Towns to urge those deluded people to..continue friendship. Among those to go were Capt. Edward Hampton and his brother Preston who resided NE of present Greer... Another to go into the Cherokee country was a son of Colonel Hite, who lived within present Greenville County near where the Old Spartanburg road crosses Enoree river....this noble Patriot was a young man of character and culture. At the time he was a student of the law, about to apply for admission to the bar in Charles Town. It is also said that he was engaged to be married to a daughter of Richard Pearis.

When the Hampton brothers arrived, they found they were too late... Everywhere the war dance was in progress and hurried preparations were being made for a raid upon the frontiers. They were made prisoners and their horses, guns, etc seized; but by some means (possibly assistance of friendly Indians)made their escape on foot. Young Hite, traveling into the Cherokee country a few days later..met a large band of warriors headed for the settlements. By these he was killed and scalped, thus becoming the first victim of the most bloody massacre ever suffered by Carolinians at the hands of Cherokees. The place of his death was on Estatoe River in present Pickens County, in a narrow strip between mountains. After killing the young man, the Indians proceeded to the residence of Richard Pearis, where the daughter of Pearis, recognizing "the raven locks of her lover" in the bloody scalp displayed by the savages, knew only too well what were their intentions. In an effort to save the family of her lover from the sad fate which had already befallen him, she set out on foot to warn the Hite family of its impending danger. But whether this dusky maid of the forests reached her destination and had her warning disregarded, or was overtaken by the Indians and brought back before she had delivered her message, is unknown. At any rate, the Hite family was visited by the Indians and paid a fearful toll. (Compare this to the version on page 141-2.)

When information reached the frontier that Indians had taken up the tomahawk, there was great alarm among those adhering to the Patriot cause. Quickly they set about strengthening crude forts and block houses which had been constructed...during French & Indian war...still others remained at their homes..who thought Indians would pass them by.. but only those who had espoused the cause of the Tories...had been safe from attack by erections of peeled poles wrapped around with white cloth before their homes..referred to as a "passover" sign to Indians to leave that household undisturbed. Sad to relate, many were the passovers erected.



In 1779 the British unveiled their master plan for ending the war. It was a brilliant stroke soon enveloped by blunders made by both sides. In brief, it contemplated a landing at Savannah, the surrounding of Charles Town from both sea and land, and the establishment of a major Southern beachhead from whence they could roll up the colonies on the seaboard. It could have worked—especially if the British theory about loyalty of the Tories had been correct. But guerrillas are hard to suppress.

Savannah, a town of 450 houses on a bluff, fell swiftly to the invaders in December 1778, and soon thereafter most of the crossings upriver as well.

At this point, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln became American commander in that theater. Brave, abstemious, usually silent, Lincoln at least had the advantage of *looking* like a fighting general, but as John Alden put it, his "habit of taking naps amidst military business indicated to some patriots that he had confidence in himself." It may have also indicated something else.

After the British were established at Savannah, Lincoln did exactly what the British expected and wanted him to do—dashed off to Augusta, hoping thereby to take that river crossing, outflank Savannah, and "contain" the British. Actually what he did was leave Charles Town wide open to the British pouring up from Savannah (as if on U.S. 17, by Greyhound, and by Seaboard Coast Line). Gen. Augustine Prevost had not really meant to take the city but reached its outskirts before he again scurried back south when Lincoln returned from his fool's errand. It was now summer of 1779, and both sides seemed to concur that nobody wise moves in that area during that season (with apologies to the Hilton Head Chamber of Commerce and to the good citizens of Adams Run).

The Patriots were on the verge of panic. French Adm. Comte d'Estaing responded to their SOS, and soon the 1,700 British in Savannah were facing 5,000 allies, with Patriots coming down by land (and marshes) and the French blowing in from the Atlantic. Suddenly the tide turned: Using hundreds of slaves, the British built formidable defenses; the French fleet did not want to be there since it was fall and the hurricane season; the allies grumbled and disagreed. The British also had advance word of the land attack, and when it came, nearly

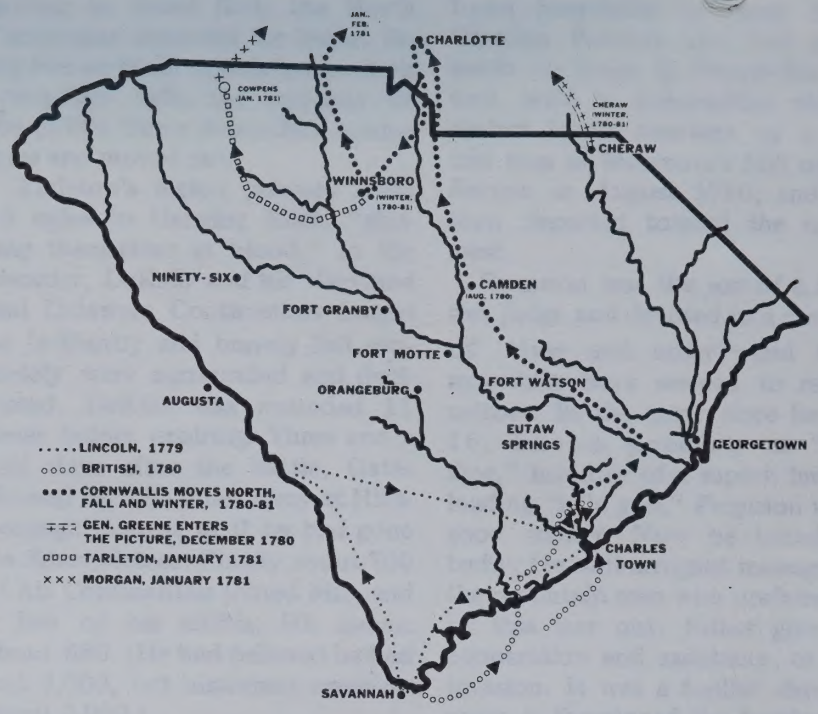
half of the attackers were killed or wounded. When last seen, the French admiral was en route to the pleasures of his native land and the remnants of Lincoln's forces were trying to extricate themselves. (Casualties: French, 637; American, 457; British, 55.)

After this interruption, the British resumed their grand plan. The Carolinians now blundered: They concentrated their defenses around the harbor for attack from the Atlantic, as in 1776. The English declined to cooperate: They came by land. Coming ashore in February 1780, 30 miles south of the town, they swept inland, crossed the Ashley upstream, and came down the Neck between the Ashley and Cooper, thus cutting Charles Town off.

Actually the British had moved so slowly, the Americans had a chance to play some role other than that of sitting ducks. Rutledge called on the Up-Country militia in vain. He called on the Spanish, another enemy of Britain, to send aid from Havana—but also in vain. He appealed to Washington for aid; it came too late. Nevertheless, Lincoln had 6,000 troops in his besieged fortress, and he perhaps should have fled to the north while he could and kept such a force together to fight another day. (Tarleton did an end run and closed the possible escape hatch east of Moncks Corner.) But the decision to hold on was a political rather than a military one. Residents of Mecca would not give up the Holy City, and so the decision was made under much pressure to fight it out on the Neck on that line, "even if it took all summer." It took only until May 19. On that day, Lincoln surrendered an army of 5,500 men with their music playing "The Turk's March." (Some say this was the largest American surrender prior to Bataan, 1941.) The militia survivors were permitted to go home on their solemn word ("on parole") not to take up arms again.

For the moment, the British and their Tory allies held the major portion of the state. With so many neutralists and so many Loyalists in the state, perhaps the majority of the population welcomed what they saw as the end of the war and hoped now for a "return to normalcy."

Then the British botched their chance and their advantage began to erode. A regiment of Virginians under Col. Abraham Buford, en route to help Lincoln, quickly turned back northwards at the news of Charles Town's fate, only to be pursued by Col. Banastre Tarleton's cavalry which caught the Patriots at the Waxhaws (eight miles east of present Lancaster). Buford waved the white flag and his men called for quarter—only to be slaughtered in cold blood. As word of this inexcusable massacre spread, the number of neutralists who might have supported Britain shrank. Even the Loyalists shrank back a bit: They had wanted order, but this was not even humanity. Maj. Patrick Ferguson, the Scotsman later to lose King's Mountain, was present at Waxhaws and was so incensed that he had to be restrained



from firing at Tarleton's men—on his own side.

With the beachhead established in the Charles Town-Savannah area, Sir Henry Clinton, who had commanded the expedition, sailed away and left Cornwallis (with whom he had quarreled) in command. He promptly enlarged their enclave by erecting a perimeter of posts stretching around from Georgetown to Cheraw to Ninety Six. (Andrew Williamson, heretofore so active, surrendered the fort at Ninety Six to the British and then became a Loyalist himself.)

Despite the British success, they still had a war on their hands in South Carolina in 1780. Surviving secessionists flocked to remote places to support the guerrilla forces of Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter and Andrew Pickens. There was still a provincial government—a "government in exile," which was wherever John Rutledge hung his hat at the moment.

Before leaving, Clinton had written Lord George Germain, "I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina who are not either prisoners of war or in arms with us." The poor man was not altogether deluded; he was simply departing before his colleagues threw away their victory and thereby instigated the "Second War of the Revolution." They now imitated the American blunder of 1778 with their own alienating

reign of terror. Tarleton had begun it. Now they reversed their parole and amnesty program: Passive Patriots would not be tolerated. Either be an active and loyal British supporter and help her in her current exertions against other Americans, or else expect to be persecuted as a traitor. Such a policy was the best recruiting officer the Patriots ever had.

Cornwallis in 1780 was dreaming of pushing out of his perimeter and heading north. Suddenly he faced the opposite prospect—an offensive from the north designed to smash into his perimeter at Camden. This invasion, consisting of both Continental troops and militia, was under the command of Gen. Horatio Gates, put in that position by Congress but not by Washington, who preferred Nathanael Greene. Son of a servant in an English household, Gates had come far. Entering the English army, he had served with Braddock in 1755 and after that war had settled in the Shenandoah, and in this war had gained fame—some say unjustly—in the Saratoga campaign (1777).

As he moved south, he was sharply conscious of the need of a victory for Patriot morale. With him was Baron Johann DeKalb, who had come here as a soldier of fortune but remained as a true Patriot convert. He urged Gates to march in a southwestwardly route via Salisbury and Charlotte, but the general insisted on the shortest route. To moderns, it was a choice between U.S. 29 and U.S. 1. Gates took the route that was less prosperous, had fewer supplies for troops, and could supply fewer recruits for reinforcements. If he succeeded, he would be judged a hero. But it was risky—and he had but one army to spare. As John Alden saw it, the plan was worthy of a Caesar or a Napoleon; the trouble was that Gates was neither. Nor was he lucky. Many in his army were barefooted, some were mutinous, all were poorly supplied and fed, and many were sick—for living off green corn hardly promotes health, its effect being similar to that of calomel.

As Gates approached Camden, he was not aware that Lord Rawdon in command there had just been reinforced, or that Cornwallis had arrived only two days before. The two sides collided in great surprise about 2 a.m. on Aug. 16, 1780, while both were trying to use the same tactic—to nudge forward at night to effect a surprise. Again, Gates spurned DeKalb's advice—to retire. As Gates saw it, even an orderly withdrawal would not bring strength nor recruits to the cause, and he held good ground with swamps on both flanks (about seven miles north of Camden). Maybe Gates was correct, but the rest of the story hardly provides a good program for a DAR meeting. He evidently misjudged his troops. When the fog and smoke cleared away later that morning, the Americans had suffered a catastrophic defeat and had not distinguished themselves in the process. The militia showed skill and interest in only one thing: the speed with which they departed from the battlefield. The Virginians fled, forgetting to shoot first; the North Carolinians departed for home, firing two or three rounds before their precipitate exit; the majority of the militia threw down their loaded guns and moved out.

Tarleton's legion pursued them 15 miles to Hanging Rock, "glutting themselves in blood." In the disorder, DeKalb and his Maryland and Delaware Continentals fought on brilliantly and bravely but ultimately were surrounded and decimated. DeKalb was wounded 11 times before expiring. Three and a half days after the battle, Gates showed up 180 miles away at Hillsborough—almost as if he had gone via Silver Meteor. Finally about 700 of his Continentals joined him, and a few of his militia. His losses: about 650. (He had believed he had had 7,000, but historians agree on about 3,000.)

The calamity may have been a blessing in disguise since it fortified Cornwallis in his determination to move north, hoping to keep Carolina in his rear as a base and to grind Washington between himself and Clinton, who was then in the north. Three weeks after Camden, he moved out to Charlotte. Operating out on his left (western) flank—like a destroyer out from a convoy—was Maj. Patrick Ferguson, hoping to "keep alive the spirits of our friends." But he stirred up some other spirits.

Over the mountains were settlers not only "independent of the British king" but of any outside authority over their Watauga settlements. Occasionally they came east for trouble, and at the moment had been hospitable to some North Carolina Patriots who had swept south to lunge at Ninety Six and had won a tremendous victory against larger numbers by a well laid trap at Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree in August 1780, and had then departed toward the northwest.

Ferguson was the son of a Scottish judge and devoted to a concept of "law and order"—and these mountain boys seemed to reflect neither. In the army since he was 15, known popularly as "Bull Dog," inventor of a superb breech-loading "rifle gun," Ferguson was a good soldier. Now he blundered badly. He sent arrogant messages to the mountain men who preferred to sit this war out: Either give full cooperation and assistance, or face invasion. It was a foolish dare because it threatened the freedom of the freest men.

Out of the mountains swarmed 900—not an army but a band of swift-moving, tough marksmen. The slower Ferguson planned to drop back to Ninety Six, saw that it was impossible because of the superior speed of his antagonists, and hence headed to Charlotte to rejoin the main British force. He never got there. The mountain men caught him and his 1,100 Tories when they ensconced themselves on the slopes of King's Mountain, west of Charlotte, where Ferguson boasted "God Almighty could not drive him from it," or even "all the rebels outside of hell." He probably soon figured they were all there. At least, 900 of them were there.

The backwoodsmen had moved

fast, lest Ferguson reach Cornwallis or reinforcements reach him. (Tarleton had been sent for.) Their speed: One morning they left camp at Cowpens, marched all day and part of the night (much of it in driving rain), arrived at King's Mountain by 3 p.m., attacked, ended the battle by sundown, and departed for home in the mountains next morning (lest Cornwallis arrive or lest the Indians molest their homes). Going up the slopes behind the trees and boulders, using their keen shooting to good effect against the Tories on the cleared slope, the mountain men did well: their losses, 40; Tory losses, 1,104—killed and captured, every man that they had present. The only Englishman (really a Scot) in the battle, Ferguson, was killed. These were Americans against Americans, indicating that if the British strategy was to "conquer America with Americans," it had a long way to go. So bitter were the frontiersmen about British marauding and threats that they killed some of them after quarter had been asked and later hanged nine others.

Cornwallis perhaps magnified the scope of this defeat and retired from Charlotte to Winnsboro. Gates, the non-hero of Camden, then marched his "army of scarecrows" into Charlotte, then a village and courthouse, in December 1780, where he soon was tactfully replaced by Nathanael Greene. To keep the British might bottled up, he had a force of 2,450 "on paper," of whom only 1,482 were present and fit for duty. Of these, 900 were Continentals, and fewer than 800 were properly equipped. With new arrivals sent him by Clinton, the chastened Cornwallis had 4,000 for his planned invasion of North Carolina and Virginia.

Greene was one of the more interesting personalities of the war: A fighting Quaker who never won a major battle in the field but who had much to do with the outcome of the conflict. (His recent self-imposed exile had thrown Congress into "a degree of vexatious distress.") He now launched a bold strategy: In the face of a stronger foe, he divided his weaker force. Since little Mecklenburg could not support his army, he took one part of it to a "camp of repose" near Cheraw on the Pee Dee; one third of his force he sent westward with Gen. Daniel Morgan into the area of the Broad and Pacolet rivers, there to "discourage Tory raids" and also to "spirit up the people." If Cornwallis moved north where there was no roadblock facing him, he faced the risk of these two hitting him from both flanks as he proceeded up "Continental alley." Meanwhile they were in a position to keep pressure on different parts of the perimeter in South Carolina. If Cornwallis moved against Morgan, the way was open for Greene to head south to Charles Town. If he lunged against Cheraw, Morgan could storm Ninety-Six and Augusta, and then perhaps make a dash at Savannah or Charles Town. If either could get between Cornwallis and his supply base on the Cooper, he would be in a most unenviable predicament. Meanwhile,

Greene could be training and reorganizing his forces—a task which he performed well.

In this dilemma, Cornwallis made his decision on the night of Dec. 28, 1780, while talking to Tarleton in a tent: He too would split his forces—into three. Lord Rawdon would hold Camden and thereby protect Charles Town. Tarleton would go west and liquidate Morgan and then rejoin Cornwallis, who would then be moving on his grand plan of going north. According to one tale, a little boy with big ears sat outside the tent.

The renowned, able, high-strung, cruel Tarleton set forth, crossing the Broad in the Newberry area; and finding Ninety Six unthreatened, he moved north. It was great strategy and there were no blunders, just miscalculations. Militia were supposed to run; Patriots were supposed to melt before Tarleton's elite corps; and no Americans were supposed to be the match for British regulars. But somebody forgot to tell the men with Morgan all that.

"Old Dan" had been a fighter all of his 48 years. Plagued by rheumatism and sciatica, he suffered worse outdoors in a wet winter. An old wagoner, he had fought in the French and Indian War, lost his teeth to an Indian bullet, and had 499 lashes on the back for striking a British lieutenant. His prewar reputation was largely that of a tavern-brawler. A "soldier's soldier," he was a master of managing the unmanageable militia. He had quit the war once and returned to Virginia because he felt inadequately appreciated. Now in January he dropped back and picked his ground well at a place with an inelegant name—the Cowpens (gathering place during colonial "long drives"). While camped earlier at Grindall's Shoals on the Pacolet, a father brought in his boy of 9 years who told of an interesting conversation which he had overheard going on in Cornwallis' tent. Maybe the tale is apochryphal, but it also says that thereby Morgan got a new drummer boy.

The "best planned battle of the Revolution," "America's most imitated battle," Cowpens took place Jan. 17, 1781. It has been intriguingly described too many times to be retold here.

By not asking more of his militia than could normally have been expected, and by placing his troops superbly and moving them expeditiously at the right moment (almost as if they had walkie-talkies), Morgan lured Tarleton into a rout.

Over 900 of Tarleton's men (1,100) were killed or captured, and he himself was nearly included. All of his equipment was lost. Not only did Cornwallis lose his left wing, but it was also the first time an American group—and even one including the usually not-too-impressive militia—had defeated British regulars, and in this case a group with an awe-inspiring reputation, eclat, and *esprit de corps*. Word of Morgan's victory spread throughout the colonies and even to Europe, with results one would expect.

Despite Cowpens, Cornwallis had

moved on north, thinking there was nothing but air between himself and Virginia. Such was not the case. Morgan and Greene both moved northward from west and east, merged, and slowed Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse (modern Greensboro area), March 1781. Technically, the Americans again did not win, but His Lordship did not go on north to the Dan but slid back across the state down to Wilmington, thereby not being isolated out in a hostile wilderness at the end of a long, impossible supply line. From the Cape Fear area, he moved on to his date with Washington at Yorktown in October.

Obviously, the original British blunder of the war was now being compounded: Where they had relied on native Loyalists to do most of the job, Cornwallis was now leaving the South Carolina Loyalists to their fate in his rear. The British had suffered only two real defeats and now could move their main spearhead where they intended, but their hold on South Carolina was now most precarious. As Cornwallis continued his itinerary, he boasted of having defeated the Patriots' army; that army now proceeded to overrun and conquer the two colonies he had left behind him.

The secessionists laid siege to the perimeter—the outposts providing the shield for Charles Town, overseen by Lord Rawdon and ranged in three concentric half circles: Georgetown, Charles Town, Savannah; then, Ft. Watson, Ft. Motte, Orangeburg; and on out, Camden, Ninety Six and Augusta.

For the second time, Patriots approached Camden from the north, this time under Greene, striking Rawdon at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile or so from the town. Again, both attacked (May 10, 1781), and again the Americans did not win. But they were not routed and they did not scurry for Hillsboro. Weakened and having mostly Tories, Rawdon had had to arm his musicians, drummers, and every other man who could lift a weapon to strike at the overconfident Greene, and despite his success was unable to pursue the Patriots. The weather blessed the Patriots, with one Redcoat complaining of "a Country as hot as the Antichamber [sic] of Hell," and alleging that "if I can stand the warmth of this Climate, I need not fear Pluto's clime much." Lacking adequate strength, Rawdon evacuated Camden and began to shorten his defenses by retiring south of the Santee and by dismantling some of his outposts. The Patriots helped him in that task.

Francis Marion and Henry Lee kept up the pressure in the east, and by the end of May the British no longer held Ft. Watson, Ft. Motte or Ft. Granby. In June, it was the turn of Augusta, and two weeks later the Georgetown garrison fled by sea to escape the Swamp Fox.

Ninety Six with its garrison was another story, as it underwent an exciting and grueling siege in the summer of 1781 (most intriguingly told in Kenneth Roberts' novel, "Oliver Wiswell"). Here Loyalists resisted bravely, ably and obstinately, not giving way before Mahan towers, flaming arrows or tunneling efforts. When Rawdon arrived with 2,000 men fresh from Ireland, the Patriots lifted the siege, but the new arrivals merely supplied an escort party to evacuate the besieged groups at Ninety Six back to the no-longer-secure Charles Town. From there Rawdon sailed for Europe—only to be captured at sea by the French Navy—en route to Yorktown.

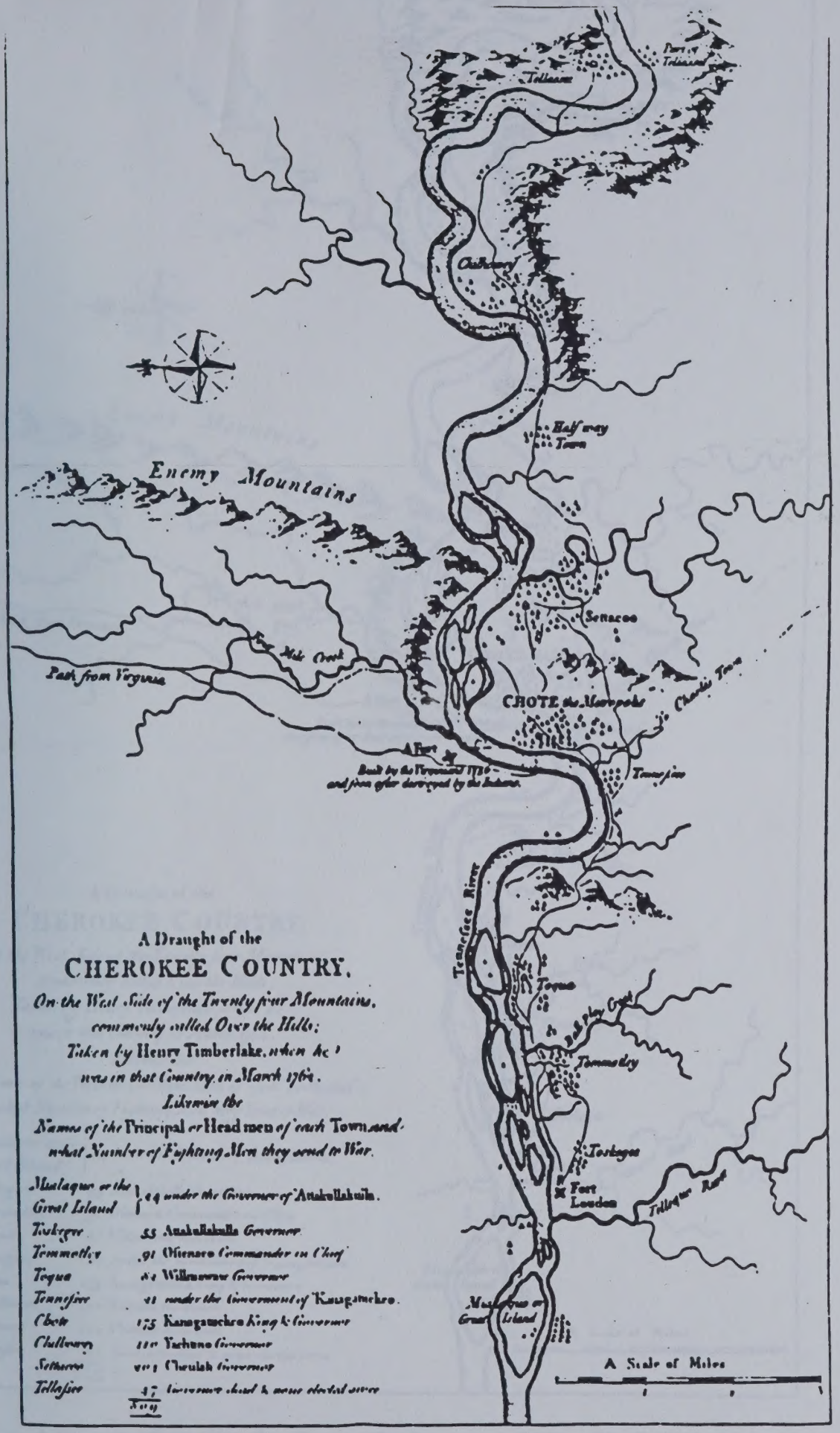
The last clash occurred at Eutaw Springs on the Santee as Greene made the final push toward Charles Town. As usual, Greene "lost" in terms of statistics, but his opponent departed from the battlefield.

Six weeks later, Cornwallis collapsed at Yorktown (October 1781) and in the view of most people this signaled the end of the American Revolution. But the peace treaty did not come until 1783, and meanwhile the British still held Savannah and Charles Town.

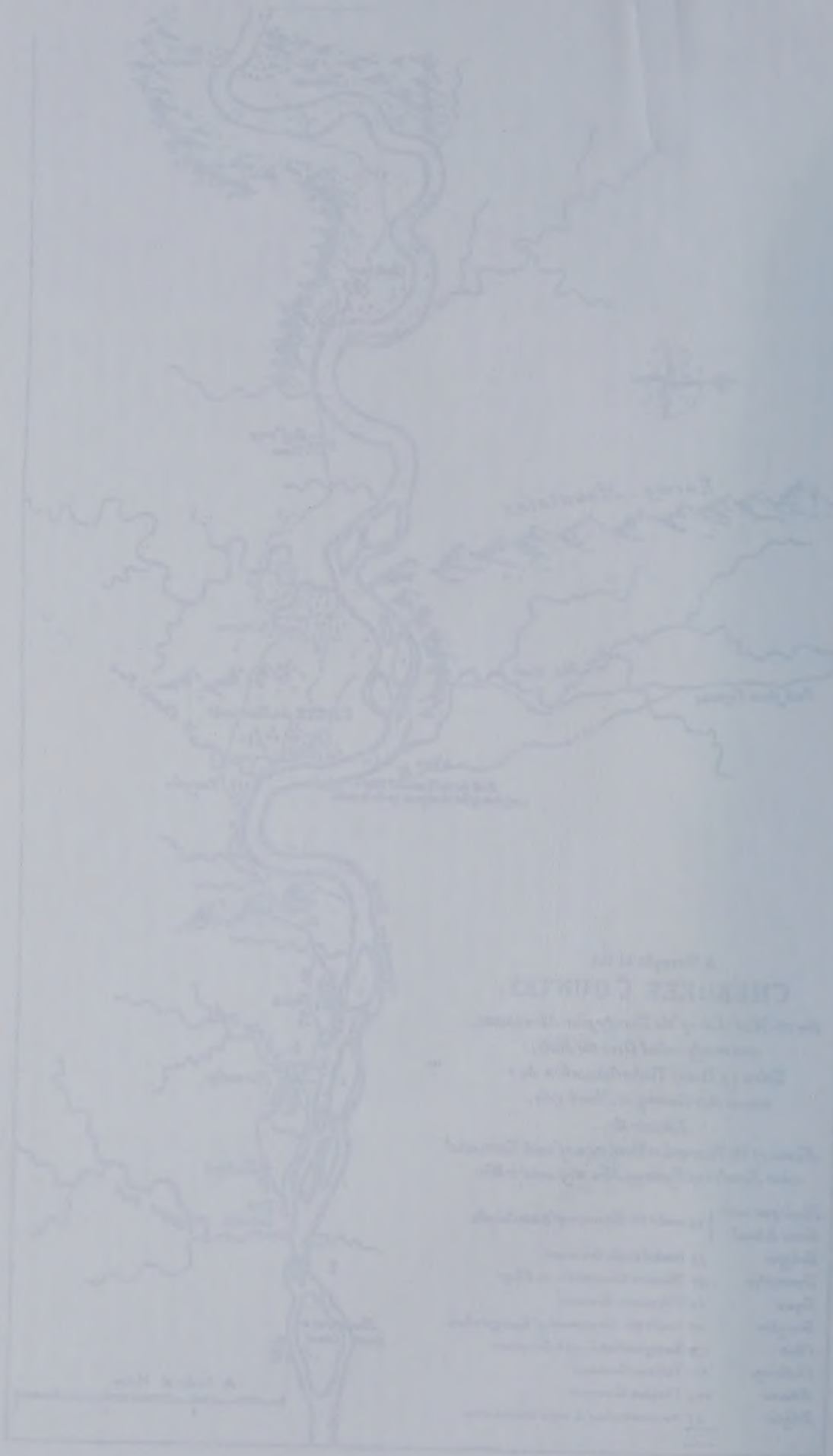
Confidence of an approaching "return to normalcy" was evident in the summoning of the long dormant legislature. Elected in December 1781, it could not meet at the old occupied provincial capital but convened at Jacksonborough in January 1782—on the Edisto, close enough to the British in Charles Town to resemble an act of defiance. The meeting, significant for reflecting the change of the time, elected John Mathews as governor, and began a vindictive crackdown on Tories with considerable confiscation of their property.

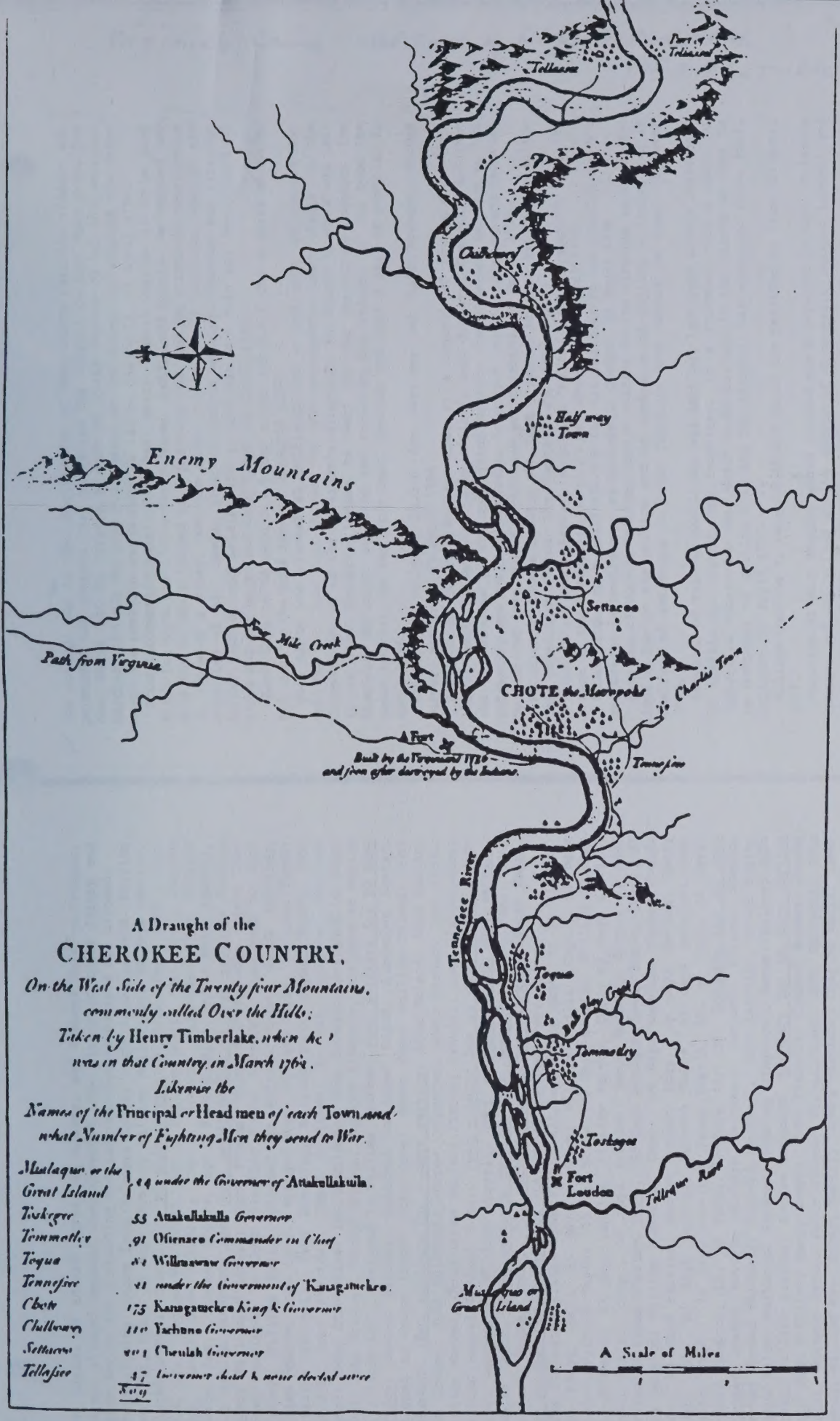
The military aspect of the Revolution ended on Dec. 14, 1782. The scene was more like the quiet passing of an elderly person during the night—not the death of a soldier amid noisy and violent action. In the morning, the British army made an orderly embarkation (ironically from Christopher Gadsden's wharf, at the east end of modern Calhoun Street). With them went 4,000 loyal South Carolinians who preferred exile and many of whom thereby impoverished South Carolina, but for the moment they were fearful of the kind of vengeance which had begun to surface at Jacksonborough. Also with the emigres went 5,000 slaves.

In the afternoon, Gov. John Mathews, with Gen. Nathanael Greene at his side, rode tranquilly into a quiet provincial city and proclaimed the restoration of civil government. The English, who had founded and shaped the city 112 years before, were gone. Their influence, their traditions and many of their attitudes were not.


Enemy Mountains
Path from Virginia
Half way Town
Seneca
CHOTE the Metropolis
A Fort
Built by the Virginians 1756 and soon after destroyed by the Indians
Tennessee River
Toqua
Tomotley
Tostegee
Fort Loudon
Tellafoye River
A Draught of the
CHEROKEE COUNTRY,
On the West Side of the Twenty four Mountains, commonly called Over the Hills:
Taken by Henry Timberlake, when he was in that Country in March 1761.
Likewise the
Names of the Principal or Head men of each Town and what Number of Fighting Men they could to War.
Mialaque or the Great Island 64 under the Governor of Attakullakulla.
Tuskegee 55 Attakullakulla Governor
Tomotley 91 Oconaro Commander in Chief
Toqua 62 Willinawaw Governor
Tennessee 41 under the Government of Kanagatucko.
Chote 175 Kanagatucko King & Governor
Chellowey 110 Yachano Governor
Settaroe 100 Cherokah Governor
Tellafoye 47 Governor dead & none elected since
Scale of Miles

Map 9. *A Draught of the Cherokee Country* by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, 1762, showing the location of Chota – "the Metropolis" – and the warrior strength of the Overhill towns. From *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London: Author,

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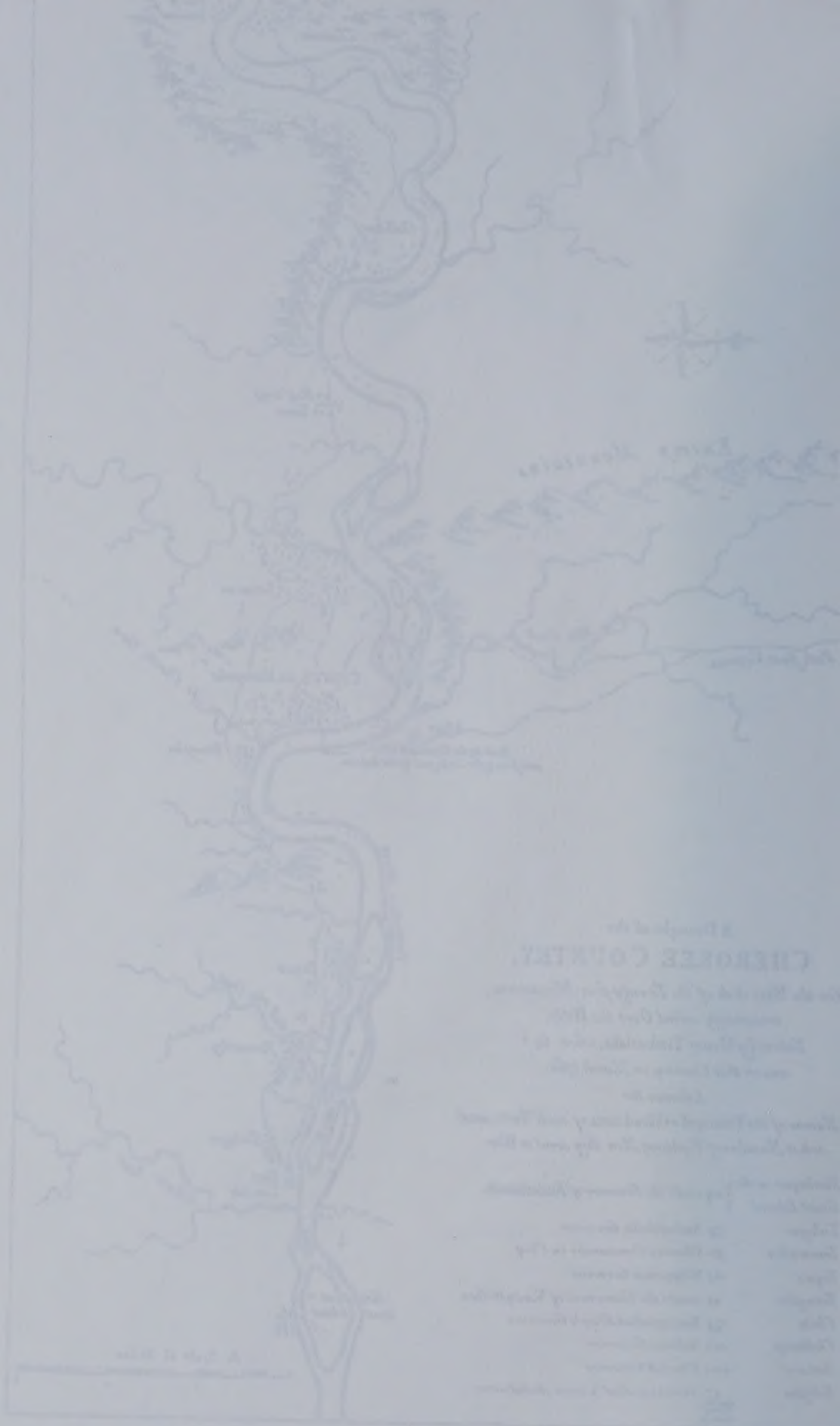

The claims of Edward Payne, an ensign, and Richard Duly, a trooper, were not allowed because they deserted. The claims of Lewis Ellzey and Sampson Turley for victualing and lodging themselves were not allowed.

The following claims from Culpeper County ought to be allowed. William Russel, Lt. Col., 16 days service; William Nalle, Jr., 92 days service, assigned to Roger Dixon. For 95 days service: William Brown, Capt.; John Field, Lt.; George Wetherall, Sgt.; William Nalle, the elder; Charles Yancy, Ens.; John Strother, Capt., Francis Strother, Lt.; William Robards, Ens.; Stephen Rogers, Sgt.; John Cambill, Sgt.; Henry Cambill, Sgt.; Sallis Hansford, Sgt. Foot soldiers for 95 days service: Francis Cooper; William M'Daniel; John Thomas; Miles Murfee; John Hayes; John Graham, assigned to John Strother; John Shereld , assigned to John Strother; William Wall, assigned to William Green; Jacob Browning; William Boworn; John Laton; Richard Burt; Richard Parks; Nicholas Yager; Cornelius Mitchell; John Browning; William Tapp; Samuel Moore; John Withorit; John Strother; James Gillison, to his assignee; Benjamin Morgan; John Stropshire; David Bridges; John Younger, assigned to Roger Dixon; John Browmer; George Goggan; Murdock M'Kensie, assigned to Martin Nall; Jacob Wall, assigned to William Eastham. Foot soldiers for 92 days service: Daniel Delaney, assigned to Roger Dixon; Alexander Baxter, assigned to Roger Dixon; John Cave; James Nash; William Twiman; Joel Yarbrough. Foot soldiers for 7 days service: Adam Waland; Adam Barter; John Greson; John Relsback; Andrew Carpenter; Lewis Fisher; John Gloor; Matthias Weaver; Christopher Barter; Timothy Swindel; John Clunketpeter; Matthias Rouce; Michael Yager. Foot soldier for 12 days service: John Dixon, servant to William Russell. Foot soldier for 83 days service: Francis Grant. Foot soldiers for 10 days service: John Crim; Jacob Haroback; Harman Young. Foot soldier for 8 days service: Henry Gains. Foot soldier for 13 days service: Henry Stringfellow.

The following claims from Prince William County ought to be allowed. John Frogg, Maj., 23 days service; William Baylis, Capt., 80 days service; Richard Taylor, Lt. of Horse, 93 days service; William Splane, Lt. of Horse, 93 days service; William Farrow, Cor., 93 days service; Samuel Porter, Corp., 93 days service; Jacob Spilman, Corp., 93 days service; William Whalley, Corp., 93 days service; Lewis Renno, Corp., 93 days service; William Buchanan, Corp., 66 days service; Thomas Hoard, Corp., 66 days service; George Kenner, Corp., 66 days service; Henry Floyd, Sgt., 66 days service; Foushee Tebbs, 13 days service; John Baylis, Capt., 26 days service; James Seaton, Lt. of Foot, 26 days; Richard Hampton, Lt. of Foot, 22 days service. Troopers for 93 days service: Joseph Nevill; Richard Matthews; Benjamin Wilson; Stephen Morris; Thomas Marshall; Richard Marshall; John Lutrell; Thomas Doyle; Joshua Walch; Nathaniel Freeman; Stanley Singleton; Samuel Balson; John Murray; William Fielder; Andrew Cannaird. Troopers for 66 days service each: John M'Millon; Henry Kemper; John Fishback; Clement Norman; Joseph Martin; Richard Byrns; Peter Pierce; Michael Lynn; John Cornwell; John Dowell; William Key; Robert Nevill; Thomas Gardiner; Charles Smith; Isaac Gibson; Benjamin Edwards; John Coreham; Griffin Matthews; John Bland, Jr.; William Peak; and William Berry. Gilbert Crupper, trooper, 9 days service; William Barr, trooper, 8 days service; Nathaniel Overall, trooper, 13 days service; Samuel Grigsby, trooper, 9 days service. Foot soldiers for 93 days service: Nicholas Hill; John Bolling; Edward Oneal; Joseph Neal; John Carter; Thomas Shirley; Lewis Oden; John Green; Martin Suttle; David Parsons; George Rose; John Low; James Crockett; William Suttle; and William Bowling. Foot soldiers for 66 days service: Isaac Settle; William Jennings; Valentine Barton; William Crouch; Moses Coppage; and John Rice. George Calvert, Jr., for an express.

Petition of Richard Paris who was ordered by the governor last Sept. to go to the Cherokee Nation to bring a number of them to the assistance of

the colony. Due to the interference of some North Carolina traders who persuaded the Indians that he wanted the Indians to hunt deer skins for him, Paris had to forgive a debt of 2586# before 82 of the warriors marched with him to join Maj. Lewis on the expedition against the Shawnees. His petition was ordered to lie on the table. 21 April 1756.

From information supplied by Maj. Lewis, Samuel Overton is to be paid 8.1.3 for guns and 13.0.0 for a horse, saddle and bridle. He carried two guns one of which valued at 5 pistoles was lost by a canoe's overturning in crossing a river, and the other valued at 2½ pistoles, was at the direction of Maj. Lewis, given to Indian warrior. Overton had left his horse, saddle, and bridle with a sick man who hath not been heard of since and the horse was then tired. 22 April 1756.

James Gunn to be paid 5.7.6 for a gun and 8.0.0 for a horse which he had lost in the same manner. 22 April 1756.

John Allen was allowed 40 shillings for a lost pair of pistols but nothing for his lost horse. He had accompanied Capt. Paris to the Cherokee Nation at the Governor's direction. He bought a horse and left it at Fort Frederick where he went on the expedition against the Shawnees. He could not find the horse on his return. At the time the canoe overset, he was with Capt. Overton and lost a pair of pistols. 22 April 1756.

Mary Burney allowed 10.0.0 for services her late husband, Thomas Burney, rendered. 24 April 1756.

Petition of Obediah Woodson that at a council of war held by Maj. Andrew Lewis, he and some other officers were declared deserters and that the ill success of the expedition against the Shawnees was due to his refractory and mutinous behavior. He prayed that his conduct and behavior be enquired into, but the petition was rejected. 26 April 1756.

Petition of Thomas Moreton who lost a horse, bridle, and saddle in the late expedition against the Shawnees. 27 April 1756.

Petition of Henry Bayley, a soldier in the late engagement with the French on the Monongalia where he was wounded. 28 April 1756.

Robert Stobo to be paid 300.0.0 for his services to the country and his sufferings in confinement as hostage in Quebec. 30 April 1756.

Petition of Joshua Williams late a soldier in the Virginia Regiment who lost a leg in the service and is incapable of getting a living and is desirous of returning to South Carolina from whence he came. 18 March 1757.

Petition of William Darlin who was sent out last year with a detachment of militia to protect the frontiers; in a skirmish with a party of Indians he received a shot which broke his arm in two places so that he is incapable of getting a living for himself, his wife, and three small children. 21 April 1757.

William Darling to be paid 10.0.0 since his petition is true. 23 April 1757.

Petition of Mary Longdon whose husband was a sergeant in Capt. Polson's company and was killed at the Battle of Monongalia leaving herself and three young children. 28 April 1757.

Petition of Francis Triplett, a volunteer in the Prince William militia sent out last June in a skirmish with the enemy. He was wounded in the right arm, and care for same was at considerable expense. 28 April 1757.

Francis Triplet allowed 55.0.0. 29 April 1757.

Petition of Daniel Smith whose late brother John Smith was a lieutenant in a company of Rangers until his death at Vaulx's Fort in Augusta County. Daniel Smith as administrator of his said brother who never received any pay in his lifetime and said Daniel has received but 10.0.0 since his death. 3 May 1757.

Thomas Longdon, late husband of Mary Longdon, was a sergeant in Capt. Pyronnee's Company, and she is allowed 10.0.0. 3 May 1757.

Virginia's Claims Soldiers

Rich Pearis

Petition of Joseph Donaldson, late Surgeon's Mate in the Virginia Regiment, for half pay for one year. 30 Nov. 1762.

Petition of Barton Lucas, ensign in the Virginia Regiment, for divers losses in recruiting service. Rejected. 30 Nov. 1762.

Petition of William Bornaugh, late a captain in the Virginia Regiment, for one year's advance pay or such other allowance as may be fit. 1 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Larkin Chew, late a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment. After the decease of his brother Colesby Chew who for some time had been in the service and was killed at Fort DuQuesne, he paid his debts of 22.0.0. In May 1759 he was wounded in the right elbow which shattered the bones thereof, and it was a long time before the cure was effected. He expended about 20.0.0 for nurses and attendants. When he was wounded, the enemy took from him two horses, baggage, and clothes valued at 50.0.0 and 15.0.0 in cash and all his papers among which were accounts of value and receipts for money he had paid for his brother. 1 Dec. 1762.

Larkin Chew allowed 100.0.0 for losses and wounds and 40.0.0 per year for life for the loss of his right arm. 2 Dec. 1762.

Petition of George Mercer for allowance for attendance on the commissioners appointed by Sir Jeffery Amherst in New York to settle the colonies's accounts for the Cherokee Expedition in 1760. 3 Dec. 1762.

Memorial of William Byrd who in 1760 was called to command the forces against the Cherokees. He proceeded to Juniata under the command of Gen. Monckton and traveled 400 miles to the rendezvous to take command. In the spring he came to Virginia on order of General Amherst to command the second expedition against the Cherokees. He had difficulty in receiving money but finally was paid 10,000.0.0 sterling. The balance was forthcoming when Dr. Walker sent proper vouchers. Spent considerable time in Philadelphia and was twice at New York. At considerable expense and trouble in adjusting this affair. 3 Dec. 1762.

William Bronaugh allowed one year's pay as captain of the Virginia Regiment in 1757 for his services, loses sustained, and hardships suffered in the campaign at the reduction of Fort DuQuesne when he served as a volunteer at his own expense. 3 Dec. 1762.

Petition of James Thurston for difference between the money of Virginia and of Pennsylvania for so much short paid him by Col. Byrd for services as armorer in the campaign in 1761. Rejected. 4 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Thomas Drake for three servants enlisted in the late Virginia Regiment. Rejected. 4 Dec. 1762.

Claim of William M'Mahon for taking up a deserter. 6 Dec. 1762.

Petition of William Banks. In 1760 he had a commission from the Governor to enlist soldiers for the Virginia Regiment. He enlisted several and marched them to the rendezvous. One William Edlington, an able bodied man, was refused on account of his size. He had been paid 10.0.0 bounty money and Banks sustained expenses in marching him to the rendezvous. 6 Dec. 1762.

Petition of John Field and John Posey, formerly captains in the 2nd Virginia Regiment, for extra pay for non-commissioned officers and private men in their companies as artificers for clearing roads to Fort Duquesne. 6 Dec. 1762.

William Sweene, a wounded soldier, to be paid 5.0.0 per year. 6 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Joseph Donaldson rejected. 6 Dec. 1762.

Claim of the administrators of Christopher Gist, dec., who on 14 June 1758 gave the colony credit for 600.0.0 received from Sir John St. Clair for southern Indian service. The sum afterwards disallowed by Samuel M'Caul, Jr., Alexander Stedman, and John Ingles, the Commissioners for the crown, and deducted out of Gist's account against the crown. Therefore 600.0.0 to be allowed. 6 Dec. 1762.

Lloyd G. Bockstruck R929.3 B665 GOC

William Byrd allowed 500.0.0 for the trouble and expense in attending Sir Jeffery Amherst at New York and obtaining his warrant for examining and settling the expenses of this colony for the campaign of 1760. 8 Dec. 1762.

George Mercer allowed 500.0.0. 8 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Robert Rutherford and Mary Wood for timber taken for building Fort Loudoun in Winchester is reasonable. 8 Dec. 1762.

Nathaniel Stedman granted 35.0.0 being his arrears of pay due before being made a prisoner; ought to be settled by the paymaster of the Virginia Regiment. 9 Dec. 1762.

Richard Pearis granted 174.12.3 for provisions and necessaries furnished the Cherokees and for pay as Captain of Rangers from April 1756 to 1 Dec. 1756 and including the pay advanced to his company. Claim for 127.2.10 for balance of company's pay rejected. 65.10.0 charged from 1 Dec. 1756 to 10 May 1757 as conductor of the Cherokee Indians is chargeable on the revenues of His Majesty and out of the public treasury of the colony. 9 Dec. 1762.

81.18.0 charged for horses and packsaddles delivered to Col. David Stewart for expedition against the Shawnees referred to the next assembly. 9 Dec. 1762.

William Banks allowed 10.0.0 for bounty money to recruit and 30.0.0 for expenses in recruiting an able bodied man refused on account of his size. 9 Dec. 1762.

Capt. John Field's company and Capt. John Posey's company were employed as artificers in 1758 by William Byrd. Their colonel promised 6 shillings per day extraordinary for that pay. Col. Byrd paid each of said men 20 shillings and directed the captains to apply to the colony for the rest of the pay. Therefore, the non-commissioned officers and privates to be paid 6 shillings per day deducting 20 shillings received by each man. 375.6.0 to Capt. Field and 302.16.0 to Capt. Posey. 9 Dec. 1762.

Dr. Hugh Mercer sought 176.6.6½ for medicines. His account began 24 April 1762 and ended 5 Oct. 1762. He sought 125.15.2 for a medicine chest. The Regiment was very sickly and many soldiers had smallpox. The committee found 84.16.8 was the highest charge for a medicine chest in any former campaign. The committee authorized 117.10.4 for medicine delivered in doses but rejected 58.15.2½ and the 125.15.2 for the medicine chest. 9 Dec. 1762.

Hugh Mercer granted 125.15.2 for the medicine chest. 10 Dec. 1762.

George Frazier claimed 12 pence per ration for troops victualled by him to the 17th of June last, the time John Hawkins issued provisions to said troops under his appointment as Commissary. 15 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Thomas Irwin who in 1759 was appointed by Col. Byrd with the approbation of Gen. Amherst a Major of the Brigade. He continued in said capacity in 1760 and 1761 and also acted as secretary to Col. Byrd. Col. Byrd paid him 100.0.0 sterling and offered to pay him for the rest but he refused it. He was at considerable expense in providing the equipage and in forming the raw undisciplined troops. Rejected. 15 Dec. 1762.

Memorial of officers in the Old Virginia Regiment in favor of James Duncanson. In 1755 he entered as a volunteer in the Old Virginia Regiment; his good behavior procured him a pair of colors. He was promoted to lieutenant. In 1758 he was disabled by a musket ball passing through his throat which he received as the head of a small detachment ordered that from Fort Ligonier when that post was attacked by a formidable body of the enemy. He lost his voice for a time and was incapable of serving as a soldier any longer. He served four years. 16 Dec. 1762.

James Duncanson to receive 40.0.0 a year for life. 17 Dec. 1762.

Michael M'Carty, James Atherton, Thomas Jones, Sr., Thomas Jones, Jr., John Connelly, John Davis, Stephen Foster, Bryan, William Shae, John Peal, Thomas Buckmaster, and John Archer were employed as guardmen over

Paris, — claim of John Allen of "Mor[e] Paris, gun last in Expd. to Charlestown p 160

James p 241 (Parish?)

✓ Richd 162-3

6 Robert 347 10 selectmen fined 10 s. each per day refusing transit for general muster (in his stamp).

Paris, Richd 179, 183, 185, 256

Robert 16, 188, 211
346, 350, 351, 352

Fort Chiswell in 1761. He neglected to insert their names in the pay roll. 18 Jan. 1764.

Petition of James Wilson for compensation for the loss of the use of his right arm occasioned by a musket shot in an engagement with a large body of Indians in September 1763. 18 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Robert Clandening who was drafted out of the militia of Augusta County under the command of Capt. Moffat to repel the hostile Indians. In a battle between a detachment of said Moffat and of Capt. Phillips of Louisa, he was dangerously wounded in the right arm by a musket ball and deprived of the use thereof. 18 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Abraham Kuykendull for 5.10.0 paid to surgeons for healing dangerous wound in his body received in an attack with the Indians on the frontier. 19 Jan. 1764.

Petition of John Dickenson who was captain of a company of volunteers of Augusta County last October in pursuit of Indians. He was wounded in his left arm and it was rendered useless. Also for a quantity of provisions laid in at Fort Dunlop intended for part of Col. Byrd's Regiment which never arrived and the provisions spoiled. 19 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Hugh Cunninghame. On 17 July 1764 the savages murdered his father and mother, his wife, and his son. They captured his daughter and shot him in the breast, the bullet lodging in his shoulder. The wound is still open. They took his livestock, destroyed his stock, and burned his house and barn. Rejected. 19 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Robert Andrews for wounds received in an engagement with enemy Indians. 20 Jan. 1764.

James Wilson and Robert Clandening allowed 40.0.0 each to enable them to discharge the demands of the doctor and other expenses incurred by their wounds. 10.0.0 each per annum for life due to the lost of their right arms. 20 Jan. 1764.

John Dickenson allowed 64.18.0 for the loss of the use of his hand, the beef laid in at Fort Dunlop, for salting and smoking said beef, and for interest. 20 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Abraham Kuykendall rejected since he was not employed in the service of the country. 20 Jan. 1764.

Robert Andrews allowed 20.0.0 to discharge the demand of the doctor and other expenses and 10.0.0 per annum for life for the loss of the use of his right arm. 20 Jan. 1764.

Joseph Terry and Joseph Winston allowed 25.0.0 each to enable them to discharge their doctors and recompense them for the loss of time after they were disbanded while they continued lame of the wounds. 20 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Jacob Boins, a soldier in Capt. Ingle's Company at Chiswell's mines last January. He was left in the mountains and was frost bitten and lost the use of his feet. 31 Oct. 1764.

Petition of John Carlyle rejected. 1 Nov. 1764.

Petition of George Darr, wounded and disabled soldier. 2 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Thomas Booth who in 1760 was ordered to enlist men for the Cherokee Expedition. He enlisted 15, 3 of whom were refused as too small although able bodied. He advanced to six of them the bounty of 10.0.0; also expenses for recruiting and subsistence. 3 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Robert Brackenridge who commanded a company of militia of Augusta County. He was stationed at Fort George part of December to 22 February 1759. Later he returned a payroll for said company for each month to be settled at Williamsburg. He received pay from Mr. Christian for December and February but none for January since the roll was mislaid. One of the privates had sued him, and he expects same from all of them. 3 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Thomas Drake for three servants enlisted in the Virginia Regiment in 1759. He has received no satisfaction other than the 5.0.0 given him by one of the servants. 3 Nov. 1764.

Jacob Boins allowed 25.0.0 for hardships and 5.0.0 per annum for life. 5 Nov. 1764.

George Darr allowed 5.0.0 per annum for life. 5 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Thomas Drake rejected. 6 Nov. 1764.

Robert Brackenridge allowed 46.2.10 for pay for himself and his company according to a muster roll mislaid. 6 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Alexander Waugh who in 1759 recruited on instructions 66 men all of whom were received. He was allowed by commissioners in Williamsburg 15 shillings a man for recruiting and 8 pence per day for subsistence but officers of the regiment who settled their accounts with the pay master were allowed 30 shillings a day for each recruit and 1 shilling a day for subsistence. After enlisting, one recruit was arrested by the sheriff for debt but he refused to let the sheriff carry him away. He has since been sued for the debt and obliged to pay it plus cost. Rejected. 6 Nov. 1764.

Petition of John Armstrong and Lanty Armstrong, late sergeants in the company of Capt. Richard Pearis in the Cherokee country, seeking pay from 2 April 1756 to 25 June 1757. 7 Nov. 1764.

Representation of George Pitt, Keeper of the Magazine of the City of Williamsburg. There is a large quantity of muskets unfit for use but which might be reparied without great expense. There are also sundry other things which might be sold. The barrels containing the public powder are in very bad order to the great danger of the magazine. The magazine wants repairing. 7 Nov. 1764.

Petition of John McNeilly, an armorer in the late Virginia Regiment. He was employed three months by Col. Stephen in repairing arms but never received the 15.9.9 due him. 7 Nov. 1764.

Petition of the vestry of Antrim Parish, Halifax County, for reimbursement for the maintenance of John Ray, a soldier in Capt. Blagg's Company. He was taken sick on his march and left a charge. Rejected. 7 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Dougal Campbell, John Greagh, and Richard Bolton, late soldiers in the Virginia Regiment. Due to the severity of service upwards of seven years they are incapable of acquiring maintenance for themselves and their families. 7 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Capt. John Smith for 75.0.0 he paid his lieutenant, Thomas Langdon, for pay from 30 Sept. 1755 to 25 June 1756. 8 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Richard Pearis for account when he was ordered out with Maj. Andrew Lewis to the Cherokee Nation. The article for 81.18.0 for horses and pack saddles delivered to Col. David Stewart for the Shawnee Expedition referred to the next session. 8 Nov. 1764.

Petition of James Hughes, planter of Augusta County, for 10.9.8 the amount of a judgment plus costs obtained against him in Augusta County in 1759 by one Anderson of said county in consequence of his having impressed two of his horses for use by the Frontier Battalion notwithstanding they were valued and delivered according to law and he had a warrant from one of His Majesty's justices of the peace of said county for doing so. 8 Nov. 1764.

Petition of James Walker who was a lieutenant in the Frontier Battalion in 1759 and recruited 60 men for said battalion. He was allowed 15 shillings for recruiting and 8 pence a day for subsistence. He had been informed that officers since have been allowed 30 shillings a man and 1 shilling a day for recruiting expenses and subsistence. 8 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Henry Darnell for three recruits taken sick en route to rendezvous and refused by the commander as unfit. 8 Nov. 1764.

Petition of Edward Hubbard and James Gunn, captains of two companies of artificers employed at Pittsburg. 453.3.2 to James Gunn and he is

the magazine of Williamsburg. Now being discountinued, they are obliged to enlist in the militia and find proper arms. They are poor and not able to spare money to purchase arms for mustering. Pray to be permitted to keep the arms they used in guarding the magazine. Rejected 23 Dec. 1762.

Petition of Thomas Gist who in 1756 entered the service as an officer and continued until disbanded in 1762. He was wounded in the right hand in Col. Grant's engagement and lost the use thereof. He lost all his baggage to a considerable value to the Indians. 21 May 1763.

Petition of John Ramsey who was a soldier in the Virginia Regiment under Col. George Washington in 1754 when he was taken prisoner at the Great Meadows. He was in captivity five and a half years. He returned to Virginia in 1761 and enlisted in the last Virginia Regiment under Col. Stephen. He had no pay for the five and a half years confinement. 24 May 1763.

Petition of Edward Child who was a soldier in the Virginia Regiment under Col. Mercer. In 1758 in Maj. Grant's defeat before Fort DuQuense he lost his thumb by a ball and was taken prisoner. He was in captivity 21 months and 5 days. 24 May 1763.

Petition of William Shaw who was a sergeant in the 1st Virginia Regiment in November 1756 when he was ordered on an excursion with some Catawbas to the Ohio. They engaged the enemy in a superior number and had to flee. They wandered some time and were taken prisoner. The enemy cutt off his toes to prevent his escape. He spent 33 months as a captive. 24 May 1763.

Petition of Thomas Branan, sergeant in the Virginia Regiment. On 14 Nov. 1758 he was wounded in the neck by a musket ball in action near Fort Ligonier with the Indians. He was serving under Col. Mercer. The wound greatly impaired his eyesight. He is incapable of a livelihood as before. He lost several horses in the service and several items of value including a silver watch, papers, and receipts for the above horses. 24 May 1763.

Petition of Henry Emmerson aged 66 years, an invalid, who was in the service of the colony 9 years. 24 May 1763.

Memorial of Charles Smith, lieutenant in the late Virginia Regiment. He entered the service in 1754 in the first troops raised by Col. Joshua Fry and continued until the reduction of the regiment. He rose from private to ensigncy and at disbanding was a first lieutenant. He lost his hand and a great part of his left arm by the bursting of a musket on his duty. 24 May 1763.

Claim for Joshua Powell for himself and his company for 33 days pay for 44.0.0 for services on the frontiers of Halifax County. He received his appointment from Abraham Maury in 1759. 25 May 1763.

Petition of James Walker who was a lieutenant in the Frontier Battalion in 1759 and recruited 60 men for the said Battalion. He was only allowed 15 shillings a man and 8 pence a day for subsistance. He has since been informed that officers have been allowed 30 shillings a man and 1 shilling a day for recruiting and subsistance. 26 May 1763.

Petition of Henry Darnell for three recruits who took sick enroute to the place of rendezvous and were refused by the commander. 26 May 1763.

Charles Smith granted 40.0.0 per year for life. 27 May 1763.

Lt. Thomas Gist allowed 40.0.0 per year for life. 27 May 1763.

Sgt. William Shaw whose wounds caused by his toes being cut off are not yet healed, who has eight months of pay in arrears, who was a prisoner 33 months, and who in February 1759 was allowed 60.0.0 which was 22.0.0 short. Therefore, he is to be paid 22.0.0 and 10.0.0 per year for life. 27 May 1763.

Henry Emmerson, who enlisted in 1754, is to receive 5.0.0 per year for life. 27 May 1763.

Edward Childs, who in October 1760 was allowed only his pay during the time of his captivity, is to receive 5.0.0 per year for life. 27 May 1763.

Petition of John Ramsey who was a soldier in the service at the battle of Great Meadows in 1754 where he behaved in a cowardly, dastardly manner. With great difficulty he was kept in the ranks. Eventually he quit but was brought back. Then he was missing. The troops were overpowered by numbers and retreated. It does not appear he was taken prisoner or voluntarily surrendered himslef or fled to the enemy. He was in the regiment at its disbanding. He was absent from the colony 5½ years from the engagement at the Meadows. His pay would amount to 66.0.0. Rejected. 27 May 1763.

Thomas Branan who had two horses impressed which never returned. He hired another horse for 8 days. He sought pay as a sergeant for six months. He was wounded in the neck. The committee allowed him 10.0.0 but rejected the residue for lack for proof. The House overruled the committee. 27 May 1763.

Lt. Thomas Gist to receive 35.0.0 a year for life. 27 May 1763.

Petition of Edward Hubbart and James Gunn, captains of two companies of artificers employed on works at Pittsburg, for additional pay. 27 May 1763.

Edward Hubbart and James Gunn were captains of companies of artificers in 1759 and employed by Gen. Stanwix from 1 June until 10 December and disbanded at Winchester. Claim of Edward Hubbard referred to next session. James Gunn to receive 508.48.0 including 55.1.6 for pay for himself and officers and 453.3.2 for his company's pay and he is obliged to account for disbursements of same and produce discharges of several claimants to the next session. 30 May 1763.

Captains John Field and John Posey to lay an account of the money they received last session for their companies of artificers with proper vouchers before the next session. 30 May 1763.

Petition of Hancock Eustace, late a captain in the Virginia forces. When Fort DuQuesne was reduced in 1758, he lost his tent, baggage, and all his military stores. 14 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Henry Timberlake for expenses in conducting a party of upwards of 70 Indians from the Cherokee Country to Williamsburg. 14 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Joseph Terry, Joseph Winston, and Peter Goodwin for compensation for wounds received in engagements with the Indians on late incursions on the frontier and for loss of baggage taken by the enemy. 17 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Hancock Eustace rejected for want of proof. 17 Jan. 1764.

Petiton of Capt. Bullett for reimbursement for 30.18.0 advanced to Richard Smith as interpreter to a party of Indians under care of said Bullet at Fort Chiswell. 17 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Robert Stobo, major in the Virginia Regiment in 1760. He obtained a leave of absence for one year because his affairs in England required his presence. On his return he applied for his pay. He thought he should make application to the House. 17 Jan. 1764.

Lt. Alexander Waugh to be paid 36.17.76 which amount Edward Hubbard hath ordered; said amount to be paid to Hubbard's company and Waugh is obliged to account for disbursement of same. 17 Jan. 1764.

Thomas Bullet allowed 30.18.0 which amount is to be deducted out of the sum of 71.0.0 due to Smith, the Indian interpreter, the said Bullet having an order for that purpose from the brother and executor of said Smith. 18 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Henry Timberlake rejected. 18 Jan. 1764.

Petition of Robert Brackenridge for reimbursement of a sum of money advanced to three men of his company of militia when stationed on duty at

BACK of the CANE

Early Virginia Surveys in
Today's Garrard County, Kentucky

1775-1789

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By
Fred Logan Simpson

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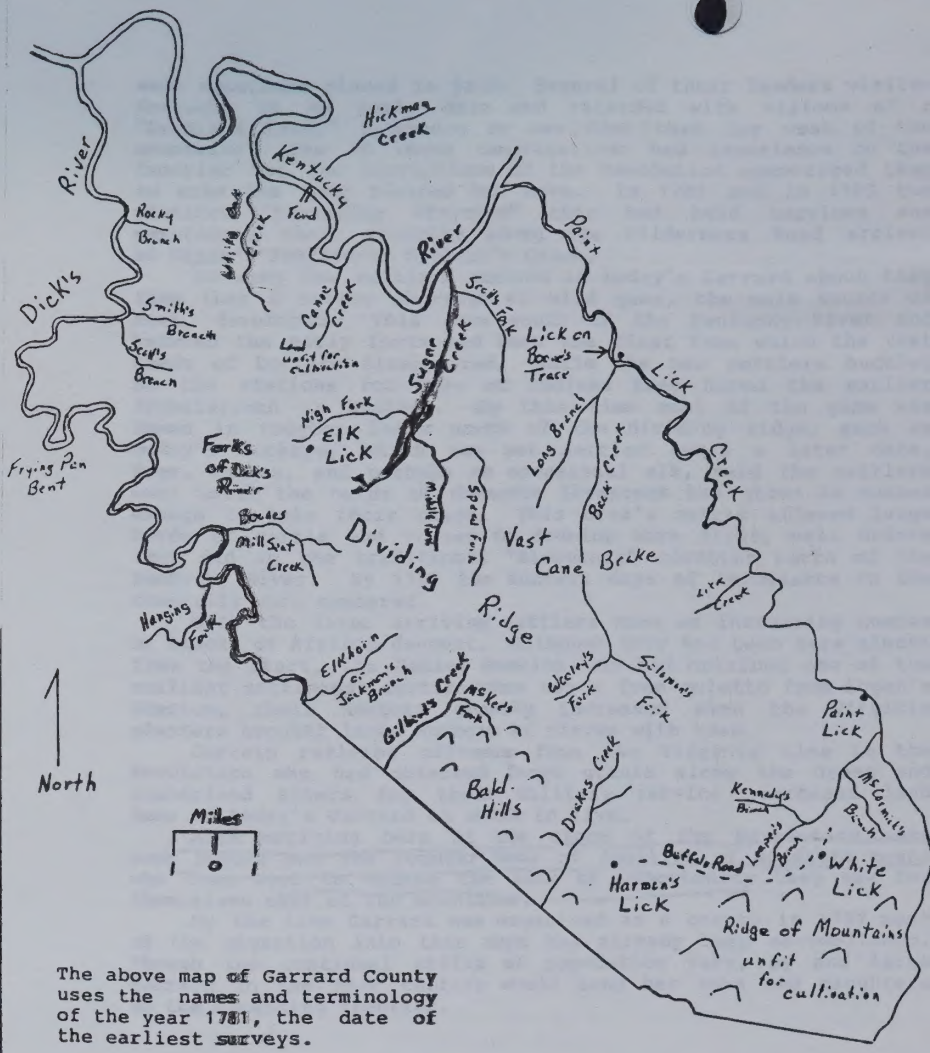


The above map of Garrard County uses the names and terminology of the year 1781, the date of the earliest surveys.

By the time Garrard County was established in 1797 it seems almost every hollow or intermittent stream had been given a name. The development of a system of named highways and county roads has caused some of these to be no longer needed and forgotten. It is surprising how many names have remained in use for over 210 years.

good land abounded in cane that could support the settler's livestock through the winter while they became established. It also had the reputation of being the safest part of Kentucky from Indian attack. Not only was it adjacent to the three early forts but the cliffs along Kentucky and Dick's River formed a natural barrier to invasion. Most of the danger was coming from the Indians living north of the Ohio River. They would leave their canoes on the south shore of the Ohio River and were reluctant to cross another major river like the Kentucky for fear of being hemmed in.

That fall Virginia sent a commission that was to hold a series of land courts during the winter of 1779-80. This group of commissioners, during the worst weather ever experienced in Kentucky till that time, heard claims of the early settlers and awarded certificates of settlement and preemption to those settlers whose claims they deemed legitimate. Remaining lands could then be surveyed on military warrants issued for service in the French and Indian War or on treasury warrants purchased from the Virginia government. The Transylvania Company surveys were rejected although many of these settlers used their claims to obtain certificates of settlement and preemption from the land court. The absentee speculator in the Transylvania Company fared less well.

This simplification of the process of obtaining land soon resulted in a "land fever" that brought an influx of new people into today's Garrard. Up until this time the Kentucky settlements had seemed an extension of the Scotch-Irish world that had existed along the Holston, Clinch, and other rivers in the Allegheny Mountains. The early settlers hastened the end of their own dominance in the area by selling their settlement claims to the newly arriving settlers and using their military experience obtained in the militia to construct stations which provided a measure of safety that encouraged more new settlers.

Most of the stations in today's Garrard were established in the fall of 1779 and in 1780 following the passage of the land laws. They were dotted along the crescent shaped dividing ridge that lay between the waters of Dick's River and the northward flowing tributaries of the Kentucky River such as Sugar Creek and Paint Lick Creek. Most were situated near one of the early traces which crossed the area.

Wealthy individuals from eastern Virginia now began to view the Kentucky lands as a good investment. Many large tracts away from the early settlements were surveyed for these absentee speculators. Certain business-minded Virginians hired the early frontiersmen to locate sites which showed a strategic location, water power potential, or signs of mineral ore. In our area however a surprising number of the original families held possession of their initial settlement claims.

Of particular importance among the new settlers in what is today Garrard were the Baptists of the Virginia Peidmont. They had long chafed under the yoke of religious oppression in Virginia and had been taxed to support a state church and clergy in whom they had no confidence while their own leaders

were sometimes placed in jail. Several of their leaders visited Kentucky at an early date and returned with visions of a "Promised Land," a garden or new Eden that lay west of the mountains. Few in these congregations had experience on the frontier but the disruptions of the Revolution encouraged them to make the long planned for move. In 1781 and in 1783 two distinct "Traveling Churches" that had held services and maintained their identity along the Wilderness Road arrived at Craig's Station on Gilbert's Creek.

So many new settlers arrived in today's Garrard about that time that a severe shortage of wild game, the main source of meat, developed. This area south of the Kentucky River and between the early forts had been the first from which the vast herds of buffalo disappeared. While the new settlers huddled in the stations for fear of Indians they hired the earlier frontiersmen as hunters. By this time most of the game was found in rougher lands north of the dividing ridge, such as today's Buckeye, which was not settled until a later date. Deer, turkey, and perhaps an occasional elk, held the settlers over until the herds of domestic livestock had grown in number enough to take their place. This area's safety allowed large herds of cattle and horses to develop here first, well before they did in the traditional "Bluegrass" counties north of the Kentucky River. By 1785 the hunters days of importance in the community were numbered.

With the later arriving settlers came an increasing number of blacks of African descent. Although they had been here almost from the start, the Daniel Hawkins who had obtained one of the earliest settlement certificates was a free mulatto from Logan's Station, their numbers greatly increased when the Virginia planters brought large numbers of slaves with them.

Certain retiring officers from the Virginia Line in the Revolution who had obtained large grants along the Green and Cumberland Rivers for their military service purchased land here in today's Garrard on which to live.

Also arriving here at the close of the Revolution were poor people and the younger sons of families of moderate means who came west to escape the lack of opportunity they saw for themselves east of the mountains.

By the time Garrard was organized as a county in 1797 most of the migration into this area had already been accomplished. Though the continual shifts of population vary, by and large Garrard in the next century would send her sons and daughters to the expanding frontier.

Dougherty's Station was built.

Henry Dougherty also obtained two surveys on the Middle Fork of Sugar Creek which lie between today's Kemper's Lane and Jim Clark Road. One of these he sold to Samuel Shelton of Downing's Station. He had obtained this survey with a Treasury Warrant of George Teeter's who was also an early settler there. The other survey contained the "Hickory Ridge" on the farm owned today by Jess and Virgil Pollard.

The early trace between Dougherty's Station and Downing's Station served to maintain close ties between the settlers of the two areas. Downing's Trace going east along the West Fork of Sugar Creek would have given Henry Dougherty access to his Sugar Creek land.

John Dougherty was a Captain of a unit of the Lincoln County Militia that took part in the 1782 expedition against the Shawnees in retaliation for the terrible loss at Blue Licks. His unit served alongside that of Captain James Downing from Downing's Station.

The Doughertys like many of the early Scotch-Irish settlers could not resist the impulse to move farther west. Henry Dougherty appears to leave first as his name is not on the 1787 Lincoln County tax list. He had died by the year 1821, probably in Jefferson County, Kentucky.

John Dougherty remained longer but in 1789 obtained 4000 acres in what is now Trimble County, Kentucky, then Jefferson County. By 1793 he had moved to this property. In late 1810 or early 1811 he moved to what is now Orange County, Indiana where he was made a justice of the peace on March 7, 1811. He would die there in his 85th. year on February 14, 1828.

#408 Henry Dougherty — 200 acres on Sugar Creek
assignee of George Teeter, assignee of George Thompson

Treasury Warrant No. 6035 — issued 8-21-1780

Land Entry 6-21-1781
Henry Dougherty enters 200 acres on a branch of Sugar Creek to adjoin Alex Collier on the southeast and to include a small spring and to extend south for quantity.

Surveyed 6-10-1782 — by Samuel Grant D.S.L.C.
James Thompson S.L.C.

Beginning on the southeast side of Alex Collier's survey of 400 acres at a beech and hickory, S 20° W 180 poles with sd. Collier's line to his southeast corner, S 70° E 180 poles crossing a branch of Sugar Creek to two sugar trees and a hoopwood, N 70° W 180 poles crossing Sugar Creek to the Beginning.

GEORGE TEATOR

1787 Madison County Virginia tax list, district of Michael McNeely
George Teeter 4 blacks 8 horses 18 head of cattle

George Teator was the son of Jeorg Dieter who had immigrated to the colony of Pennsylvania in the first half of the 18th century from southern Germany. His name was an Anglicized form of his father's name. By the mid 1700's the family had followed their Scotch-Irish neighbors to the intermountain valleys of old Augusta County, Virginia in search of new land. There George Teator would marry Sarah Pearis of Frederick County, Virginia about the year 1760.

In the year 1779 George Teator would bring his family out to Kentucky over the Cumberland Gap route. He first settled on the lower Dick's River area not far from other families with whom he had connections back in Virginia.

An unidentified pioneer (Draper mss. 11CC 279-283) stated that George Teeter was one of only two settlers in the area that did not seek shelter at Downing's Station during a period of Indian hostility during the summer of 1782. Downing's Station was perhaps the strongest militarily of the early Garrard Stations and drew settlers from a wide area during times of Indian danger so this does not pinpoint where Teator was living at that time. He was quite likely on the Sugar Creek land, the high ridge on the back of today's Steve Ray farm, shown in the following survey.

Litigation arose over this survey due to a caveat placed by Samuel Teator, George's oldest son, against William Miller. A ruling of 9-29-1785 called for the county surveyor, James Thompson, to survey off the property as either party would have it and report back to the court. The sheriff was also to be present in order to remove any force if it be offered. This was standard practice at the time and does not indicate any real trouble between the parties. In fact on June 10, 1786 the case was discontinued as an agreement had been worked out between the parties themselves.

It is about this time the family moved to what is today the Gunn's Chapel area of Garrard County. They are living there by the time of the 1787 tax list. Samuel Teator acquired property on Scott's Fork from a John Bryant survey. Their land back on Sugar Creek had adjoined the Bryants.

George Teator died in 1815 and is buried on the point of a hill overlooking the Kentucky River about a mile from the mouth of Paint Lick Creek.

The Teaters of Garrard County today descend from his fifth son, Paris Teater, who was said to have been born aboard an oxcart in 1780 as the family was traveling to their new home.

Paris Teater boarded at the home of Abigal Vancleave (see William Vancleave survey) at the mouth of Back Creek while attending school. He later bacame a trustee and noted preacher at the Gunn's Chapel Methodist Church.

#1601 George Teator 200 acres on Sugar Creek
assignee of Quirk, who was an assignee of Baker, who was an assignee of George Thompson

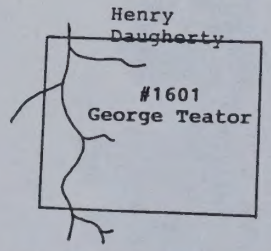
Treasury Warrant No. 6035 issued 8-28-1780

Land Entry 6-12-1781
George Teater enters 200 acres upon Treasury Warrant No. 6035 to adjoin Henry Dougherty's 300 acres on the SE side

Surveyed 1-10-1783 by William Henry D.S.L.C.
James Thompson S.L.C.

Beginning at Daughertie's Northeast corner in Downing's line at a sugar tree, thence S 160 poles to his corner in Miller's line at a buckeye, hoopwood and ash, W with Miller's line 200 poles to three sugar trees, N 160 poles to Daughertie's Southwest corner a beech, E with his line 200 poles to the Beginning.

Granted 12-2-1785 to George Teator by Patrick Henry, Gov. of Virginia



This survey lay between Coon Hunters Road and Sugar Creek Road and contained the high ridge that lies back of the farm now owned by Steve Ray.

VANCLEAVE

1787 Madison County Virginia tax list, district Michael McNeely
Abigal Vancleve 2 horses 17 head of cattle

Members of the Vancleave family were among the early pioneers in Kentucky and were associated with well known men such as James Harrod and Squire Boone. Benjamin Vancleave claimed a settlement and preemption on a branch of Salt River by raising a corn crop in 1776. He was an early resident at Harrodsburg. Aaron Vancleave claimed land on Bullskin, a branch of Breashiers Creek, by raising corn in 1776.

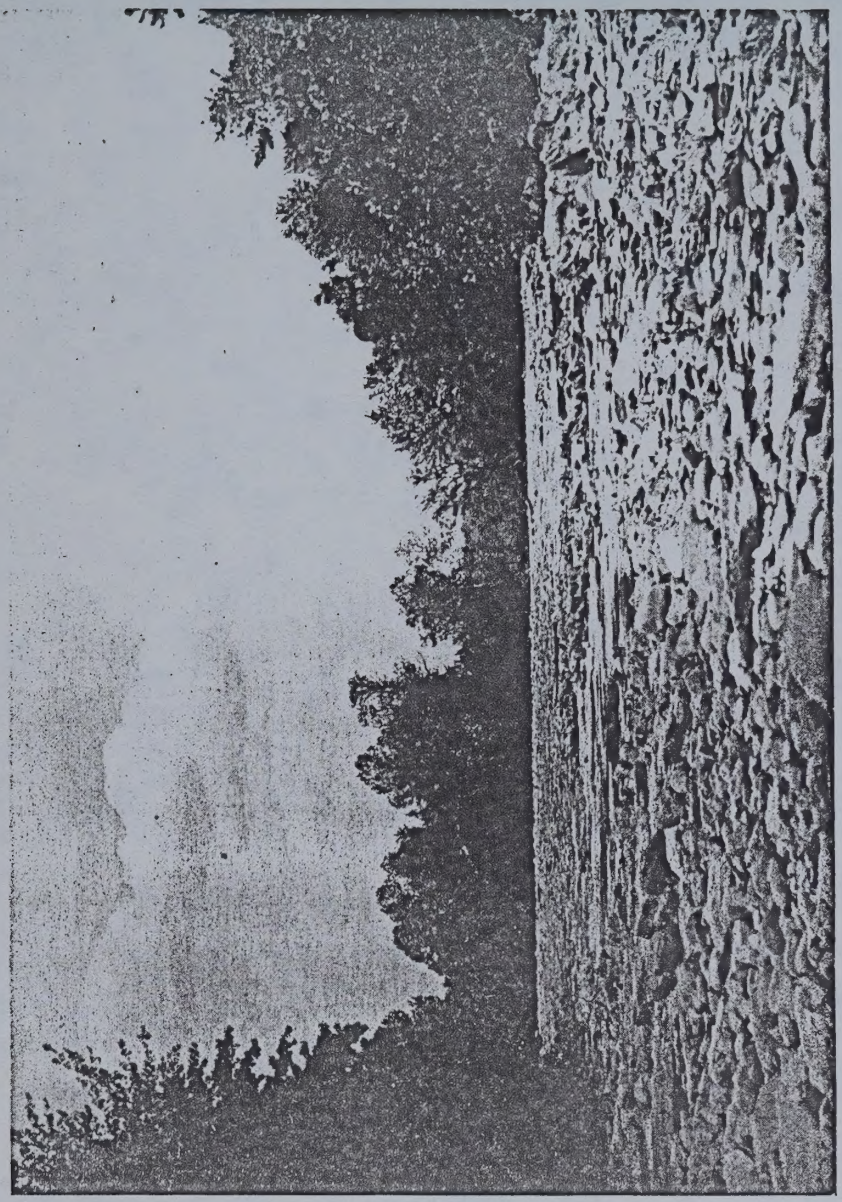
William Vancleave appeared at the land court being held at Bryant's Station on January 10, 1780 and obtained a 1000 acre preemption by proving to the court he had marked and improved a tract of land at the Forks of Paint Lick Creek in 1777. This land lay on the early trace from Boonesborough to St. Aspah's. It seems that Vancleave was living at the fort at Boonesborough in 1777 when he first visited the land at the mouth of Back Creek where he would later have his survey.

Vancleave appears to leave Boonesborough for Bryant's Station by at least 1779. In a letter from John Grant to Col. John Todd dated April 24, 1780 he is listed among the men capable of serving as effective defenders at Grant's Station. This station had been established in 1779 by John Grant, from North Carolina, and William Ellis, from Virginia, to house twenty or thirty families that had been crowded into Bryant's Station. It was located at the head of a branch of Houston Creek in today's Bourbon County.

In June of 1780 Grant's Station was attacked by a force of sixty Indians that had splintered off Byrd's large war party that had taken Martin's and Ruddle's Stations. Three of the settlers at Grant's Station were killed in the attack and the station was burned. The station was temporarily abandoned as a result of this attack.

It seems likely that William Vancleave and his family retreated to Harrodsburg where Ben Vancleave had land. His own land on Back Creek would have still been too dangerous to settle on at this time. The established stations south of the Kentucky River were the safest places to be in Kentucky at this time.

On October 24, 1784 William gave consent for his daughter, Elizabeth, to marry Samuel Harris. John Harris was bondsman. The Harris family had been associated with the Vancleaves at least since their stay at Bryant's Station. This was a Lincoln County marriage bond of which Harrodsburg was a part of at that time.



Sycamore Shoals, near Elizabethton, Tennessee, taken in September 1941 during a period of extreme drought.

Kentucky River rolled peacefully westward through a bower of elms and sycamores. On the south bank a level valley with plentiful springs provided ample room for a town. Boone and his men immediately set to work to build a stockade for Henderson and his colonizers when they came.

Colonel Henderson left the treaty grounds at Sycamore Shoals on March 20, 1775. He spent two or three days in the Watauga area making final arrangements. Two of his associates, John Luttrell and Nathaniel Hart, had gone on ahead but he expected to catch up with them soon. He put Captain William Cocke in charge of the supply wagons. On March 24 he joined his two partners at the home of Captain Anthony Bledsoe who lived in the neighborhood, and the next day he tarried at Samuel Calloway's, near Long Island, making last preparations for his journey.

Henderson was leaving for his new country without the official sanction of Virginia and North Carolina authorities. Word had already been sent to Governor Dunmore of Virginia about the colonization scheme. On March 10, 1775, Colonel William Preston reported: "A great Number of Hands are employed in cutting a Waggon Road through Mockeson & Cumberland Gaps to the Kentucky which they expect to compleat before planting time; & . . . at least 500 people are preparing to go out this Spring from Carolina besides great Numbers from Virga. to Settle there."

Lord Dunmore acted promptly and decisively. On March 21 he issued a proclamation against "the unwarrantable and illegal designs of the said Henderson and his abettors," whom he described as "disorderly persons," and sent a vigorous protest to Attakullaculla and the other Cherokee chiefs, claiming they had no right to make a private trade with the North Carolinian. Colonel George Washington, dealer in western lands, looking on with concern, wrote Preston: "There is something in that affair which I neither understand, nor like, and I wish I may not have cause to dislike it worse as the mystery unfolds." Governor Martin of North Carolina was more vehement. He called Hen-

62, 64, 69, 76, (?) 81

174, 146, 160 Robert

138-8, 144 149 156-4

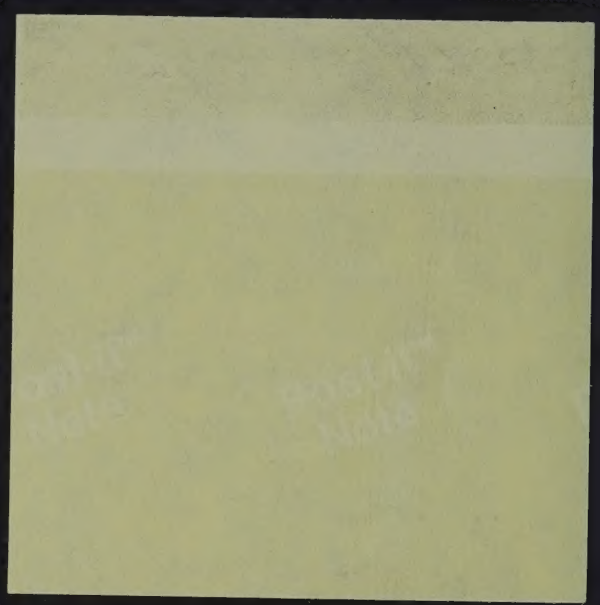
gotgone th3 (64) 150 194 230 Richard

Virginia Northern Neck Land Grants

Vol II 1742-1775

by Gertrude E Gray

F 232 N8 G73 vol2 (1937)



Rutherford. Land he purchased of _____ Executors, adj. Daniel Curry, Cedar Cr., William Bays. 5 Aug. 1752

H-189: Mr. Thomas Rutherford Jr. of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On Mill Cr. above Cherry's survey. 5 Aug. 1752

H-190: Christian Plank of Frederick Co. 100 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. On N. R. of Shannondoah. 6 Aug. 1752

H-191: Elizabeth Vance wid. of Frederick Co. 338 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. David Vance, George Wright, Robert Ashby, crossing Hite's Road. 7 Aug. 1752

H-192: William Miller of Augusta Co. 380 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. On R. Cacapehon, adj. Edward Hogan. 7 Aug. 1752

H-193: Samuel Isaac of Frederick Co. 415 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. Isaac Foster, Messrs Carters. 8 Aug. 1752

H-194: Christian Plank of Frederick Co. 68 A. in said Co. he purchased of Edward Homes, on N. R. of Shannondoah. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. 9 Aug. 1752

H-195: William Cochran vintner of Fredrick Co. 1200 A. he purchased of Capt. George Hobson in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Middle Cr., adj. Thomas Joseph, Samuel Brown, John Bales. 4 Nov 1752

H-196: Lawrence Stephens of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Jacob Crisman, Stephens old Patent by the Great Waggon Road, Mcdowell, Jacob Nieswanger, originally Patented by Hite. 6 Aug. 1752 Note: "This Deed should have been Entered in Fol'o 189."

H-197: Ruben Rutherford of Frederick Co. 287 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Thomas Smith, on Cattail Run, Henry Hunt. 7 Nov. 1752

H-198: Ruben Rutherford of Frederick Co. 444 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. About a mile from Vestals Ford of Shannondoah, adj. Rutherford's land, William Hall, John Sewal, William Teague. 8 Nov. 1752

H-199: Robert Pearis of Frederick Co. 229 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. Adj. Mr. Isaac Perkins, Stephen Elmore. 9 Nov. 1752

H-200: Robert Pearis of Frederick Co. 324 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. Adj. Isaac Perkins, Pearis's land, William Hogg, Col. Wood. 9 Nov. 1752

H-201: Mr. Christopher Beeler of Frederick Co. 67 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Near Beeler's House, Mr. John Hardin. 10 Nov. 1752

H-202: Mr. Gerard Alexander of Fairfax Co. 340 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. his Patent purchased of Mr. John Hardin, Christopher Beeler. 11 Nov. 1752

H-203: Robert Wharff of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. said Wharff, James Hogg. 11 Nov. 1752

H-204: Darby McKeaver Jr. of Frederick Co. 315 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. On Cacapehon Creek. 13 Nov. 1752

H-205: John Lemmon of Frederick Co. 356 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Edward Mercer, Francis Lilborn, Nicholas Mercer. 13 Nov. 1752

H-206: Meredith Helm, son of Meredith Helm, late of Frederick Co. 400 A. called Rich Ridge on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. 13 Nov. 1752

H-207: Peter Stephens the Elder of Frederick Co. 572 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. his Land, Jacob Nicewanger, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Thomas Ashby Jr., Original Patent of Jost Hite, Wid. Reed, Lewis Stephens, Peter

Stephens. 13 Nov. 1752

H-208: Christian Stackley(Steakley) of Augusta Co. 400 A. in said Co. on Stoney Creek. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. 14 Nov. 1752

H-209: George Seller of _____ Co. 300 A. in Augusta Co. whereon he lives. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Mary Little, on the rich Hill. 14 Nov. 1752

H-210: Rynard Bauden of Augusta Co. ___ A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Mary Little & Augustine Wandall. Remainder of page blank.

H-211: John Penny of Augusta Co. 240 A. in said Co. purchased of Jacob Powsley on Jumping Run. Surv. Mr. Geprge Byrne. Adj. Michael Hinlin. 15 Nov. 1752

H-212: Mr. John Pagan of Fairfax Co. Merch't 1069 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Mr. John Graham, Nickolas Limon, Nickolas Mercer, on Shannondoah, Potomack, & Opeckon, Warm Springs Road, his old survey, Tho's Hart, Samuel Dark, James Glen, John Wright, David Osburn, Peter Bradford. 21 Feb. 1753

H-213: William Dillon of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Back Cr., adj. William Joliffe. 15 Nov. 1752

H-214: William Dillon of Frederick Co. 398 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Dividing Ridge of Opeckon Cr. & Back Cr., adj. Dillon. 16 Nov. 1752

H-215: William Dillon of Frederick Co. 384 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. William Jolliffe, on Opeckon, Mr. William Frost, W. side of Back Cr. 16 Nov. 1752

H-216: William Frost of Frederick Co. ___ A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Where he lives on Back Cr., Remainder of page blank.

H-217: Christian Bowman of Augusta Co. 146 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. On N. R. of Shannondoah, adj. his other land. 17 Nov. 1752

H-218: James Hayworth of Frederick Co. 227 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Great Spring Br. of Back Cr., under N. Mt. 17 Nov. 1752

H-219: John Wood of Pr. William Co. 385 A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On W. side Pass Run, adj. another tract of Wood's. 17 Nov. 1752

H-220: Ezekiel Cleaver of____Co. 396 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On head of Hogg's Cr., adj. John Bowman, Harman Spilman. 18 Nov. 1752

H-221: James & Jacob Moon of Frederick Co. 675 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Middle Cr. where they live adj. Thomas Thornborough, part of a former Grant to George Hobson dec'd, Geo. Wm. Fairfax. 18 Nov. 1752

H-222: Thomas, Joseph & Samuel Brown of Frederick Co. 1056 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Middle Cr., adj. Thomas Thornbrough Sr. James & Jacob Moon. 18 Nov. 1752

H-223: Thomas Thornbrough the Elder of Frederick Co. 862 A. of Grant to George Hobson dec'd in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Middle Cr. where he lives, adj. Walter Thornbrough. 18 Nov. 1752

H-224: Walter Thornbrough of Frederick Co. 368 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On N. Run of Middle Cr. where he lives. 18 Nov. 1752

H-225: Mr. William Cochran of Frederick Co., town of Winchester, 369 A. in said Co. adj. Mr. Isaac Perkins & George Hogg on Drains of Opeckon. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. 18 Nov. 1752

H-226: Walter Shirley of Frederick Co. 472 A. where he lives in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Nat'l Thomas, Capt. Thomas Rutherford, William Teague.

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Baylis. On W. side of Opeckon Creek. 16 Mar. 1753

H-263: Griffeth Thomas of Frederick Co. 93 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. On N. R. of Shanandoa, adj. his other survey. 17 Mar. 1753

H-264: Griffeth Thomas of Augusta Co. 265 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. Adj. Reuben Allan, on N. R. of Shanandoa. 19 Mar. 1753

H-265: James Crumley of Frederick Co. 39 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Crumley's Patent, Back Cr., Woolory Rubil, William Dillon. 20 Mar. 1753

H-266: David Lewis of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. where he lives on Opeckon. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Jacob Brooks, Mill Creek. 21 Mar. 1753

H-267: Thomas Adams of Frederick Co. 316 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Stephen Harlan, William Paul. 22 Mar. 1753

H-268: John Hoffman of Orange Co. 3525 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis 29 Sept 1731, resurv. by Mr. Philip Clayton shows 304 A. surplus. Sundry tracts now in Culpeper Co. - 196 A. granted 28 Sept 1728 to George Wood and purchased by Hoffman - 800 A. granted Hoffman 27 Sept 1729 - 400 A. granted Hoffman 25 Aug 1731 - 400 A. by Patent 27 Jan. 1734 - and 1425 A. surplus to be included in Deed. 29 Sept. 1748 error in surv. On Mouth of Dry Run of Robinson R., adj. John Zimmerman. 2 Apr. 1753

H-269: William Boggs of Frederick Co. 275 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On W. side of Back Cr. 2 Apr. 1750

H-270: George Julian of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On both sides of Back Cr. 2 Apr. 1750

H-271: _____ of ___ Co. 220 A. On S. side of Back Cr. Deed unsigned.

H-272: Robert Elder of Frederick Co. 100 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On N. side of Back Cr. 4 Apr. 1750

H-273: _____ of ___Co. 300 A. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Deed unsigned.

H-274: Dr. Adam Stephens of Stafford Co. 252 A. in Frederick Co. Adj. his Patent land, line of Jost Hite. 29 Mar. 1753

H-275: _____ of Frederick Co. 214 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. _____ & Joseph Fawcett, Little N. Mt., drains of Cedar Cr., Lewis Stephens. 30 Mar. 1753 Note: Plat returned in Paul Frowman's name.

H-276: Humfrey Pope of Pr. William Co. 400 A. in Pr. William Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. At head of Crabb Br. of S. R. of Shannondoa, adj. Alexander Smith, N. side of McCoy's Road. 31 Mar. 1753

H-277: Mr. Z. Lewis of Spotsylvania Co. 268 A. in Culpeper Co. On Stanton R., adj. William Stanton, Benj. Smith, Jeremiah Early, Thomas & Linn Stanton, _____ Downs. __ ___ 1753

H-278: Mary Litler wid. of Frederick Co. 421 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Land where she lives, adj. Evan Thomas, on Opeckon. 3 Apr. 1753

H-279: Mr. Abraham Hite of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On both sides of Mill Cr. 3 Apr. 1753

H-280: John Thomas of _____ Co. 400 A. in Frederick Co. on N. side of Cacaphon, adj. Wm. Horner. Surv. Mr. George Washington. 5 Apr. 1753

H-281: Henry Bowen of Frederick Co. 103 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Draughts of Back Cr., adj. Bowen's other land & Nicholas Hanshaw, Woolory Rubil, James Crumley. 6 Apr. 1753

H-282: Nathaniel Cartmill of Frederick Co. 168 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. his Patent on N.E. side of Opeckon, David Glass, mouth of Dry Br., Benjamin Smith. 7 Apr. 1753

H-283: Samuel Patton of Frederick Co. 331 A. in said Co. where he now lives. Resurv. by Mr. John Baylis. On Great Waggon Road, drains of Middle Cr., adj. Capt. Hobson & Reuben Parton/Paston?. 9 Apr. 1753

H-284: Jacob Cooper of Frederick Co. 220 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. R. Rutherford. On Pan Brook of Cedar Cr. 10 Apr. 1753

✓ H-285: George Paris - - Remainder of page blank.

✓ H-286: Robert Parris of Frederick Co. 441 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On S. Fork of Hogg's Cr., adj. Parris's line, Stephen Elmore, Thos. Bryan Martin, Esq. 12 Apr. 1753

H-287: Mr. G. Washington of King George Co. 240 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Potomack R. between Great Cacapehon & Little Cacapehon about 2 miles above mouth of 15 Mile Cr. in Maryland, adj. David Osborn. 13 Apr. 1753

H-288: Thomas Parker of Frederick Co. 237 A. in said Co. where he lives on W. side of N. R. of Cacapehon. 14 Apr. 1753

H-289: Thomas Jones of Frederick Co. 157 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Land he purchased of Francis McGinnis, on Back Cr. 16 Apr. 1753

H-290: Peter Julian of Frederick Co. 389 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On both sides of Hogg's Cr., adj. Jesse Pugh. 17 Apr. 1753

H-291: Mr. John Washington of King George Co. 588 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. G. Washington. Adj. Rob't Worthington, John Graham, Henry Bradshaw, J. Clarke. 18 Apr. 1753

H-292: Thomas Wood of Frederick Co. 205 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Stephen Elmore, James Hogg, on side of Round Hill. 19 Apr. 1753

H-293: William Hogg of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Resurv. by Mr. John Mauzy. On Hogg Cr. (Mr. George Byrn surveyed and made no Return), near road to S. Br. of Potomack R., Solomon Hogg, Elijah Odell. 20 Apr. 1753

H-294: Christian Bowman of Augusta Co. 143 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Land was surveyed for Simon Dehart, on N. R. of Shanndoa, opposite Wm. Rogers. 21 Apr. 1753

H-295: Thomas Bryan Martin Esq. of Frederick Co. 1263 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Hogg's Cr., adj. Thomas Wood, Hooppettycoat Gap Run. 20 Apr. 1753

H-296: Hon. Lewis Burwell Esq. of Gloucester Co. 3173 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Little N. Mt., adj. Thomas Codry, Robert Paul, David Davis, Peter Tostee, Ann Bowman, George Harlan, James Davis, Peter Hedges, John Harlan, Richard Morgan, Joshua Hedges, Robert & Daniel Gillaspy, Robert Paul. 21 Apr. 1753

H-298: Henry Enoch of Frederick Co. 388 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. At Forks of Cacapehon Cr., N. R. 22 Apr. 1753

H-299: Mr. Charles Byrne, son of Mr. George Byrne srvr. dec'd of Pr. William Co. 496 A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On a Br. of Stoney Cr. within 2 miles of John Quinton. 23 Apr. 1753

H-300: George Weavour of Augusta Co. 300 A. in Augusta Co. on Passage Cr., in Powel's Fort. Surv. Mr. R. Rutherford. Adj. Patrick Fitzsimmons. 24 Apr. 1753

H-301: Robert Grey of Augusta Co. 350 A. in said Co. in Powel's Fort on Passage

wrong page? no Robt Pearis

H-461: [illegible] Rich'd Lee of Westmoreland Co. 347 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford Jr. Below Solomon Turpin, on Powtomack R. 4 Oct. 1754

H-462: Capt. John Baylis of Pr. William Co. 423 A. in Frederick Co. Adj. Capt. Lewis Neil, Baylis's late survey, Hugh Haynes, on Opeckon Cr., Robert Hutching (Hutchings). 10 Oct. 1754

H-463: Mr. Rob't Wilson of Frederick Co. 316 A. in said Co. Adj. surv. made by Mr. Byrne & James Vance near Opeckon Cr. (Robert Wilson's survey), Col. Thomas Bryant Martin, Willson's Run, Thomas Mechans, James Vance. 10 Oct. 7154.

H-464: Henry Peyton Gent. of Pr. William Co. 290 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Bailis. On Middle Cr. of Opeckon, Woodfin's Br., adj. Barth'w Fryatt, Jonas Seaman. 10 Oct. 1754

H-465: Alexander Vance 131 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. George Washington. On Evat's Marsh, adj. Willm Davis, Key's line, Sam'l Walker, Jos. Swaim. 10 Oct. 1754

H-466: Rich'd Barber of Frederick Co. 200 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thos. Rutherford Jr. Near Potomack R. adj. Edw'd Davis. 10 Oct. 1754

H-472: Mr. Will'm Cowne of King William Co. Merchant 692 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. Rich'd Young. On Hughs R., adj. Peter Butler, Joseph Thomas, Capt. Green's line. __ ____ 1754 Deed not signed.

H-473: James Anderson of Frederick Co. 350 A. in said Co. on Mill Cr. Surv. Mr. Wm. Baylis. Adj. where Anderson lives, John Hampton. 12 Oct. 1754

H-474: Isaac Foster of Frederick Co. 203 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. Messrs. Carters, Foster, John Vance, John Anderson. 13 Oct. 1754

H-475: Mr. Fielding Lewis & Cha's Dick of Fredericksburg Merchants 260 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On Patterson's Cr. 13 Oct. 1754

H-480: Abraham Haynes of Province of New Jersey 882 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Jno. Mauzy. On Dry Br., Back Cr. adj. Francis Calewin, Thos. Chinworth. 21 Oct. 1754

H-481: Abraham Fields of Culpeper Co. 1233 A. in Culpeper Co. Resurv. by Mr. Richard Young. 433 A. surplus in 800 A. granted him 5 Oct. 1723. On Mt. Run, adj. Will'm Skrine, Haw Br., Peyton's Mill, the Church Road, Mr. Jackson, Island Br. 21 Oct. 1754

H-482: Mr. Francis Tyler of ____ Co. 200 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. his own land, Rush R., Kennerley's Mt. 21 Oct. 1750.? (Culpeper Co.)

H-483: Mr. Zachary Lewis Attorney at Law of Spotsylvania Co. 268 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On Stanton R., adj. Down, Wm. Stanton, Benj'n Smith, Jeremiah Eirly, Thomas & Lynn Stanton. 21 Oct. 1754

H-484: Mr. Cain Withers of Stafford Co. 191 A. in Stafford Co. Surplus in 1600 A. jointly granted Heabord & Horton on Axton's Cr. & Whipsawozon's Cr. Mr. John Mauzy surveyed land 4 Jan. 1754. Adj. Wither's line, Patt. formerly granted John Withers for 512 A., Cain Withers, Mr. Lee, Mr. Waugh, Messrs James, Kenny, Heirs of Col. Fitshugh dec'd., Axton's Run. 21 Oct. 1754

H-491: Rob't Harrison of Westmoreland Co. 400 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. Henry Downs, Rich'd Green, Harrison's tract. 21 Oct. 1754

H-492: Maj. John Carlyle of Fairfax Co. 101 A. in said Co. on Goose Cr. Surv. by Mr. John Hough. Adj. Maj. Waring, John Allen. 20 Oct. 1754

H-493: Mr. Thos. Babb of Frederick Co. 179 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. his own land on Opeckon surveyed in 1735/6, George Hollinsworth, James Wright. 21 Oct 1754

H-494: Mr. Thomas Babb of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. [illegible]. John Mauzy. On Babb Mt. & Br. of Hogg's Cr. 21 Oct. 1754

H-495: Rich'd Downs of Orange Co. 243 A. in said Co. Surv. Will'm Green. On Stanton R., Pelhams Mt., adj. Benj'n Smith, David Jones, other land of Rich'd Downs. 21 Oct. 1754

H-496: Simon Carson of Frederick Co. 84 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Rich'd Rutherford. On N. R. of Shannandoah, adj. Peter Stover, Cedar Cr. 21 Oct 1754

H-497: Mr. George Hollinsworth of Frederick Co. 620 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Surv'd in 1732 & known as Hannah's Spring where Hollinsworth lives, adj. Will'm Lupton, Babb's Road, Thos. Babb, James Wright. 21 Oct. 1754

H-498: Vincent Williams of Hampshire Co. 504 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On Paterson's Cr. 21 Oct. 1754

H-499: Mr. Rob't Heaton of _____ Co. 378 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Land he bought of John Frost, adj. Francis Baldwin, on Back Cr. 21 Oct. 1754 (Frederick Co.)

H-500: Jacob Hockman of Frederick Co. 230 A. in said Co. Surv. Rob't Rutherford. On N. Shannandoa, adj. Thos. Palmer. 21 Oct. 1754

H-501: Christopher Knibert of Pensilvania 218 A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Rob't Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Stover, Peter Bowman, on McNiches Run, land of said Knibert & Bowman. __ Oct. 1754

H-502: Thos. Washburn of Culpeper Co. 291 A. in said Co. Surv. G. Hume. In little fork of Rapp'a R., adj. Washburn, Duncan's Road. 23 Oct. 1754

H-503: Luke Collins of Hampshire Co. 400 A. in said Co. on middle Fork of Paterson's Cr. Surv. David Vance. 23 Oct. 1754

H-504: Jacob Hite of Frederick Co. 209 A. in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. his own land, Doc't Stephens, Col. Richard Blackburn, on Opeckon, Jost Hite's late survey. 23 Oct. 1754

H-505: Rob't Buckle of Frederick Co. 403 A. in said Co. Surv. T. Rutherford. Near Potomack R., adj. John Taylor, Buckle's former Patent. 23 Oct. 1754

H-506: Mr. Thos. Carney of Frederick Co. 238 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. Mr. Graham, Mr. Aug. Washington, Rob't Worthington, George Pemberton, Tully McKenny. 23 Oct. 1754

H-507: George Mason Gent. of Fairfax Co. 315 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. On Potomack R., opposite mouth of Willis's Cr. 25 Oct. 1754

H-508: George Mason Gent. of Fairfax Co. 329 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Guy Broadwater. Near Potomack R. 25 Oct. 1754

H-509: George Mason Gent. of Fairfax Co. 237 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. On Potomack R. & George's Cr. 25 Oct. 1754

H-510: George Mason Gent. of Fairfax Co. 334 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. On Potomack R. 25 Oct. 1754

H-511: George Mason Gent. of Fairfax Co. 220 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. On Potomack R. 25 Oct. 1754

H-512: John Roberts Sr. of Culpeper Co. 510 A. in said Co. Adj. Will'm Fairfax Esq. & David Kinkade on Allen's Run on Gourd Vine Fork, land formerly granted Francis Slaughter & leased to said Roberts. To take in lieu of any other waste & ungranted land pursuant to which Will'm Green has surveyed. On Hatt's Mt., adj. Martin Hardin. 27 Oct. 1754

Baylis. Cartmill's Patent on Back Cr. & Opeckon, N. Mt. 8 Nov. 1754

H-550: Mr. Joseph Vance of Frederick Co. 126 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Jno. Baylis. Adj. his two Patents, George Harrison, John Laruck. 8 Nov. 1754

H-551: William Stephenson of Frederick Co. 288 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Where he lives on Mulberry Run Br. of Shannandoah, adj. William Blackburn, William Wilson, George Eager. 8 Nov. 1754

H-552: William Forrister of Richmond Co. 226 A. in Richmond Co., N. Farnum Par. Wm. Areskine died without known heirs or making legal disposition. Forrister obtained usual advertisement. No person appeared to claim land or object to land being escheated. Surv. Mr. Wm. Garland. On Oak Neck Br., Cabin Neck Br., adj. Travers, Mr. Thom. Broome. 9 Nov. 1754

H-553: Joseph Fewcatt of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. where he lives adj. Richard Ireson, on Little N. Mt. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. 8 Nov. 1754

H-554: Messrs. Charles Dick & Fielding Lewis of Spotsylvania Co. 300 A. in Frederick Co. above his Lordship's Manor on Patterson Cr. Surv. David Vance. 9 Nov. 1754

H-555: Col. George Will'm Fairfax of Fairfax Co. 400 A. on Potomack R. above mouth of S. Br. in Hampshire Co. 9 Nov. 1754

H-556: Nicholas Robinson of Hampshire Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. 9 Nov. 1754

H-557: Hugh Hughs of Hampshire Co. 480 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. On Great Cacapon, adj. Thomas Hughs. 11 Nov. 1754

H-558: Mr. Thomas Wood of Frederick Co. 312 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. James Gunn. Lot No. 30 on S. Br. in Frederick Co. now Hampshire Co. Michael Pruntee died possessed of Lot No. 30 granted 18 Aug. 1749. No known heirs. Wood m. Mary, wid. of Michael Pruntee and Lot became his. He conceived the same has lapsed for arrears of Quit rents. Tract granted Wood. __ day of ___ 1754

H-559: Messrs. Charles Dick & Fielding Lewis of Spotsylvania Co. 350 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. Benjamin Kirkendle, Edward Cherry on Mill Cr. Br. of S. Br. 11 Nov. 1754

H-560: Capt. John Allen of Pr. William Co. 510 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On Robinson & Hughes Rs., Robinson Mt., Dry Run Mt. 11 Nov. 1754

H-561: John Dodson of Augusta Co. 260 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. Where he lives on Mill Cr. adj. Mary Allen, Joseph Donham (Donomon). 11 Nov. 1754 Note: Land in Frederick formerly Augusta Co.

H-562: Mr. Foushee Tebbs of Pr. William Co. executor of Mr. Thomas Young dec'd. 902 A. in Pr. William Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Between lines of said Young's Patent, surv'd by Maj. Borland Ewell, John Baxter, adj. Beaver Dam Br. of Quantico, John Canterbury dec'd., ancient line of Ward now Elisha & William How (Hore?), land escheated by John Baxter dec'd. now Richard Kenner's, land originally Leonard Barker's dec'd. now Thomas Young's heirs & land lately taken up by said Young. 11 Nov. 1754

H-563: Col. Richard Blackburne of Pr. William Co. 689 A. in Pr. William Co. Blackburne purchased 131 A. granted Thomas Cornwell 4 June 1739, 126 A. of 326 A. granted Cornwell 19 Jan. 1741, 144 A. of William Ridley granted Ridley __ _____, another tract of said Thomas Cornwell (surv'd by Mr. George Byrne dec'd) for ___ A. but no deed issued. 288 A. surplus in known bounds of said tracts obtained resurvey. On N. Run of Quantico Run adj. Thomas Dent, Thomas _____? Berryman, John Farrow dec'd. now Rev. Mr. James Scott, Thomas Dent dec'd, Thomas Davis, Francis Ash, Quantico Warehouse, Richard Wright, Powell's Run, Key's Road, Wm. Ridley. 11 Nov. 1754

H-565: Mr. James Hollowday(Holladay)of Frederick Co. 210 A. in said Surv. Mr. George Byrne. On E. side of Mill Cr. 11 Nov. 1754

H-566: Adonijah & David Scott (brothers) of Hampshire Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. Benjamin Scott, on Luney's Cr. 13 Nov. 1754

H-567: John Miller of Frederick Co. 184 A. in Frederick Co. formerly Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On N. & S. Forks of Lost R. adj. his other tract. 13 Nov. 1754

H-568: John Hough of Fairfax Co. 580 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Hough. Adj. Col. John Tayloe, John Warner, George Carter, Harman Cox, Isaac Nichols, John Dixson, Thomas Gregg. 13 Nov. 1754

H-569: Joseph West of Fairfax Co. 460 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Hough. Adj. John Dixon of Pensylvania, Will'm Dodd, Richard Brown, Thomas Matthews, Thomas John, Thomas Janney. 13 Nov. 1754

H-570: Mary Janney of Fairfax Co. 469 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Amos Janney. On Kittoct's Mt., adj. George Attwood, Francis Wilks, Henry William Fairfax. 13 Nov. 1754

H-571: Jonas Hedges of Frederick Co. 352 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. About 4 mi. from Watkins Ferry on Waggon Road adj. Major Carlisle. 14 Nov. 1754

H-572: John Tidwell of Frederick Co. 100 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Granted George Killer 18 Jan. 1749/50. Killer is since deceased & leaving no Heirs, land sold by Administrator to Jacob Gibson who sold to John Tidwell. On Cedar Cr., N. Shannandoah, on Piney Ridge. 15 Nov. 1754

H-573: Doctor Robert White of Frederick Co. 375 A. in said Co. where he lives on Head Brs. of Hoggs Cr., main Br. of Butler's Run adj. Rev'd Mr. William Mackay. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 15 Nov. 1754

H-574: Robert Wilson Jr. of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Bayliss. Adj. _____ Glover. XIV day of Nov. 1754

H-575: Robert Wilson Sr. of Frederick Co. A. not listed of said Co. adj. his own land. Surv. Mr. George Byrne. - rest of page blank.

H-576: Joseph Rhodes of Augusta Co. 135 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. G. Hume. On Hawks Bill's old Tract. 16 Nov. 1754

H-577: Jacob Bone of Augusta Co. 326 A. in said Co. Surv. R. Rutherford. On N. side of N. R. and N. side of Holeman's Cr. 16 Nov. 1754

H-578: Jacob Wolf of Augusta Co. 400 A. in said Co. including where he lives, on W. side of Stoney Cr. 17 Nov. 1754

H-579: Adam Raider of Augusta Co. 265 1/2 A. in said Co. On S. side of Stoney Cr. 20 Nov. 1754

H-580: William Frost of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. on both sides of Back Cr. where he has a settlement. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 20 Nov. 1754

1754

Ed Griffey

H-581: Edward Griffey of Frederick Co. 241 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Bayliss. Adj. Robert Calvert, William Glover, Robert Wilson, on Opeckon, Calverts Run. 21 Nov. 1754

H-582: Mr. William Hogg of Pensilvania 191 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Opeckon Cr. and Hoggs Cr., adj. James Hogg, Richard Hyland, Robert Parris, Col. Wood, Charles Perkins, Joseph Lupton. 21 Nov. 1754

H-583: Thomas Lindsay of Frederick Co. 255 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On both sides of little Cacapehon, adj. John Parker. 22 Nov.1754

surplus bounds & 331 A. adj. Deed to Robert Stuart for 1986 A. on Hazel R. in said Co. adj. Anthony Strother now Rev. John Thompson, Fargas, Daniel Brown now Thompson, Beaver Dam Run, Thornton, Bare Arse Mt. 2 March 1761

K-238: William Kelly of S. Carolina set forth surplus in his land formerly 600 A. granted John Latham 9 Aug. 1735. Surv. Mr. Richard Young shows 743 A. surplus. Whole being 993 A. in Culpeper Co. Adj. Thornton's road, John Hugh now Col. Thornton, Hazle R. On Cabbin Br. 2 March 1761

K-239: Isaac Strickler of Frederick Co. has part of 5000 A. granted Jacob Stover 15 Dec. 1733. Stover sold 1000 A. to Abraham Strickler dec'd who by Will devised same to be equally divided amongst his several sons as by records of Orange Co. Ct. Deed to Isaac Strickler for his property by descent from said Abraham. 183 A. in a place called Massinuttin on Shannandoah R. in Frederick Co. Surv. George Hume. 2 March 1761

K-240: Isaac Strickler of Frederick Co. 78 A. adj. his land at Massimuttin on S. R. of Shannandoah purchased of Jacob Stover. Surv. George Hume. 3 March 1761

K-241: John Houldiman of Frederick Co. 470 A. on Hawksbill in said Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. Francis Thornton. 4 March 1761

K-242: Capt. William Vance of Frederick Co. 164 A. on Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Isaac Hite, said Vance, long Meadow Run. 4 March 1761

K-243: Samuel Pritchart of Frederick Co. 223 A. on S. fork of Hoggs Cr, in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Tho's Wood, James Hogg, Robert Parris, Tho's Bryan Martin Esq. 5 March 1761

K-244: Samuel Pritchart of Frederick Co. 126 A. on Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Joseph Elledge. 6 March 1761

K-245: Silas Hedges of Hampshire Co. 300 A. on Pattersons Cr. in said Co. Surv. David Vance. Adj. Joseph Carrol, above the Manor line. 10 March 1761

K-246: Jonathan Perkins of Frederick Co. 133 A. in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. Joseph Lupton, Lydia Malen, Isaac Perkins, Robert Colvert. 10 March 1761

K-247: William Joliffe Jr. of Frederick Co. 152 A. adj. Alexander Ross, William Joliffe Sr. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. 11 March 1761

K-248: Jeremiah Odell of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Dry Run on S. fork of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. Tho's Brown. 16 March 1761

K-249: John Denton Sr. of Frederick Co. 400 A. in Powells Fort on Passage Cr. of N. R. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. 17 March 1761

K-250: Benjamin Denton of Frederick Co. 138 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. his other tract, Capt. John Denton. 18 March 1761

K-251: Daniel Smith of Frederick Co. 230 A. on N. R. in said Co. adj. Benjamin Denton. Surv. Robert Rutherford. On Great Waggon Road. 19 March 1761

K-252: Benjamin Denton of Frederick Co. 191 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Capt. John Denton. 20 March 1761

K-253: James Odell of Frederick Co. 206 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. George Julian, Raccoon Run. 21 March 1761

K-254: John Walker of Hampshire Co. 150 A. in said Co. on N. Br. of Potomack R. Surv. David Vance. 16 March 1761

K-255: John Walker of Hampshire Co. 200 A. adj. Richard Polson on N. Br. of

Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. David Vance. 17 March 1761

K-256: Col. Thomas Cresap of Maryland 13 A. in Hampshire Co. in fork of N. & S. Brs. of Potomack R. Surv. John Moffit. 18 March 1761

K-257: Nathaniel Thomas of Frederick Co. 240 A. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Hite's Patent conveyed to Gershem Keyes, Pendal's Patent conveyed to said Thomas, Teague, Shurley, Maj. Washington. 24 March 1761

K-258: Mr. Gershem Keyes of Frederick Co. 109 A. in said Co. Surv. George Washington. Adj. William Davies(Davis), Keyes's Patent. 25 March 1761

K-259: John Smith of Frederick Co. 400 A. adj. his Patent in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. John Smith, William Rankin, Hugh Rankin, David Rankin. 26 March 1761

K-260: John Hyatt Jr. of Frederick Co. 345 A. adj. Patrick Dunkin, Evan Thomas, Brs. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. 27 March 1761

K-261: John Hyatt Jr. of Frederick Co. 126 A. adj. his land, Evan Thomas, Opeckon in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. John Hyatt, Mary Littler. 28 March 1761

K-262: Thomas Lindsey of Frederick Co. 399 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. William Hyatt, Joselph Edwards the younger, Richard Fowler. 30 March 1761 N.B. This Deed first issued in name of Richard Fowler & Entred in Book H fol. 612 & Canceld as Certificate from Capt. William Cocks one of his Majestys Justices for Frederick.

K-263: Thomas Lindsey of Frederick Co. 405 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. William Hyatt, Joseph Edwards, Jr. 31 March 1761 "N.B. This Deed was first Drawn in the name of Richard Fowler & Reccorded in Book H folio 624 & Canceld as Certificate under the hand of Capt. William Cocks of Frederick Co. one of his Majestys Justices of the peace."

K-264: Hugh Bays of Frederick Co. 387 A. on Cedar Cr. near the Meeting House in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. William Bays. 1 Apr. 1761

K-265: Samuel Brown of Frederick Co. 200 A. on Cedar Cr. Br. of N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Samuel Vance, James Brown. 2 Apr. 1761

K-266: Joseph Black son of John dec'd of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Buffiloe Marsh in said Co. on Limestone Ridge. Surv. John Baylis. 3 Apr. 1761

K-267: James Brown of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Buffiloe Marsh near Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. David Logan, Samuel Vance. 4 Apr. 1761

K-268: David Dederick of Frederick Co. 250 A. on N. R. Br. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. Robert Lindsey, Johathan Arnold. 4 Apr. 1761

K-269: James Steward of Hampshire Co. 240 A. on Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Benjamin Fry. 6 Apr. 1761

K-270: Moses Watkins of Frederick Co. 390 A. on Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. George Washington. Adj. Edward Kinneson. 7 Apr. 1761

K-271: Fielding Lewis & Charles Dick Gent. of Fredericksburg 400 A. on Henry Vanmeter's Run adj. Wid. Humphrys in Hampshire Co. Surv. David Vance. 11 Apr. 1761

K-272: Fielding Lewis & Charles Dick Gent. of Fredericksburg 260 A. adj. Enoch Pearson, on Mill Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. David Vance. 14 Apr. 1761

K-273: Jonathan Palmer of Loudoun Co. 180 A. in said Co. Surv. John Hough.

M-62: Jo[illegible] Hawkins of Frederick Co. 310 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Ruben Allen, Abraham Collet. 4 Oct. 1762

M-63: Henry Backman of Frederick Co. 257 A. on Holemans Cr. of N. R. of Shannondoah in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Holeman, Christian Funkhouser. 5 Oct. 1762

M-64: Patrick McCarty of Hampshire Co. 70 A. on N. Br. of Potomack in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. New Cr., Daniel Oneal. 5 Oct. 1762

M-65: Richard Nealey of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 6 Oct. 1762

M-66: Philip Crume of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Flint Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. John Calfee. 7 Oct. 1762

M-67: Henry Enoch Sr. of Hampshire Co. 38 A. on Enochs Hollow near N. R. of Cacapehon in said Co. adj. his land. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 8 Oct. 1762

M-68: Thomas Province of Frederick Co. 340 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. William Frost. 9 Oct. 1762

M-69: William Demoss of Hampshire Co. 99 A. on Cacapehon R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 11 Oct. 1762

M-70: Peter Rench of Maryland 271 A. on Falling Water near Potomack in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John Shearer. 12 Oct. 1762

M-71: Mary Denham of Frederick Co. 425 A. on Stoney Cr. of N. R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. 13 Oct. 1762

M-72: Joseph Lupton of Frederick Co. 428 A. on Hogs Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Robert Pearis, Col. Martin, waggon Road from Pearis's to Edwards. 14 Oct. 1762

M-73: George Bounds of Frederick Co. 450 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Passage Cr, Charles Buck, Thomas Buck, Bound's line. 15 Oct. 1762

M-74: James Davis of Frederick Co. 420 A. near Potomack in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. George Harlan, Stephen Harlan, his father James Davis, Tunices Br. 16 Oct. 1762

M-75 William Tapp of Culpeper Co. 311 A. adj. James Spilman, Red Oak Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Thomas Corbin, Indian Run, Willis on Mill Run, William Hammett. 18 Oct. 1762

M-76: Moses Thompson of Pensylvania 382 A. on Sleepy Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. William Smith. 19 Oct. 1762

M-77: Theodore Davis of Hampshire Co. 236 A. on Pattersons Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 20 Oct. 1762

M-78: Evan Rogers of Frederick Co. 220 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. William Pickering, Elisha Odell. 21 Oct. 1762

M-79: Jonathan Parkins of Frederick Co. 290 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. On Waggon Road from Edward Mercer's to Jesse Pugh's. 1 Dec. 1762

M-80: Thomas Wilson of Loudoun Co. 391 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. 2 Dec. 1762

M-81: Charles Lynch of Hampshire Co. 165 A. on S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 3 Dec. 1762

M-82: Jacob Mitts of Hampshire Co. 87 A. on Cedar Swamp and at Mitts [illegible]und Nobin in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 4 Dec. 1762

M-83: Philip Moore of Hampshire Co. Lott No. 20 (373 A.) on S. Fork of S. Br. of Potomack in said Co. Surv. James Genn. Adj. Lott No. 19, Mannour line. 6 Dec. 1762

M-84: Frederick Dillenger of Frederick Co. 110 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Burn. 7 Dec. 1762

M-85: Jessee Pugh of Frederick Co. 150 A. on Back Cr. adj. his 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 8 Dec. 1762

M-86: Frederick Timmerman of Culpeper Co. 27 A. in Great Fork of Rappahannack R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Richard Young. Adj. Charles Carter Esq., James Conner, the Glebe land. 9 Dec. 1762

M-87: William Gaddis of Frederick Co. 421 A. on Mills Br. of Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. William Smith. 10 Dec. 1762

M-88: John Gerrard of Frederick Co. 227 A. adj. Walter Holmes & the N. Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Joseph Breed. 11 Dec. 1762

M-89: Mr. Charles Smith of Frederick Co. 180 A. near the Waggon Road above N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Above Buffalow Lick. 13 Dec. 1762

M-90: John Vestal of Frederick Co. 58 A. on Shannandoah R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Keys Ferry landing, side of Waggon Road, Col. John Carlyle, Cattale Run, Vestals own Patent. 14 Dec. 1762

M-91: Thomas Smith of Fairfax Co. 400 A. near Shannandoah R. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Gersham Keys, William Hall. 15 Dec. 1762

M-92: Francis Baldwin of Frederick Co. 6 3/4 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Abraham Haynes. 16 Dec. 1762

M-93: John Painter of Frederick Co. 168 A. on Crooked Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. said Painter, John Branson, Alex'r Oglesbey. 17 Dec. 1762

M-94: William Clark of Frederick Co. 187 A. on N. R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. John Henry Naff. 18 Dec. 1762

M-95: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 370 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Nickland, Thomas Berry, Joseph Bryan, Morris Reece, Morgans Road, Josiah Ballinger. 20 Dec. 1762

M-96: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 116 A. on Lick Br. of Tilehanzys Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 21 Dec. 1762

M-97: John Adam Kelp & John Adam Kelp Jr. of Frederick Co. 230 A. on N. R. between Mcnishes Run & Narrow Passage Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Peter Stover, Christopher Knibert, Peter Bowman, line of Baylis or Harris of Pr. William Co. 22 Dec. 1762

M-98: John William Kelp of Frederick Co. 338 A. on Mcnishes Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Samuel Baylis, Christopher Knibert, Peter Bowman. 23 Dec. 1762

M-99: Nathaniel McCarrol of Frederick Co. 174 A. on S. Br. of little Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. on S. Br. & New Cr. Mts. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 24 Dec. 1762

M-100: Mr. Thomas Rutherford of Frederick Co. 152 A. on Spring Br. of Beans Br. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Henry Battin. 27 Dec. 1762

M-315: Mr. John Hough of Loudoun Co. 342 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax, Thomas Caton. 11 Oct. 1764

M-316: Mr. Henry Mauzy of Fauquier Co. 220 A. on Hoggs Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John Adams, Babbs Mt., Robert Pearis. 12 Oct. 1764

M-317: Abraham McConnell of Frederick Co. 409 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. 13 Oct. 1764

M-318: Joseph Keller of Frederick Co. 345 A. on Mulberry Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. William Blackburn, Hugh Bays, William Bays, Lewis Stephens, Daniel Curry, Benjamin Blackburn. 15 Oct. 1764

M-319: Peter Bradford of Frederick Co. 100 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Abraham McConnell, Johathan Edwards, Price Edwards, Francis Baldwin, Patrick Dooley. 16 Oct. 1764

M-320: Peter Bradford of Frederick Co. 323 A. on Middle Cr. and Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Abraham McConnell, Jonathan Edwards, Col. Adam Stephen, Jonathan Seaman, said Bradford. 17 Oct. 1764

M-321: Harman Lovingood of Frederick Co. 196 A. on Passage Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. 18 Oct. 1764

M-322: Mr. Charles Smith of Frederick Co. 482 A. on Waggon Road from Winchester to Fort Cumberland on Isaacs Cr. including Alex's Spring in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 29 Oct. 1764

M-323: Benjamin Parker of Hampshire Co. 214 A. on Lick Run of Pattersons Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. said Parker, Frederick Ice. 1 Jan. 1765

M-324: John Cox of Hampshire Co. 30 A. on little Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 2 Jan. 1765

M-325: John Capper of Frederick Co. 204 A. on McCoys Ridge, Jeremiah Smiths Cr. of Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 3 Jan. 1765

M-326: Michael Teepolt of Hampshire Co. 170 A. on Pattersons Cr. Adj. Lotts 15 & 16 in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 4 Jan. 1765

M-327: Capt. Lewis Neill of Frederick Co. 616 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. said Neill, William Neill, Col. John Baylis. 1 Feb. 1765

M-328: Capt. Lewis Neill of Frederick Co. 520 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Thomas Helm, said Lewis Neill, Lewis Neill Jr., Meridith Helm dec'd. 2 Feb. 1765

M-329: Mr. Alexander Cunningham of King George Co. 329 A. on head of Hughs's Run in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 4 Feb. 1765

M-330: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Green Spring Run in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. Casey, Dobson. 5 Feb. 1765

M-331: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 67 A. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. William Smith, John Collins. 6 Feb. 1765

M-332: Daniel Mauk of Frederick Co. 283 A. on S. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Martin Coffman, Christian Maggott, Casper Snider, Jacob Burner. 1 Mar. 1765

M-333: James Castle of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Elk Br in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. George William Fairfax Esq., John Cart, Issaac Huntsberger, Jacob Carger, Joseph Dark. 2 Mar. 1765

M-334: Col. Abraham Hite of Hampshire Co. 360 A. adj. the Manor line on

Vanmeters Run at Mudd Lick in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. [illegible] corner, Noah Hampton. 1 Apr. 1765

M-335: Col. Abraham Hite of Hampshire Co. 324 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. Enoch Pearson. 2 Apr. 1765

M-336: James McCoy & Adam Cunningham of Frederick Co. 216 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. Thomas Norman, Alexander Mathews. 3 Apr. 1765

M-337: Henry Howser of Frederick Co. 183 A. on Smiths Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Samuel Newman, William Carrole, John & Walter Newman. 4 Apr. 1765

M-338: Mr. Philip Bush of Pensylvania 45 A. near Winchester in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Richard Highland, James Hogg, his own land, Thomas Bryan Martin Esq. 5 Apr. 1765

M-339: Joseph Lupton of Frederick Co. 264 A. on Waggon Road, adj. Thomas Reese, Isaacs Cr. of Back Cr., John Mauzy, in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 8 Apr. 1765

M-340: Thomas Dent of Frederick Co. 158 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Israel Potts, on Roberts Ridge. 9 Apr. 1765

M-341: Col. John Carlyle of Fairfax Co. 300 A. on Georges Run of Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. Rogers. 10 Apr. 1765

M-342: Thomas Baker of Culpeper Co. obtained 400 A. 7 June 1749 & 309 A. 8 June 1749. Resurv. Mr. John Mauzy. 82 A. surplus & adj. 405 A. Inclusive Deed to Baker for 1196 A. on Rush R. in said Co. On S. side Kennerlys Mt. near Cool Spring, Delamore or Kennerlys Mt. adj. James Kennerly, Peaked Mt., Henry Tyler, Francis Tyler. 11 Apr. 1765

M-343: John Rice of Frederick Co. 410 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John McCarmie, Patrick Rice, George Martin, Lord Fairfax. 12 Apr. 1765

M-344: Abraham Fry of Frederick Co. 200 A. on Hoggs Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Ellis Thomas. 19 Apr. 1765

M-345: William Zeen of Hampshire Co. 209 A. on S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. the Manor line. 20 Apr. 1765

M-346: Mr. Thomas Dent of Frederick Co. 341 A. on N. fork of Pattersons Cr. at fork at New Cr. Mt., Horsepen Lick and Packhorse road in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 1 May 1765

M-347: Mr. Thomas Dent of Frederick Co. 477 A. on Johns Gap and E. side of New Cr. Mt. on Cabbin Run of Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 2 May 1765

M-348: Margaret Blackburn of Hampshire Co. 275 A. on Mulberry Run in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr John Baylis. Adj. William Wilson near a Water Pond, John & Margaret Blaire, Benjamin Blackburn. 3 May 1765

M-349: Michael Thorn of Hampshire Co. 202 A. on S. Fork of S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. Lots No. 15 & 16, Linch, Shipler. 4 May 1765

M-350: Maunis Alkier of Hampshire Co. 294 A. (Lot No. 16) on S. fork of S. Br. of Potowmack in said Co. Resurv. John Moffett. Adj. Lots 15 & 17. 6 May 1765

M-351: Messrs Thomas & Joseph Wharton of City of Philadephia 200 A. on Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mofett. Adj. their own survey. 7 May 1765

M-352: Messrs Thomas & Joseph Wharton of City of Philadephia 200 A. on

K-393: David Vance of Frederick Co. 456 A. on Pattersons Cr. above Vincent Williams in Hampshire Co. Surv. William Baylis. 14 Apr. 1762

K-394: David Vance of Frederick Co. 288 A. on draught of N. Br. of Potomack on road to Old Town in Hampshire Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. 14 Apr. 1762

K-395: Mr. James Dickson of Maryland 294 A. adj. Thomas Barrawick on Potomack in Frederick Co. Surv. John Mauzy. On Warm Spring Br., Higgens's Gapp. 14 Apr. 1762

K-396: Philip Ross of Hampshire Co. 129 A. on Pattersons Cr. Mts. in said Co. Surv. John Moffitt. 15 Apr. 1762

K-397: Mr. Richard Pearis of Frederick Co. 209 A. adj. his father's survey including his Still house on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. George Pearis. 15 Apr. 1762

K-398: Mr. George Ross of Maryland 460 A. in Frederick Co. including where Thomas Flannerly lived. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. the Maidstone Common, Hogland now said Ross, John Shearer, Potomack R. 15 Apr. 1762

K-399: George Smith of Frederick Co. 215 A. including plantation where he lives near Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Benjamin Pettet, Nickolas Mercer, Robert Buckles, George Henry Pechtold(Pechtolt). 16 Apr. 1762

K-400: George Adam Oler of Frederick Co. 297 A. including Plantation where he lives near Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Benjamin Pettete, George Smith, Robert Buckles, Israel Friend. 17 Apr. 1762

K-401: Robert Harper of Frederick Co. 92 A. in said Co. on Potomack R. adj. said Harper, Gersham Keys, Thomas Mabary. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. 19 Apr. 1762

K-402: Mr. Hugh West of Fairfax Co. 480 A. near Buck Marsh in Frederick Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. George Neavill, John Lindsay, Col. John Hite, Samuel Isaac, John Madden, Waggon Road from Winchester to Alexandria. 19 Apr. 1762

K-403 Job Parker of Hampshire Co. 421 A. on Mill Cr. above the Gap in said Co. Surv. David Vance. Adj. Benjamin Parker. 19 Apr. 1762

K-404: Isaac Wright of Frederick Co. 338 A. in said Co. Surv. John Maauzy. Adj. Jessee Pugh, George Julian. 20 Apr. 1762

K-405: Charles Huddle of Frederick Co. 400 A. on N. Shannondoah in said Co. adj. Abraham Denton. Surv. John Baylis. 20 Apr. 1762

K-406: Christopher Long of Hampshire Co. 160 A. adj. his father & Lot No. 2 on Patterson Cr. in said Co. Surv. David Vance. 21 Apr. 1762

K-407: Peter Gortner of Frederick Co. 64 A. on Holemans Cr. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Peter Gortner dec'd, Con Daugherty, John Thomson. 22 Apr. 1762

K-408: Capt. Cornelias Ruddle of Frederick Co. 314 A. on Smiths Cr. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Ruddle, William White. 23 Apr. 1762

K-409: William Vance, William Evens, James Colvil, James Hogg, & Andrew Blackburn, elders of the Presbyterian Congregation 100 A. in Frederick Co. for a Meeting House for said Congregation. Surv. John Baylis. On Cedar Cr, adj. Hugh Bays, Spring belonging to the Meeting House, Mulbery Run. 24 Apr. 1762

K-410: Rev. Mr. John Thompson of Culpeper Co. 1998 A. in Great Fork of Rappahannock R. in said Co. Surv. Richard Young. Adj. Christopher Zimmerman, Frederick Cabler, Joel Watts, John Spotswood Esq., Leonard Ziglar, Peter Johnson, Francis Brown, Timothy Seisk, Potato Run, Minor Winn. 26 Apr. 1762

K-412: Joseph James of Culpeper Co. has 400 A. granted Francis Hezlet [illegible] Sept. 1735 who conveyed to James (records of Orange Co. Court). Resurv. by Richard Young shows 591 A. surplus. Grant to Joseph James 991 A. in Culpeper Co. on Crooked Run adj. Hon. William Beverly Esq. dec'd. 27 Apr. 1762

K-413: Rev. Mr. John Dixon of Gloucester Co. 590 A. in little Fork of Rappahannock R. in Culpeper Co. Surv. George Hume. On Hedgman R. 28 Apr. 1762

K-414: Rev. Mr. John Dixon of Gloucester Co. 400 A. in little Fork of Rappahannock R. in Culpeper Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. William Russell, Elk Run. 29 Apr. 1762

K-415: Thomas Wright of Culpeper Co. 60 A. in Great Fork of Rappahanock R. in said Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. his father Richard Wright, John Finleson now Ball, James Pollard, William Johnson. 30 Apr. 1762

K-416: Charles Linch of Hampshire Co. 112 A. on Corns Run of Patterson Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Moffitt. 1 May 1762

K-417: Col. George Mercer of Frederick Co. 312 A. on Thompsons Run & Hiccory Bottom Run in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Moffitt. Adj. William Fears now s'd Mercer, Vannmeter. 3 May 1762

K-418: John McMachen of Frederick Co. 195 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. Ralph Thompson. 4 May 1762

K-419: Isaac Evans of Frederick Co. 409 A. on Opeckon between Beason Evans & John Mendenhall in said Co. Surv. John Baily. Adj. Hazle Hardwick, John Evans. 5 May 1762

K-420: David Kelley of Frederick Co. 144 A. adj. Joseph Breed, Daniel Marshall, Hays, N. Mt., on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. William Baily. 6 May 1762

K-421: Peter Beaver of Hampshire Co. 225 A. on Lick Run of Patterson Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Moffitt. Adj. Peter Steenburgen. 7 May 1762

K-422: Peter Beaver of Hampshire Co. 107 A. on Lick Run of Pattersons Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Moffitt. Adj. Buffington, Beaver's tract. 8 May 1762

K-423: Mr. Peter Mauzey of Stafford Co. 258 A. on Bear Garden Ridge in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzey. Adj. Isaac Wright now William Gaddis, on Mills's Br. 10 May 1762

K-424: Mr. Henry Heath of Frederick Co. 246 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon & Tare Coat in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzey. Adj. Mr. John Nelson. 11 May 1762

K-425: Mr. Henry Heath of Frederick Co. 161 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzey. 12 May 1762

K-426: Mr. Henry Heath of Frederick Co. 115 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon above the Forks in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzey. Adj. his 161 A., Samuel Allen. 13 May 1762

K-427: Mr. Henry Heath of Frederick Co. 131 A. on Tare Coat Br. of N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. adj. John Ashbrook. Surv. John Mauzey. 14 May 1762

K-428: Mr. Henry Heath of Frederick Co. 206 A. on Maple Bottom Br. of N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzey. Adj. Joseph Combs. 15 May 1762

K-429: John Snapp of Frederick Co. 315 A. on Hoggs Cr. & Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzey. Adj. John Dyer. 17 May 1762

K-430: Mr. Richard Pearis of Frederick Co. 224. A. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Vanmeter, Edward Mercer. 18 May 1762

K-431: Mathew Rogers of Hampshire Co. 115 A. adj. Lot 14 on Pattersons Cr. in

M-24: William Strupe of Frederick Co. 381 A. on Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his survey, William Hall, Elk Br. Joseph McCammes. 23 Aug. 1762

M-25: William Strupe of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Robert Buckles, Isarael Friend, Shupe. 24 Aug. 1762

M-26: Thomas Sharp of Frederick Co. 143 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. David Miller, William Balden. 25 Aug. 1762

M-27: Daniel Currey of Frederick Co. 428 A. on Cedar Cr, Mulberry Run, adj. Lewis Stephens in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. 26 Aug. 1762

M-28: Hugh Lyle of Frederick Co. 789 A. on Tuscororah Br. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Bailys. Adj. David Crocket, North Mt. 27 Aug. 1762

M-29: Nathaniel Cartmell of Frederick Co. 130 A. adj. his land under N. Mt. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. William Chambers. 28 Aug. 1762

M-30: Nathaniel Cartmell of Frederick Co. 225 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. William Chambers, Cartmell's land, John Backett. 30 Aug. 1762

M-31: William Bennett of Pr. William Co. 200 A. on Middle Br. of Back Cr. known as David Woods Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 30 Aug. 1762

M-32: John Pierceall of Hampshire Co. 174 A. on N. Br. of Potomack in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 30 Aug. 1762

M-33: Mr. Thomas Lemen of Pensylvania 529 A. near Winchester in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Winchester Common, Col. James Woods, William Lupton, George Hollingsworth, William McMachen, Henry Heath, Henry Brinker, said Lemen. 30 Aug. 1762

M-34: Samuel Grubb & William Grubb of Pensylvania 431 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Adj. Emanuel now Benjamin Grubb, crossing Bullskin, John Grubb, Richard Stevenson. 1 Sept. 1762

M-35: Jacob Huntsbarger of Frederick Co. 214 A. near Potomack R. on Elk Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. George Henry Peachtolt. 2 Sept. 1762

M-36: Philip Baker of Frederick Co. 200 A. on Pass Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. 3 Sept. 1762

M-37: Mr. Jacob Hite of Frederick Co. 500 A. adj. Tulley McKenney, Henry Walton in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Jost Hite's old survey. 4 Sept. 1762

M-38: Adam Payne of Hampshire Co. 337 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. James Boyles, near Potomack R. 6 Sept. 1762

M-39: Solomon Hedge of Hampshire Co. 250 A. on New Cr. including Round Lick in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. 6 Sept. 1762

M-40: Capt. Richard Pearis of Frederick Co. 51 A. adj. his own line on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. 7 Sept. 1762

M-41: Capt. Thomas Speake of Frederick Co. 115 A. on Little Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzey. Adj. his 309 A. 8 Sept. 1762

M-42: Capt. Thomas Speake of Frederick Co. 196 A. on Little Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 9 Sept. 1762

M-43: Benjamin Kuykendall of Hampshire Co. 400 A. adj. John Kuykendall on Mill

Cr. of S. Br. of Potomack R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 10 [illegible]. 1762

M-44: Edward Snickers of Frederick Co. 90 A. on S. Br. called Gasper Lough's Botton in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. 13 Sept. 1762

M-45: George Osburn of Hampshire Co. 93 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. Daniel Richardson. 14 Sept. 1762

M-46: John Reed of Hampshire Co. 100 A. on S. Br. of Potomack on Cornwells Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 15 Sept. 1762

M-47: Mr. Isaac Hite of Frederick Co. 491 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Gibson, Hite's Patent. 16 Sept. 1762

M-48: Isaac Eley of Hampshire Co. 249 A. on Little Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 17 Sept. 1762

M-49: John Tackitt of Culpeper Co. 367 A. in Great Fork of Rapahannock R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. Timothy Sisk, Conrad Cobler. 18 Sept. 1762

M-50: William Cockran of Frederick Co. 460 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his survey, Abraham Hollingsworth, Col. Benjamin Gresson, Meredeth Helm dec'd, Col. Carter. 20 Sept. 1762

M-51: John Lemon of Frederick Co. 100 A. adj. his land in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Vaanmeter, Edward Lucas, William Foster, Nickolas Mercer, Edward Mercer. 21 Sept. 1762

M-52: William Smith of Hampshire Co. 100 A. on New Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Above Abrahams Cabbin. 22 Sept. 1762

M-53: Mr. Humphry Keys of Frederick Co. 113 A. near Potomack R. on Elk Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Joseph McCarnes(McCames?), William Hall, Mr. Henry Moore, Keys own line. 23 Sept. 1762

M-54: Mr. Gersham Keys of Frederick Co. 415 A. on Shannondoah R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Vestall, Col. John Carlyle, William Hall. 24 Sept. 1762

M-55: Robert Allen & John Robinson of Frederick Co. 193 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Burn. Adj. Widow Welburn. 25 Sept. 1762

M-56: Jonathan Rose of Frederick Co. 307 A. on Sleepy Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Isaac Rose, on Potomack R. 27 Sept. 1762

M-57: Robert Denton of Hampshire Co. 323 A. on Thorn Bottom Br. of Lost R. of Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 28 Sept. 1762

M-58: Ambrose Barnett of Orange Co. is in possession of 100 A. in Culpeper Co. part of tract granted his father John Barnett dec'd & William Philips for 1100 A 20 May 1735. Said 100 A. was conveyed to John Boston and reconveyed to Barnett dec'd who by will devised same to his son Ambrose Barnett (Records of Orange Ct.). Resurv. by Mr. Philip Clayton shows 1546 A. surplus in bounds. Grant for 1646 A. to Ambrose Barnett adj. Zachary Gibbs & John Medley, John Buford, Joseph Rogers dec'd, Smiths Run, James Barber, Bever Dam Run, Hon. John Grymes dec'd, Will Gibbons formerly s'd John Barnett, John Bosten. 29 Sept. 1762

M-59: Jeremiah Smith of Frederick Co. 191 A. adj. his former survey near Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Iserael Potts. 30 Sept. 1762

M-60: Thomas Edwards of Hampshire Co. 211 A. on Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. By his line adj. S. Br. Road. 1 Oct. 1762

M-61: John Hyatt of Hampshire Co. 91 A. on Sandy Lick Br. of Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Henry Batten. 2 Oct. 1762

M-101: John Funkhouser of Frederick Co. 294 A. adj. his survey & Jacob Funkhouser in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. 28 Dec. 1762

M-102: William Wadlington of Frederick Co. 413 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. George Bounds, Chester, Charles Buck. 29 Dec. 1762

M-103: Henry Fry of Hampshire Co. 213 A. on Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Hugh Hughs, Thomas Hughs. 30 Dec. 1762

M-104: Luke Collins of Hampshire Co. 163 A. on Town Fort Run & S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 1 Jan. 1763

M-105: Luke Collins of Hampshire Co. 170 A. on S. Fork of Luneys Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. 3 Jan. 1763

M-106: Mathias Riendhart of Frederick Co. 182 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. S. Br. of Shannandoah, John Bumgardner, John Landrum, Massanuttin Tract. 4 Jan. 1763

M-107: Mr. Gersham Keys of Frederick Co. 420 A. including some small Islands in R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. Within sight of Potomack R, adj. Thomas Mawbrey. 5 Jan. 1763

M-108: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 400 A. on N. Br. of Potowmack called the Great Springs in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 6 Jan. 1763

M-109: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 357 A. on Sleepy Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Thomas Caton. 7 Jan. 1763

M-110: Isaac Lerue of Frederick Co. 191 A. on Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 8 Jan. 1763

M-111: Samuel Larue of Frederick Co. 244 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Richard Colyer. 10 Jan. 1763

M-112: Samuel Littler of Frederick Co. 139 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Thomas McClun, John Nickland, said Littler. 11 Jan. 1763

M-113: Joseph Reeder of Frederick Co. 414 A. on Long Marsh and Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Patrick Rice, George Neavill, John Maddin, William Beasley, John Warford. 12 Jan. 1763

M-114: Peter Hanger of Frederick Co. 71 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. John Denton, Jonah Little, James McKenney. 13 Jan. 1763

M-115: Philip Glass of Frederick Co. 113 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. said Glass, Barnet Seaver. Christopher Windall, John Mauk. 14 Jan. 1763

M-116: Philip Glass of Frederick Co. 114 A. on N R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Bowman, Jacob Funkhouser, Barnet Seaver, Glass's Patent. 15 Jan. 1763

M-117: Job Mccoy of Frederick Co. 172 A. on Crooked Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. his own land, Robert McCoy. 17 Jan. 1763.

M-118: Henry Seacrest of Frederick Co. 353 A. on Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Nicholas Princeler, Michael White, Jacob Cackley. 18 Jan. 1763

M-119: Edward Morgan of Frederick Co. 313 A. on Tuscororah Br. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Morgan Morgan. 19 Jan. 1763

M-120: Moses Keywood of Frederick Co. 127 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Jacob Virtrees, Jacob Vanmeter, William Williams, Peter Beller. 20 Jan. 1763

M-121: George Lewis Coffenberry of Frederick Co. 282 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. adj. James Stroud, Isaac Evens, Stroud Mordicai, Edward Morgan, Mr. Thomas Swearingin. 21 Jan. 1763

M-122: Duggell Campbell of Frederick Co. 343 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his Patent, Isaac Evans, John Evans. 22 Jan. 1763

M-123: Andrew Campbell of Frederick Co. 362 A. on Tuscorora Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Evans, James Stroud, Mordicai Morgan, Morgan Morgan, George William Fairfax Esq. William Long. 24 Jan. 1763

M-124: Blausias Bear of Frederick Co. 314 A. near Thornton's Pass in said Co. Surv. Mr. Philip Clayton. 1 Feb. 1763

M-125: Mary Littler of Frederick Co. 168 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Simeon Taylor, Mary Littler, Rutherford's road, Hugh Haynes, Robert Hutchings. 2 Feb. 1763

M-126: Mr. John Mauzy of Fauquier Co. 78 A. on N.W. side of Sandy Ridge in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. Enock's Mill Path. 3 Feb. 1763

M-127: Mr. Gershem Keyes of Frederick Co. 140 A. on Shannandoah R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Henry Moore, Humphry Keyes, William Hall, Thomas Smith. 4 Feb. 1763

M-128: Adam Stephen Esq. of Frederick Co. 1100 A. on Opeckon and Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Col. Blackburn, Waggon Road to Philadelphia, Nickolas Lemon, Peter Burr. 5 Feb. 1763

M-129: Mr. John Graham of Pr. William Co. 410 A. on Hite's Marsh of Opeckon in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Jost Hite's Survey. 7 Feb. 1763

M-130: Mary Littler(marked out) of Frederick Co. 421 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Evan Thomas. 10 Feb. 1763 N.B. This Deed Cancelled being drawn & recorded in Book H folio 278.

M-131: Capt. Richard Pearis of Frederick Co. 536 A. near Tuscororah Br. on Main Road to Watkins Ferry in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. line of Beeson. 11 Feb. 1763

M-132: Capt. Richard Pearis of Frederick Co. 390 A. on Swan Ponds & Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his Lordships line, Richard Morgan, Mr. Beal. 12 Feb. 1763

M-133: Mr. Joseph Watson of Fairfax Co. 400 A. on Thorn Run of Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. John Welton Jr., James Dillarsza. 14 Feb. 1763

M-134: Daniel Newland of Frederick Co. 260 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. George Byrne. Adj. Griffith Thomas. 1 Mar. 1763

M-135: Jonas Little of Frederick Co. 400 A. on N. R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Crossing the Great Waggon Road. 2 Mar. 1763

M-136: Jonathan Rose of Frederick Co. 307 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Guy Broadwater. Adj. Potomack R. Br. below mouth of Sleepy Cr., Jonathan Rose. 3 Mar. 1763

M-137: Robert Harper of Frederick Co. 184 A. on Elk Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. William Strupe, William Hall, Joshua Cart. 4 Mar. 1763

M-138: Benjamin Parker of Hampshire Co. 227 A. on Mill Cr. of S. Br. in said

George Washington. Adj. James Smith. 1 Feb. 1764

M-244: Samuel Thatcher and Stephen Thatcher sons of Richard Thatcher dec'd of Pensylvania 400 A. on Tuscorors in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. At foot of N. Mt. 2 Feb. 1764

M-245: Samuel Thatcher & Stephen Thatcher sons of Richard Thatcher dec'd of Pensilvania 188 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Richard Beeson, said Thatchers, John Baker, Thomas Cordery, William Richa. 3 Feb. 1764

M-246: Mr. Stephen West of Maryland 413 A. on Opeckon & Vanmeters Marsh in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Richard Pearis, Rt. Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax, John Wilson, Jacob Vanmeter, Edward Mercer, Jacob Fetreece, Caton's Road. 6 Feb. 1764

M-247: Mr. Stephen West of Maryland 479 A. on Vanmeters Marsh in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford Adj. Edward Mercer, Joseph Caplin, Moses Keywood. 7 Feb. 1764

M-248: Mathias Reindhart son of Michael Reindhart dec'd of Frederick Co. 110 A. on S. Fork of Shannondoah R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. old Mesonuttin tract. 8 Feb. 1764

M-249: John Blackburn of Frederick Co. 200 A. on Mulberry Run of Ceedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Samuel Blackburn, William Stephenson, William Blackburn, Daniel Currey. 9 Feb. 1764

M-250: Messrs. Thomas Wharton and Joseph Wharton of Pensylvania 288 A. on N. Br. of Patterson Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 10 Feb. 1764

M-251: Messrs. Thomas Wharton and Joseph Wharton of Pensylvania 400 A. on N. Fork of Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. Whartons line. 11 Feb. 1764

M-252: Messrs. Thomas Wharton and Joseph Wharton of Pensylvania 265 A. on Keykendalls saw Mill Run between S.E. Mts. & Trough Hills in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. Samuel Dew. 13 Feb. 1764

M-253: Messrs. Thomas Wharton and Joseph Wharton of Pensylvania 351 A. on N. Fork of Pattersons Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffitt. Adj. said Whartons. 14 Feb. 1764

M-254: Andrew McCay of Frederick Co. 200 A. on W. Run and Drains of Crooked Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Robert McCay. 15 Feb. 1764

M-255: Leonard Eckstine of Frederick Co. 164 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Thomas Helm, John Neill. 15 Feb. 1764

M-256: David Lewis Jr. of Frederick Co. 164 A. on Mill Cr of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. said David Lewis, William Hyatt, Richard Fowler, Hamptons Br. James Anderson. 16 Feb. 1764

M-257: Oliver Creamer dec'd of Hampshire Co. was seized in ffee simple of 385 A.(Lott No. 35) on Wappocoma or Great S. Br. in said Co. by Deed 11 Aug. 1749. Creamer being never naturalized died an Alian. Land escheats. Grant to Mary Creamer wid. and relict of said Oliver Creamer. Mr. Gabriell Jones Clerk of said Co. 1 Mar. 1764

M-258: Henry Vanmeter of Frederick Co. 212 A. on Tuscorora in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Mordicai Morgan, Morgan Morgan, George William Fairfax Esq., Richard Morgan, John Ellis. 2 Mar. 1764

M-259: Samuel Harrison of Frederick Co. 300 A. on Opeckon near the big Lick in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Hon. Lewis Burwell Esq. dec'd, Capt. Thomas Caton, Enoch Pearson. 4 Apr. 1764

M-260: Mr. John Nelson of King George Co. 314 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Mr. Conner. 5 Apr. 1764

M-261: Mr. John Nelson of King George Co. 250 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon above John Thomas in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. his other land. 6 Apr. 1764

M-262: John Maddin Heir at Law of John Maddin dec'd of Frederick Co. 194 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Jeremiah Poor, Patrick Riley. 7 Apr. 1764

M-263: Ralph Thompson of Frederick Co. 265 A. on Opeckon Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Mathew Brooks, Evan Thomas's Run, David Gilkey. 3 May 1764

M-264: Richard Longacre of Frederick Co. 245 A. on Ceedar Cr. near N. Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. John Blair. 4 May 1764

M-265: Isaac Johnston of Frederick Co. 100 A. on Evan Thomas's Run of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. adj. Mary Littler, Evan Thomas, John Littler, Robert Stuart. 5 May 1764

M-266: Richard Faucett of Frederick Co. 307 A. on Cedar Cr. near N. Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. his land, Nathaniel Carr, John Snap. 7 May 1764

M-267: Christian Plank of Frederick Co. purchased 60 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. part of 2000 A. granted John Vanmeter 17 June 1730. (Records of Orange Co. Ct.) 50 A. Surplus in tract. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Deed for 110 A. to Plank. 8 May 1764

M-268: John Mendenall of Frederick Co. 391 A. on Dry Run Br. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Baylis. Adj. Beason, Mathew Duncan. 8 May 1764

M-269: John Mendenall of Frederick Co. 60 A. on N. Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John Jones, Mathew Duncan, Thomas Codry, Hon. Lewis Burwell Esq. dec'd, David Davis. 9 May 1764

M-270: Henry Felkner of Frederick Co. 328 A. on Funks Mill Run of N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Jacob Funkhouser, Jacob Bowman. 10 May 1764

M-271: Mr. Thomas Dent of Frederick Co. 28 A. surplus in 400 A. on Sleepy Cr. in said Co. granted him 15 April 1760. Resurv. by Mr. John Mauzy. Grant for whole 428 A. to Dent. Adj. William Smith, Dorrilys line. 11 May 1764

M-272: Richard Carter of Frederick Co. 394 A. on Abrahams Cr. on W. side of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Bailis. Adj. Col. Greyson, John Neal dec'd, Samuels Lick Run. 12 May 1764

M-273: William Albion of Frederick Co. 189 A. on Red Bud Run Br. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. Thomas Perry. 14 May 1764

M-274: Col. Benjamin Chambers of Pensylvania 110 A. on Opeckon Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Stroud, Edward Southerd, said Chambers. 15 May 1764

M-275: Jacob Vertrees of Frederick Co. 150 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Moses Keywood, Capt. Richard Pearis, Mr. Beal, John Newland. 19 May 1764

M-276: Joseph Hackney of Frederick Co. 391 A. on S. side of N. Mt. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John & James Barrat, Joseph Bryan. 21 May 1764

M-277: George Hogg of Carolina 118 A. on Hoggs Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. James McMullen, Dr. White, Elijah Odell, mouth of Hoop:petti-

John Gladden, John Neeley, Capt. Richard Pearis. 8 June 1765

M-390: Mr. James Keith of Frederick Co. 140 A. on Patterson's Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. his Lordship's Manor, Robert Higgins. 10 June 1765

M-391: Mr. James Keith of Frederick Co. 170 A. on Patterson's Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. Manor line, Keith's other land. 11 June 1765

M-392: Mr. John Steel of Pennsylvania 233 A. on Clay Lick Br. of Little Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 12 June 1765

M-393: Mr. John Steel of Pennsylvania 275 A. on Middle Br. of Litttle Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 13 June 1765

M-394: Henry Enoch Jr. of Hampshire Co. 308 A. on Hog's Path between French's and Little Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Ridge that divides waters of Little Cacapehon & Great S. Br. of Potowmack, Breakneck Hill. 14 June 1765

M-395: John Keith of Hampshire Co. 209 A. on Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. By road from Town of Winchester to Col. Cresap's. 15 June 1765

M-396: John Corbly of Frederick Co. 52 A. on Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John Keith. 17 June 1765

M-397: Mr. James Relfe of City of Philadelphia 150 A. on Mill Cr. of S. Br. and Middle Ridge in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. Buffington. 18 June 1765

M-398: Messrs John Foxcraft and Charles Thompson of City of Philadelphia 175 A. on Enochs's Mill Run about three miles from Forks of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Henry Lewis. 19 June 1765

M-399: Mr. John Relfe of City of Philadelphia 125 A. on Potowmack including an Island in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Friend Cox. 20 June 1765

M-400: Alexander Rider of Frederick Co. 420 A. on Pass Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. 21 June 1765

M-401: Mr. John Steel of Pennsylvania 111 A. on Clay Lick Br. of Little Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Hugh Murphy, Benjamin Kuykendall. 22 June 1765

M-402: Messrs. John Foxcroft & Charles Thomson of City of Philadelphia 97 A. on The Pine Draught of N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. John Woodfin. 24 June 1765

M-403: Mr. John Relfe of City of Philadelphia 202 A. on Stony Lick Run of Patterson's Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 25 June 1765

M-404: Mr. John Relfe of City of Philadelphia 195 A. on Great Cacapehon below fork in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Henry Enoch. 26 June 1765

M-405: Mr. John Relfe of City of Philadelphia 191 A. on Forks of Cacapehon & Spring Gap Br. of N. R. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 27 June 1765

M-406: Mr. John Relfe of City of Philadelphia 15 A. on Lick Br. near Forks of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. Relfe. 28 June 1765

M-407: Mr. Luke Collins of Frederick Co. 124 1/2 A. on Town Fort Run near Sugar Loaf Mt. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. 29 June 1765

M-408: Messrs John Kirkpatrick & Thomas Kirkpatrick of Fairfax Co. 150 A. on Town Fort Run in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. the Manor Line. 1

July 1765

M-409: Adam Shriver of Frederick Co. 149 A. on Duck Run of Cedar Cr. (including his plantation) in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Robert Marney, Barnet Disponet, John Dyer. 2 July 1765

M-410: Paul Froman of Frederick Co. 353 A. on Fromans Run of Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. his own land. 3 July 1765

M-411: John Watson of Frederick Co. 371 A. on Mill Cr. of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. Thomas Martin, N. Mt., James Anderson. 4 July 1765

M-412: Mr. William Buffington of Hampshire Co. 65 A. on Middle Ridge & Mill Cr. of S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Moffett. Adj. said Buffington, Thomas Bull, James Patten. 5 July 1765

M-413: Capt. Cornelius Ruddle of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Stoney Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. 6 July 1765

M-414: Col. Henry Vanmeter of Hampshire Co. 360 A. adj. John Ryan on Patterson's Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 8 July 1765

M-415: Capt Thomas Sweringen of Frederick Co. 97 A. on Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his own land, Thomas Rutherford, Col. John Carlyle. 9 July 1765

M-416: Ebenezer Bruster of Frederick Co. 118 A. on Potowmack R. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Daniel Osburn. 10 July 1765

M-417: John Fawcett of Frederick Co. 287 A. on Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. said John Fawcett, Richard Fawcett, Andrew Longacre, Joseph Fawcett, Ashby's line. 11 July 1765

M-418: Mr. Bryan Bruin of Frederick Co. 23 A. on Evan Thomas's Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Robert Stuart, Mary Littler. 12 July 1765

M-419: Thomas Cowan of Frederick Co. 81 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. George Fallis, Morriss Reece. 13 July 1765

M-420: Jacob Coile of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. land of Dodson, Joseph Denham. 15 July 1765

M-421: Robert Craigen of Frederick Co. 313 A. on a Br. of Sleepy Cr., Warm Springs Ridge in said Co. Surv. Mr. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Henry Lewis. 16 July 1765

M-422: Col. Henry Vanmeter of Hampshire Co. 122 A. on Flag Meadow on S. Br. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 17 July 1765

M-423: Col. Henry Vanmeter of Hampshire Co. 192 A. adj. his land on fflag Meadow in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 18 July 1765

M-424: Col. Henry Vanmeter of Hampshire Co. 105 A. on Pattersons Cr. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. 19 July 1765

M-425: George Wright Jr. of Frederick Co. 409 A. on Crooked Run called Stevens Run in said Co. Surv. Mr. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Zebulon Tharp, John Mire, Jacob Chrisman. 20 July 1765

M-426: Alexander Frier of Frederick Co. 151 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Bryan Bruin, Joseph Beeler, Dr. Bristoe, ffrier's line. 22 July 1765

M-427: Charles Parkins of Frederick Co. 67 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Lupton, John Dow Carey, William Cochran, said Parkins. 23 July 1765

N-217: James Douglass of Pr. William Co. 442 A. on Opeckon in Frederick Co. formerly two surveys by William Baylis for Thomas Michen who assigned to Robert Scott of Dumfries who had resurv. made to include whole in one tract. Scott assigned to James Douglass. Resurv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Elizabeth Vance, Col. Landon Carter, Joseph Robins, John Allen, Robert Ashby. 15 Sept. 1766

N-218: James Dunbar of Frederick Co. 95 A. on Opecckon in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. Patrick Duncan, John Arnold, Joseph Edwards, John Abrell, John Thomas. 15 Sept. 1766

N-219: William Wood of Frederick Co. 100 A. in Powells Fort in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. On Passage Cr. 15 Sept. 1766

N-220: Abraham Dealback of Frederick Co. 290 A. in Powells Fort in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. William Wood, John Denton. 16 Sept. 1766

N-221: Anthony Worley of Frederick Co. 398 A. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford Adj. Samuel Taylor, John Carney, Patrick McDaniel, Edward Lucus. 16 Sept. 1766

N-222: James Williams of Culpepper Co. 192 A. in said Co. Surv. Richard Young. Adj. land formerly Henry Sergeant, Hollow of Red Oak Mt., Cannon's R., John Barrickle (Barricle). 16 Sept. 1766

N-223: John Strother of Culpepper Co. 381 A. on Pignut Ridge, Thornton & Rush Rs. in said Co. Surv. Richard Young. Adj. the Great Bear Wallow, John Jones. 16 Sept. 1766

N-224: Robert Elder of Frederick Co. 296 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. 16 Sept. 1766

N-225: John Boyd of Frederick Co. 101 A. adj. N. Mt. on Opeckon in said Co., David Crocket, John & Patrick Gillaspy. Surv. William Baylis. 17 Sept. 1766

N-226: Robert Jackson of Frederick Co. 276 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. N. Mt., Hugh Miller. 17 Sept. 1766

N-227: John Kennedy of Frederick Co. 140 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. William Snodgrass. 18 Sept. 1766

N-228: Samuel Cornwall of Frederick Co. 325 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Hugh Lyles. 19 Sept. 1766

N-229: John Dokes of Frederick Co. 166 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Tulles's Ford Corner, said Doaks. 20 Sept. 1766

N-230: John William Proven of Frederick Co. 174 A. on Brush Cr. of Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. John Proven. 20 Sept. 1766

N-231: John Nealey of Frederick Co. 124 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. said Nealey, Richard Pearis, Robert Stogden. 20 Sept. 1766

N-232: Samuel Plumb of Maryland 160 A. near Head of Burd's Run of N. Br. in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Moffett. 20 Sept. 1766

N-233: Peter Chrismans of Frederick Co. 162 A. on Crooked Run of Shannandoah R. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Laurance Snapp, Jacob Chrisman, Matthew Kelly, Nicholas Pitman. 20 Sept. 1766

N-234: Henry Vanmeter 327 A. on Tuscororah Br. of Opeckon in Frederick Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. Clement Davis, Elizabeth Morgan, Capt. Morgan, Morgan Bryant. 20 Sept. 1766

N-235: Richard Ridgway of Frederick Co. 350 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. his Lordship, John McMachen, Simeon Taylor. 22 Sept. 1766

N-236: Josiah Ridgway of Frederick Co. 380 A. on Dry Run Meadow in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. George Hobson. 23 Sept. 1766

N-237: James Hyatt of Hampshire Co. 194 A. on Hyatts Br. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. George Hyatt. 23 Sept. 1766

N-238: Evan Hyatt of Hampshire Co. 24 A. on Sandy Ridge in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. John Hyatt. 24 Sept. 1766

N-239: Johathan Hyatt of Hampshire Co. 154 A. on Brown Loaf or Round Top Mt. and Hyatts Run in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. 25 Sept. 1766

N-240: Stephen Horner of Pensilvania Heir at Law of William Horner dec'd 292 A. on N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. reserving unto Mary Horner wid. of said William Horner 1/3 of said land for and during her natural life and after her death whole to said Stephen. Surv. Mr. George Washington 26 Sept. 1766

N-241: John Waite 225 A. on Lick Run Br. of Caccapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. George Washington Adj. Thomas Hughes. 27 Sept. 1766

N-242: Messrs. Lenox & Scott & Company of Spotsylvania Co. 266 A. on Beaver Spring Run in Hampshire Co. Surv. David Vance 27 Sept. 1766

N-243: Thomas Kennedy of Frederick Co. 335 A. on Dry Run Br. of Tuscororah in said Co. Surv. John Baylis. Adj. Thomas Caudry(Cawdry), Mr. John Dalton. 27 Sept. 1766

N-244: William Neill of Hampshire Co. 232 A. on Great Cacapehon R. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. 29 Sept. 1766

N-245: Evan Hyatt of Hampshire Co. Heir at Law of John Hyatt dec'd 233 A. on Bean's Br. of Cacapehon in said Co. reserving 1/3 unto Margaret Hyatt for and during her natural life and after her decease whole to said Evan Hyatt. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Thomas Edwards, Joseph Bean. 29 Sept. 1766

N-246: John Neavill of Frederick Co. 417 A. in said Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. Robert Morgan, William Jolliffe, Jacob Taylor, William Duckworth, John Ridgway, Jeremiah Poor. 29 Sept. 1766

N-247: Henry Heth of Frederick Co. 256 A. near Chesnut Springs on Cacapehon R. in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Near Cacapehon Cr. 29 Sept. 1766

N-248: John Smith of Frederick Co. had 400 A. granted him 26 Mar 1761. Desires to include surv. and adj. land in one Deed. Resurv. Thomas Rutherford 1175 A. Grant to Smith in said Co. Adj. said John Smith, Hugh Ranken, William Ranken, Col. Washington. 30 Sept. 1766

N-249: Messrs Alexander Wodrow & John Neilson of King George Co. 221 A. on Back Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj Jeremiah Smith, Sarah Thomas now Richard Neely. 30 Sept. 1766

N-250: William Smith 284 A. on Opeckon in Frederick Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford Adj. John Bryan, William Byrns, Andrew Campbell, Dougal Campbell. 1 Oct. 1766

N-251: Thomazin Elsey of Fairfax Co. 396 A. on Tuscororah Br. or Cr. near N. Mt. in Frederick Co. Surv. William Baylis. Adj. William Patterson, Hazle Hardwich, Col. George William Fairfax, James Moon. 1 Oct. 1766

N-252: James Craik of Province of Maryland 129 A. on Waggon Road from Edwards's to S. Br. and on Parker's Gap Run at foot of Sandy Ridge near N. R. of Cacapehon including a Cool Spring in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. Hyatt's Run, Thomas Parker. 1 Oct. 1766

N-253: James Craik of Province of Maryland and Philip Bush of Province of Pennsylvania 31 A. on Daniel Wood's Run near N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co.

O-104: Ge[illegible] Goose of Frederick Co. 310 A. on West Run in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Casper Mire. 12 Oct. 1767

O-105: Mr. Edward Whitehead of Frederick Co. 324 A. on Hughes Mill Run of Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. Adj. Samuel Ingrum. 1 Jan. 1768

O-106: George Lindanwood of Frederick Co. 400 A. on Mill Cr. in said Co. Robert Rutherford. Adj. Joseph Danham, John Ruddle. 2 Jan. 1768

O-107: Michael Pruner of Frederick Co. 13 A. near Potowmack R. in said Co. survey'd for Simeon Rice by Thomas Rutherford 10 Apr. 1755. Rice not complying with order from My Office (see Book N.) Adj. Rice, Edward Davis, John Carney. 4 Jan. 1768

O-108: James King of Frederick Co. 202 A. on Wrights Run of Opeckon in said Co. surv'd for John Allen. Plat returned by William Baylis 11 May 1752. Allen did not comply with order from Office (see Book N). Adj. Robert Ashby. Jan. 1767

O-109: John David of Frederick Co. 70 A. near Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. John Mauzy. Adj. James Davis, Bernet Newkirk, Robert Davis Sr. 6 Jan. 1768

O-110: James Harlan of Frederick Co. 280 A. on road to Warm Springs near end of Back Cr. Mt. in said Co. surv'd for Stephen Rawling. Plat returned by Thomas Rutherford 2 Apr. 1754, Said Rawling did not comply with order from my Office (see Book N). On drain of Cherry's Br. 7 Jan. 1768

O-111: George Neelly of Frederick Co. 83 A. on Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. John Neelly, Jacob Morgan, William Maxwell, Richard Pearis. 8 Jan. 1768

O-112: Jacob Morgan of Frederick Co. 82 A. on Opeckon near Swan Ponds in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. William Maxwell, John Neelly, Richard Pearis. 9 Jan. 1768

O-113: George William Fairfax, Bryan Fairfax & Thomas Bryan Martin Esqs. 12 A. on Warm Spring Run in Frederick Co. part of Tract surv'd & reserved for His Lordship's use. Adj. Joseph Combs. 11 Jan. 1768

O-114: John Griffen of Hampshire Co. 214 A. on Bakers Run in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. John Ross, on Bakers Ridge. 12 Jan. 1768

O-115: John Parker of Hampshire Co. 300 A. on New Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Moffett. Adj. William Anderson, William Ramsay. 13 Jan. 1768

O-116: Thomas Cusick of Frederick Co. 306 A. in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. George Lewis Ccoffenbury, Daniel Davis, Abraham Vanmeter, side of Opeckon, William Burns, Evans's Run, Isaac Evans, James Strode. 14 Jan. 1768

O-117: Thomas Shepherd of Frederick Co. 32 A. on Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. said Shepherd, William Brown. 15 Jan. 1768.

O-118: Peter Stephens of Frederick Co. 184 A. on Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Abraham Fry, John Hotzenpillar, William Russell, Robert Marney, Marney's or Duck Run, Wid. Richards. 16 Jan. 1768

O-119: Joseph Wayman of Culpeper Co. 156 A. in said Co. Surv. Richard Young. Adj. William Beverley Esq. 18 Jan. 1768

O-120: Nicholas Friend & John Friend of Hampshire Co. 150 A. on Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Enoch Enoch, Nicholas Friend, John Friend. 19 Jan. 1768

O-121: Adam Cunningham of Frederick Co. 133 A. on Flint Run of S. R. in said Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. Adj. Alexander Matthews, Reuben Paget, Norman, Cunningham. 1 Feb. 1768

O-122: Henry Funk of Frederick Co. 227 A. on Passage Cr. of N. R. in said Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. Adj. James Catlett, Joseph Baker. 2 Feb. 1768

O-123: Charles Kavenaugh of Culpeper Co. 400 A. in Great Fork of Rappahannock R. in said Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. John Yancy. 3 Feb. 1768

O-124: Philip Long of Frederick Co. Heir at Law of Paul Long dec'd 190 A. on S. Fork of Shannondoah R. in said Co. reserving unto Barbara Long wid. of said Paul Long 1/3 of land for and during her life and after her death whole to Philip Long. Surv. Georg Hume. Adj. Philip Long, Nicholas Long. 4 Feb. 1768

O-125: William Bills of Hampshire Co. 326 A. on Great Cacapehon in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Thomas Triplett, Enoch Enoch, the Chesnut Spring Tract, Harwick or Shilling, Joseph Jennings. 5 Feb. 1768

O-126: John Briscoe of Frederick Co. 2060 A. in said Co. surv'd for my own use by Mr. George Washington and Plot returned in my Name 26 Nov. 1750. On Old Waggon Road, adj. George Martin, Tootle's Hole Glade, Bear Garden Tract, Capt. Calmees. 1 Mar. 1768

O-127: James Shirley of Culpeper Co. 106 A. on Hughses R. in said Co. Surv. Richard Young. Adj. John McKenzey now Jonathan Pratt, Indian Run. 2 Mar. 1768

O-128: Philip Bush of Frederick Co. 34 A. on Lick Run of Opeckon in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Jonathan Taylor, Thomas Helm, George Mauk. 3 Mar. 1768

O-129: Martin Pickett of Fauquier Co. 354 A. on Stoney Cr. of N. R. in Frederick Co. surv'd for John Campbell and Plot returned by Robert Rutherford 11 Oct. 1751. Campbell did not comply with order from Office (see Book N). On Great Waggon Road. 4 Mar. 1768

O-130: William Love of Fauquier Co. 356 A. on Ross's Mill Run of S. Br. in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Moffett. Adj. William Smith, Bryan Bruin, John Ross. 5 Mar. 1768

O-131: James Miller of Maryland 184 A. on Potowmack R. in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Moffett Adj. Michael Cresap. 7 Mar. 1768

O-132: Thomas Moor of Frederick Co. 293 A. on Holeman's Cr. in said Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. Adj. John Dobekin, Stephen Ruddle, John Thompson, Reese Lewis, Boon's Survey. 8 Mar. 1768

O-133: Mathias Sheets of Pensylvania 1000 A. on Narrow Passage Run of N. T. of Shannondoah in Frederick Co. Surv. Robert Rutherford. 9 Mar. 1768

O-134: Michael Hilligas of Pensylvania 609 A. on Caleb Job's Mill Run of S. R. of Shannondoah in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. Peter Stephens. Adj. Hites Mine Land, Burr Harrison, John Hurst. 10 Mar. 1768

O-135: Leonard Eckstine of Frederick Co. 82 A. on Opeckon near head of Neills Marsh in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Waggon Road to Snickers, John Neill dec'd, said Eckstine, Joseph Reeder, John Madden. 11 Mar. 1768

O-136: Daniel Miller of Frederick Co. 127 A. on N. R. of Shannondoah in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. 1 Apr. 1768

O-137: Ralph Wormley Esq. of Middlesex Co. possesses 8007 A. on Shannondoah R. in Frederick Co. formerly granted Mann Page Esq. 23 Sept. 1730 and became property of his son Mann Page who sold to Wormley (records of the General Ct.) Resurv. 2 Apr. 1765 by Mr. Thomas Rutherford shows 3709 A. surplus. Caveat entered by Mr. John Hough of Loudoun Co. in behalf of Col. George Mercer who had purchased of Edward Snickers a tract surv'd for said Snickers in bounds of above tract also in behalf of Joshua Gore Jr. who had purchased from said Hough one other tract of land in bounds and had unjustly obtained a Deed for same in name of said Gore. Caveat by consent of said Wormley & Hough being left to Messrs

Charles [illegible]n, William Pickering. 3 Apr. 1775

P-344: Allan McDonald of Berkeley Co. 183 A. on Road from Mecklenburg to the Warm Springs, near the Nine Mile House in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. one Thompson, Thomas Harminson, William Smith, Gasparde Bonner, Thomas Swearengen, John Grier. 3 Apr. 1775

P-345: Stephen Millar of Frederick Co., Maryland 429 A. between S. Fork & Middle S. Fork of Sleepy Cr. in Berkeley Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. John Bailey Sr., William Bailey, Road from Winchester to the Warm Springs, Edward Crabb. 10 Apr. 1775

P-346: George Weaver of Dunmore Co. assignee of Adam Leonard 163 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. Adj. Joseph Hawkins, Reuben Allen, Griffey Thomas. 10 Apr. 1775

P-347: John Littler of Frederick Co. 22 A. 1 Ro. 4 Po. on Opeccon in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. John Littler, Thomas McClun, John Milburn's Heirs, George William Fairfax Esq., Samuel Littler. 11 Apr. 1775

P-348: James Dillon of Frederick Co. son & devisee of William Dillon dec'd 56 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Reserving unto Mary Bridges wid. of said William Dillon 1/3 during her natural life and after her decease whole to said James Dillon. Surv. 13 Mar. 1754 made for said William Dillon by John Mauzy and forfeited by advertisement. See Book N. Deed to James Dillon. Adj. said William Dillon, William Frost. 18 Apr. 1775

P-349: Col. Isaac Zane of Frederick Co. 507 A. on Hog Cr. in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Absalom Hammond, John Dyar. 19 Apr. 1775

P-350: David Faris of Berkeley Co. assignee of the Devisees of Aaron Jenkins dec'd 353 A. in said Co. Surv. 17 Nov. 1750 made for said Jenkins by John Mauzy and forfeited by advertisement. See Book N. Deed to David Feris. Adj. Samuel Harris. 19 Apr. 1775

P-351: Robert Rose of Hampshire Co. 9 A. on Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. his other tract. 20 Apr. 1775

P-352: John Adams of Frederick Co. assigneee of Benjamin Barrat 391 A. on Back Cr. in said Co. Surv. 28 Apr 1753 made for said Barrat by John Mauzy and forfeited by advertisement. See Book N. Deed to Adams. Adj. Matthias Elmour, James Haywarth, Jacob Barrat, Cattail Meadow Br. 22 Apr. 1775

P-353: Rev. John Christopher Hardwick 80 A. about 2 mi. from Strasburg in Dunmore Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Henry Piper, Col. Isaac Zane, Lutheran Church land, Samuel Bean, Hieronimus Baker. 25 Apr. 1775

P-354: Jeremiah Strode of Berkeley Co. set forth there is surplus in tract on Opeccon in said Co. part of 1250 A. granted by the Crown to Morgan Bryan 3 Oct. 1734. Bryan conveyed 360 A. to his son Joseph Bryan who conveyed to Edward Strode who conveyed to said Jeremiah Strode. Surv. Richard Rigg shows 580 1/8 A. (218 1/2 A. surplus & 1 5/8 A. adj.) On Opeccon, adj. Strode, Col. John Carlyle, land formerly Capt. Richard Pearis, George Williams. 29 Apr. 1775

P-356: Peter Black of Dunmore Co. 49 A. on N. R. of Shannandoah in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Ann Funk, Peter Black, Martin Black. 15 May 1775

P-357: William Johnson of Hampshire Co. assignee of Thomas Embly Heir at Law of Luke Embly dec'd assignee of John Hemblewright dec'd 200 A. on Capt. John's Run of Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. Thomas Rutherford. 19 May 1775

P-358: Benjamin Morgan of Province of Carolina 330 A. in Little Fork in Culpeper Co. Surv. 12 Feb. 1775 made for Benjamin Morgan by Richard Young and forfieted by advertisement. See Book N. Deed to Morgan. Adj. Rush R., Anthony Strother, George Strother, Capt. John Strother, Little Mt. 17 June 1775

P-359: James Spilman of Culpepper Co. set forth that 23 Apr. 1751 he obt[illegible]d Deed for 400 A. in said Co. & it appears there are only 328 A. in tract. 25 July 1770 he obtained Warrant for adj. land. Surv. Richard Young shows 383 A. (55 A. adj.) 383 A. to Spilman adj. Tilman Weaver, Pickett, Wm. Russell, Rev. Thompson. 19 July 1775

P-361: Mr. Peter Reeve of City of Philadelphia 400 A. on Grass Licks drain of N. R. of Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. Adj. Jonthan Pugh. 26 July 1775

P-362: Mr. Peter Reeve of City of Philadelphia 396 A. on Lunie's Cr. in Hampshire Co. Surv. John Moffett. Adj. said Reeve. 27 July 1775

P-363: Frederick Wolford of Dunmore Co. 175 A. on Dry Run of Hawksbill in said Co. Surv. John Hough. Adj. Humstead, corner to Place Bear. 28 Aug 1775

P-364: Thomas Cherry & William Cherry of Berkeley Co. 132 A. on Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. 23 Apr. 1763 made for said Thomas & William Cherry by Thomas Rutherford and forfeited by advertisement in Book N. Deed to Thomas & William Cherry. Adj. Cherry's former land. 31 Aug 1775

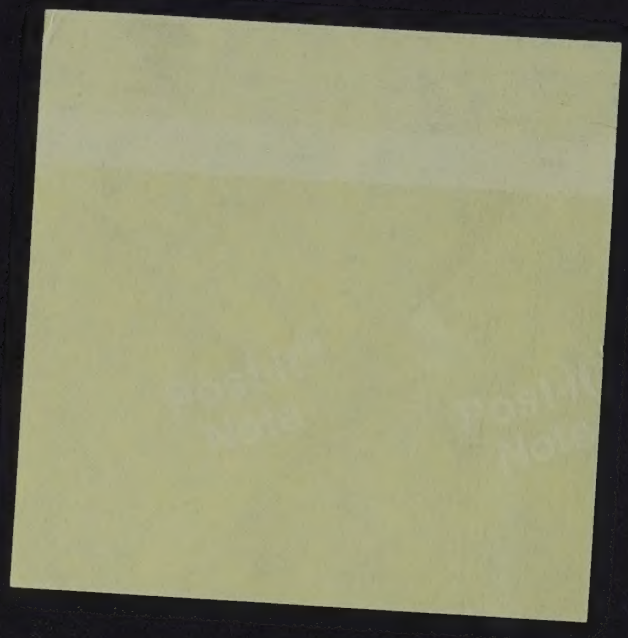
P-365: Lewis Wolf of Frederick Co. assigneee of Joseph Roberts assignee of Joseph Robins 344 A. on Opeccon in said Co. Surv. 11 May 1752 made for said Robins by William Baylis and forfeited by advertisement. See Book N. Grant to Lewis Wolf. Adj. John Nealon in Landon Carter's line, John Allen. 1 Sept. 1775

P-366: Col. Isaac Zane of Frederick Co. assignee of Messrs. John Potts & Co. assignees of Maj. Lewis Stephens assignee of Angel Stockman 269 A. on Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. 13 Dec. 1752 made for Angel Stockman by Robert Rutherford and forfeited by Advertisement. See Book N. Grant to Zane. Adj. Nicholas Princeler, Great Lick Run, John Richards. 25 Sept. 1775

P-367: William Gambill of Culpepper Co. Heir at Law to Henry Gambill dec'd 23[illegible] A. in said Co. reserving unto Mary Gambill wid. of said Henry Gambill 1/3 for [illegible] during her life and after her death whole to William Gambill. Surv. 31 Oct. 1754 made for Henry Gambill by Richard Young and forfeited by advertisement. See Book N. Deed to William Gambill. Adj. Kennerly, William Manify, Kennerly's Mt., Thomas Baker, Kennerly now Henry Gambill, Thomas Kennerly. 27 Sept. 1775

End Book P 1771-1775

1 Paris
98 Paris



Q-1: Fisher Rice of Culpepper Co. 24 A. on S. side of Robinson R. in said Co. Surv. George Hume. Adj. Rowzey, Matthias Mock, Fisher Rice. 13 Sep 1775.

Q-2: Col. Isaac Zane of Frederick Co. asne. of Messrs John Potts & Co. asne. of Major Lewis Stephens asne. of Richard Kennedy 124 A. on Cedar Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. 23 May 1762 for Richard Kennedy by Robert Rutherford ff'd (see Bk. N). Adj. John Richards, James Seare. 16 Oct 1775

Q-3: Col. Isaac Zane of Frederick Co. asne. of Messrs John Potts & Co. asne. of Maj. Lewis Stephens & Co. 1890 A. on Paddy's Run of Cedar Cr. in Frederick & Dunmore Cos. Surv. 20 May 1763 for Stephens & Co. by Robert Rutherford ff'd (see Bk. N). Adj. John Cook (at Gravels Spring). 18 Oct 1775

Q-4: John Wilson of Berkeley Co. 11 A. on Opeccon and Rd. from Winchester to Watkins's Ferry in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Hon. George William Fairfax, Esq., Isaac Evans, William Long, Col. Adam Stephens. 6 Nov 1775

Q-5: Augustine Cofman of Dunmore Co. asne. of Christian Powers 188 A. on Stony Cr. in said Co. Surv. John Hough. Adj. Christopher Cofman, Jacob Wertmiller, John Keller, Peter Coffel. 8 Nov 1775

Q-6: John Walker of Hampshire Co. 33 A. on N. Br. of Potowmack R. in said Co. Surv. 11 Oct 1761 for Walker by John Moffett ff'd (see Bk. N). Adj. said Walker. 14 Nov 1775

Q-7: Mr. John Lewis of Spotsylvania Co. 951 A. in Berkeley Co. being one moiety of Thee Swan Ponds tract, surv'd for my (Lord Fairfax) use by Guy Broadwater. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Richard Griffith, Maxwell, Jacob Morgan. 21 Nov 1775

Q-8: Mr. Henry Whiting of Frederick Co. 951 A. in Berkeley Co. one moiety of tract surv'd by Guy Broadwater. Moiety surv'd by Richard Rigg. Adj. Anthony Turner, Jones's Mill Run, Richard Poulson's land bought by Thomas Rutherford of Jas. Forman, Lord Fairfax, Mr. John Lewis, Rd. from Shepherd's town to Warm Springs, Capt. Richard Pearis, John Wilson, John Vanmeter. 22 Nov 1775

Q-10: Samuel LeRue of Frederick Co. 202 A. in Frederick & Berkeley Cos. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Warner Washington Esq., Mr. Gerard Alexander, Noah Haynes, Thomas Lofton. 4 Dec 1775

Q-11: John Hall of Caroline Co. son & Heir at Law of Robert Hall dec'd 327 A. in Culpepper Co. Surv. George Hume. By head spring of Naked Cr. 6 Dec 1775

Q-12: Jacob Hite of Frederick Co. (woolcomber) asne. of his son Alexander Hite 183 A. on Paul's Run of Cedar Cr. in said Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. Adj. Paul Froman, James Ireson, Little N. Mt., Wolf's Hollow. 6 Dec 1775

Q-13: David Ruble of Augusta Co. 292 A. on Back Cr. in Frederick Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. William Frost, Zadoc Springer, William Dillon. 9 Dec 1775

Q-14: Benedict Crouchman of Berkeley Co. asne. of Jacob Morgan 72 A. on Opeccon in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. Richard Morgan, Samuel Strode, Jacob Morgan, James Blair. 14 Dec 1775

Q-15: Thomas Bryan Martin Esq, of Frederick Co. has 750 A. on Trout Pond Br. & Thorn Bottom Run of Great Cacapehon in Hampshire Co. by Deed 15 Oct 1768 (Bk. O f. 190). Surv. by Peter Stephens is erroneous. 555 A. by resurv. of Richard Rigg. At foot of Hole Mt., Spring Br. 18 Dec 1775

Q-16: Col. Isaac Zane of Frederick Co. asne. of Samuel Pritchard asne. of Jonathan Pugh 375 A. on Grassy Lick Br. of N. R. of Cacapehon bet. the Short Arse & South Br. Mts. in Hampshire Co. Surv. Peter Stephens. 19 Dec 1775

Q-17: William Barrow of Frederick Co. 161 A. on Dry Run in said Co. Surv. Richard Rigg. Adj. John Adam Nicodemus, John Larrick, Edward Cartmill, Abraham

U-25: John [illegible]b 363 A.(15 Mar 1788) in Hardy Co. on Muddy run of Pattersons Cr. adj. Murphey, Pattersons Cr. Mt. 4 Aug 1789

U-27: James Fleming asne. of Henry Naffe 107 A.(27 Dec 1785) in Hampshire Co. adj. Henry Naffe. 4 Aug 1789

U-28: Abraham Mosley asne. of Jesse McPherson 400 A.(4 Aug 1788) in Hampshire Co. on Mill Cr. adj. Henry Yeater, Thomas Taylor, John Cuppy. 4 Aug 1789

U-29: Jacob Spiker asne. of Peter Putman 260 A.(3 Sep 1788) in Hampshire Co. adj. the Manor line, head of Middle run. 4 Aug 1789

U-30: Christopher Martin asne. of John Humphrey asne. of John Cuppy asne. of Samuel McPherson 412 A.(5 Aug 1788) in Hampshire Co. on Mill Cr. adj. John Glaze, John Cuppy. 4 Aug 1789

U-31: Jonathan Mathew asne. of Arjalon Price 171 A.(5 Sep 1788) in Hampshire Co. adj. William Sparks, John Douthat at head of Mill run, Thomas Hogan, Nobley Mt. 4 Aug 1789

U-33: Benjamin Foreman 249 A.(10 Oct 1784) in Hampshire Co. on Litttle Cacapehon and Stuarts run, adj. John Keating, Wickoff, Duncan, Dobson. 5 Aug 1789

U-34: James Watts asne. of James Fleming 120 A.(4 Sep 1788) in Hampshire Co. on Middle Rg., Mill Cr., adj. Job Parker, Hugh Balentine, David Buckles. 18 Aug 1789

U-35: Mathias Wilkins asne. of John Garrison 173 A.(2 June 1788) in Hardy Co. on the three Springs, Lost R. of Great Cacapehon adj. Andrew Viney. 6 Aug 1789

U-36: John Gyer asne. of John Huddle 400 A.(25 Sep 1788) in Shanandoh Co. inc. place where White Cotton built a cabbin and the flag Sw. in Powells little Ft., Rd. from Woodstock to Powells big Ft. 12 Aug 1789

U-38: Henry Kagey asne. of Samuel Lusk & Catherine his mother 220 A.(21 Apr 1785) in Frederick Co. on Smiths Cr. of N. R. of Shanandoh adj. Samuel Newman, Lusk's other land. 12 Aug 1789

U-39: Philip Boyer 204 A.(20 Mar 1786) in Shanandoh Co. on three top'd Mt. near Messannetten Cr. adj. David Cofman, Samuel Stover, Benjamin Strickler. 15 Aug 1789

U-40: David McAnturf asne. of Richard Nichols asne. of Jacob Motes asne. of Daniel Stover 330 A.(11 Sep 1788) in Shanandoh Co. in Powells big Ft. adj. Jacob Galladay, Laurance Delauter, Adam Ridenour. 13 Aug 1789

U-42: Edward Mercer 226 3/4 A.(19 Sep 1788) in Frederick Co. adj. land where he lives, David Davis, Joseph Steer, Thomas Babb, Little Mt., about four mi. from Winchester, Moses Mercer, Peter Babb, Henry Mauzy, Darlington. 5 Aug 1789

U-44: Edward Mercer asne. of Tristram Ewan 52 A.(28 Sep 1778) in Frederick Co. adj. his own land, on Parris's run, John Mauzey, Ewans corner, Meridith Darlington, Parris's new surv., Henry Mauzey, Philip & Peter Babb. 5 Aug 1789

U-45: Abraham Mosley asne. of James McDevit 80 A.(5 Aug 1788) in Hampshire Co. adj. Thomas Bull on Mill Cr., Bryan Bruin, Hague. 3 Aug 1789

U-46: James Baker 60 A.(5 June 1788) in Hardy Co. on Camp Br. of Lost R. of Great Cacapehon adj. George Bell. 31 July 1789

U-47: John Quirk 342 A.(9 July 1788) in Hardy Co. on N. R. of Great Cacapehon adj. Francis Ignatious Combs, Skeggs run, Thomas Davis, said Quirk. 3 Aug 1789

U-48: Benedict Jarboe asne. of William Clark 384 A.(19 Sep 1788) in Hardy Co. on N. R. of Cacapehon inc. the Sweet Spring, adj. George Ecline, Luke Jefferson. 1 Aug 1789

U-49: Christian Richards 160 A.(4 Nov 1780) in Shanandoh Co. adj. his own land, George Easterly, heirs of Jasper Hope, Philip Henry Myers/Moyers. 7 Aug 1789

U-51: Samuel Dayley 142 A.(1 July 1780) in Hampshire Co. adj. John Champ, the Allegany Mt. near his Lordship's Meadows. 24 July 1789

U-52: John Waters 219 A.(1 June 1781) in Hampshire Co. on Mill Cr. adj. George Beaty, Middle Rg. of Main Br. Mt. 22 Aug 1789

U-53: Hugh Murphey 249 A.(14 June 1788) in Hardy Co. on Abrahams Cr. in the Allegany Mt. adj. John Role, Champ. 22 July 1789

U-55: Francis Myers 386 A.(11 June 1788) in Hampshire Co. adj. Thomas Cooper in the Allegany Mt., Thomasen Elsey. 22 July 1789

U-56: Gasper Banner 334 3/16 A.(16 Aug 1768) in Frederick Co. adj. heirs of William Chaplin, Allen Cox, in gap of the N. Mt., on Back Cr., Rd. from Rowlings's to Warm Springs. 24 July 1789

U-57: Samuel Dayley 232 A.(10 Nov 1781) in Hampshire Co. at foot of New Cr. Mt., near Popejoy's lick, Allegany Mt. 24 July 1789

U-58: Philip Nowland 220 A.(26 Oct 1787) in Berkeley Co. on Back Cr. adj. John McCormack, Thomas Nowland, Thomas Middleton, Peter Flesher. 5 Aug 1789

U-60: David Badgley 483 A.(12 Sep 1788) in Hardy Co. on Stoney R. in Allegany Mt. 30 July 1789

U-61: Joseph Vanmeter asne. of Moses Neal 415 A.(1 Apr 1788) in Hardy Co. on Hickory Bottom Run of Mud Lick, adj. Vanmeter, Mercer, Garrat Vanmeter, Heggs. 29 July 1789

U-62: Joseph Vanmeter asne. Jesse Sage 424 A.(29 Mar 1788) in Hardy Co. on Mud Lick run adj. the Manor line, Abraham Hite. 30 July 1789

U-63: David Corbin 446 A.(3 Oct 1784) in Hampshire Co. on Little Capon adj. John Collins, Bruin, Kezner, the Waggon Rd. 22 July 1789

U-65: Joseph Vanmeter asne. of Reubin Berry 261 A.(29 Mar 1788) in Hardy Co. on Vanmeters Mill Run adj. Berry, Abraham Hite. 30 July 1789

U-66: Benjamin Fawcett 915 1/4 A.(10 Mar 1788) in Shanandoh Co. on Smiths Cr. bet. said Cr. and Messeunetten Mt., adj. Mounce Byrd, Henry Cagey, Jacob Roof, Henry Howser, Walter Newman, Abraham Savage. 7 Aug 1789

U-68: Abell Randall 406 A.(9 Sep 1788) in Hardy Co. on Alder Sw. in Allegania Mt., adj. Pryor Smallwood Roby. 30 July 1789

U-69: Nathaniel Kirkendall asne. of John Decker Jr. asne. of John Decker Sr. 135 A.(resurv. 10 Sep 1788) in Hampshire Co. on Allegany Mt. and Abrahams Cr. adj. Richard Hogland. 22 July 1789

U-70: Andrew Toy asne. of John Lips asne. of John Bough 462 A.(29 Sep 1784) in Hampshire Co. on Nobly Mt., on Cabbin Run of Pattersons Cr. adj. Daniel Thompson. 21 July 1789

U-71: Matthias Wilkins asne. of David Roberts 128 A.(31 May 1788) in Hardy Co. on Mill Run and Still Run of Lost R. of Great Cacapehon, adj. Thomas Elswick. 6 Aug 1789

U-72: Andrew Toy asne. of John Lip 203 A.(21 Apr 1784) in Hampshire Co. on Pattersons Cr. adj. Whitehead, on Cabbin Run, Nicholas Savor/Savour, Moffett. 21 July 1789

U-74: Ignatious Wheeler 352 A.(13 Dec 1787) in Hardy Co. on New Cr., in gap of New Cr. Mt. adj. Soloman Hedges, Allegania Mt. 22 July 1789

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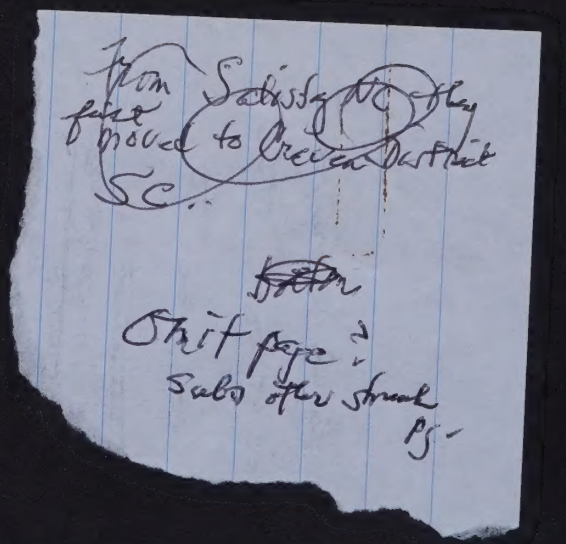

from Sabine NC they
have moved to Orleans District
SC.
Orit page 2
Subs after Stroud
PS-

Bk 11, pg 385 - 27 Oct 1766
(Release) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick and Rhoda his wife to David Hunter of Strabane Township County of York in Township of York in Province of Pennsylvania Yeoman..consideration of seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds..536 Acres (same as above). granted by the Proprietor of Northern Neck by his deed the 11th Feb. 1763..
Wit: same as above Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 10 April 1767

Bk 12, p 209 - 25 Feb. 1768
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick (to) Cornelious Thompson of the same County..consideration of Five Shillings..Track of Land lying & being upon Opeckon..line of Morgan Bryan..Containing Two Hundred Acres being the Land devised unto said Richard by his Father George Pearis..Also another Tract of Land adjoining the above mentioned Tract of Land..Containing Two Hundred & Nine Acres for which said Richard Pearis obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 2nd April 1762..And also one other Tract of Land adjoining the last mentioned Tract Containing Fifty one Acres for which said Richard Pearis obtained a Deed from Proprietor of Northern Neck the 7th Sept. 1762.. Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the Last Day of said Term.
Wit: none Richd. Pearis
Recorded: 5 March 1768

Bk 12, p 211 - 26 Feb. 1768
(Release) Between Richard Pearis and Rhoda his wife of County of Frederick (to) Cornelious Thompson of County aforesaid..consideration of Five Hundred Pounds..Several Tracts of Land (same as above)..
Wit: None Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 5 March 1768

Bk 13, pg 124 - 3 Aug 1769 - Entry says the property (Bk 10 pg. 54) from Robert Pearis to Richard Pearis to Christopher Aldred, Baker, was sold to Chris.Anderson . His "relick" Margaret and son Henry Anderson now transfer said property to Michael Aldred (7 Acre Lot in Winchester)

Bk 13, p 344 - 16 March 1770
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick (to) David Davis and Meredith Darlington of Lancaster County & Province of Pennsylvania as tenants in common..Consideration of Five Shillings..all those tracts of land..one Tract of Land containing two hundred Acres being the Plantation whereon the said Richard Pearis now Lives..four miles above the Town of Winchester and is the same Tract of Land which George Pearis Devised by Will to his son Robert Pearis and which was Richard Pearis by the said George Pearis of one William Hoge who purchased the same of one Isaac Perkins who obtained a Patent for same of the Kings Office the 15th Nov 1735..above Thomas Babbs Plantation..also one other Tract containing three hundred & Twenty Four Acres..Corner to Land granted to Isaac Parkins..Corner to Mr. James Wood..Corner to William Hoge's Moiety, being the same tract of Land granted to Robert Pearis by Deed from the Proprietors Office the 9th Nov. 1752..one other tract of Land containing Two hundred & twenty-nine Acres granted to said Robert Pearis by Deed from the Proprietors Office the 9th Nov. 1752..Corner to Isaac Parkins..one other Tract of Land containing four hundred & forty one Acres granted to said Robert Pearis by Deed from the Proprietors Office the 12th April 1753.. which said four tracts above were purchased by said Ruchard Pearis of the above named Robert Pearis and conveyed to him by Deeds of L & R the3rd & 4th Feb. 1764..rent of one ear of Indian Corn on Lady day next...
Wit: John Nevill, James Wood, Richard Pearis
Philip Bush, Henry Heth, Edw. McGuire
Recorded: 8 Aug 1770

Bk 13, p 447 - 17 March 1770
(Release) Between Richard Pearis and Rhoda his wife of County of Frederick (to) David Davis & Meredith Darlingon of Lancaster County and Province of Pennsylvania..consideration of one thousand three hundred and forty Pounds..Several Tracts of Land (same as above)..
Wit: same as abive Richd. Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 8 Aug. 1770

Bk 13, p. 467 - 23 March 1770
TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS shall come KNOW YE that I Richard Pearis of County of Frederick for Divers good causes & Considerations have nominated constituted and appointed my trusty friend Thomas Hite of County of Frederick my Trusty & Lawful Attorney for me and in my name to Grant Bargain & Sell..all that Tract of Land Situate lying and being on Cpeckon Creek..adjoining the Lands of Robert Stogdom and Samuel Stroud and the same Tract of Land which was Purchased by George Pearis Deceased of Richard Morgan and devised by said George Pearis to George Pearis his grandson who conveyed his right to same to said Richard Pearis containing three hundred and seventy three Acres.
Wit: James Wood, Philip Bush Richd. Pearis
Recorded: 6 Nov. 1770

Bk 15, pp 339-342 - 2&3 March 1772 refer to the sale recorded in Bk13, pg 344, 16 March 1770 acquired by Richard Pearis from his brother Robert and sold to David Davis & Meredith Darlington. It appears they had become indebted to Richard Hockley, Jeremiah Wardes, and Abel James for at least part of the money for the purchase. The latter now acknowledge the sum of one thousand forty eight pounds fifteen shillings Pennsylvania money has been paid to them and release all right of title & claim to said land.

Abstracts of Wills, Inventories, & Administrations of Accounts of

Frederick County, Virginia 1743-1800

by J. Estelle Stewart King (1982) GPC

(contains on page 20)

LEMON, James
Will, 1 June 1757. 9 June 1757.
Wife Lucy to have one-third of the furniture and one dozen silver spoons. To son Thomas (eldest), a plantation. Youngest son William to have a lot in Winchester. Daughter Elizabeth Pearis to receive 100 pounds of currency. If Elizabeth returns to her husband, Robert Pearis, then 100 pounds of currency to be paid to youngest daughter Mary. Exrs: wife and son Thomas Lemmon. Wit: Thomas Carroll, Robert Lemmon, Isa bel Lemmon.

(on page 23)

PEIRS, Lewis
1 April 1762. August 1762.
Sons: Andrew & Lewis Peirs (eldest sons), son John Peirs. Daughters: Rebecca Buskirk, Johnmaks(?) Mary Peirs. Sons: Thomas, James and David Peirs. Exrs: brother John and son Thomas and William Brown.

The booklet did not contain any other names which I recognized as having been related to the Pearis Family. The first entry provides us with the surname of Robert Pearis's wife,and her father's name.

The second entry shows that Lewis Peirs (sometimes found in deeds under the spelling "Pearis" in connection with his co-purchase with Richard Pearis, in which he is also referred to as "Pearce") is probably not a relative, though at this point it is not possible to rule that out with 100% certainty. It is possible, if not likely, that he was a distant cousin of some sort.

nz

Frederick County, Virginia Deed Books, Vols 1-16 (1743-1776)

By Amelia C. Gilreath (1989)

Bk 1, page 389 - 11 Feb 1747/8
Between Emanuel Grub of Brandywine Hundred & County of New Castle on Delaware & Province of Pennsylvania Farmer (to) Benjamin Grub of County of Frederick & Colony of Virginia.. Consideration of One Hundred Pounds ..two Hundred & fifty five acres of land lying scituate & being in Frederick County..on the north side of Shenando River the said Land being Granted by a Patent unto Jost Hite & the said Land by Deed from Jost Hite to Emanuel Grub of New Castle County..Divides this land & the land of John Grubb.. Emanuel Grubb
Wit: John Fernwood, Adam Cunningham, Joshua Haines, Richard Pearis
Recorded: 5 April 1748

Bk 2 - pg. 184, 12 Nov 1750
(Lease) Between William Hoge of County of Bucks in Province of Pennsylvania (to) George Pearis of County of Frederick..Consideration of five shillings..all that tract of Land Lying and being in County of Frederick containing two hundred acres..being part of a Greater Tract granted to Isaac Perkins by patent bearing date of Nov 1735 and by said Perkins conveyed to said William Hoge by deeds of L&R recorded in Orange County Court..Rent of one ear of Indian Corn on Lady Day next..
Wit: John Starzea, Tho. Wood, John Maden, William Hoge
Willm. Nealy, Jacob Jenkins, Duncan ?Oglea
Recorded: 14 Nov 1750

Bk 2 - pg. 186, 13 Nov 1750
(Release) Between William Hoge of County of Bucks in Province of Pennsylvania (to) George Pearis of County of Frederick..Consideration of Two Hundred & seventeen pounds Cur. money of Pennsylvania..200 Acres (same as above).. William Hoge
Wit: same as above
Recorded: 14 Nov. 1750

Bk 6 - pg. 439, 29 Nov. 1761
(Lease) Between Edward Stroud of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said County..consideration of five shillings..parcell of Land Containing one Acre Lying & being on Opechon Creek..part of a greater tract of three hundred & sixty acres..rent of one pepper corn on lady day next... Edward Strode, Elioner (E) Strode
Wit: Basil Magruder, John White, Mary (+) White
Recorded: 2 Dec. 1761

Bk 6 - pg. 440, 1 Dec. 1761
(Release) Between Edward Stroud & Elener his wife of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said County..for and in consideration of Forty Shillings..One Acre (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Edward Strode, Eleaner (E) Strode
Recorded: 2 Dec. 1761

Bk 6 - pg. 518, 14 Jan. 1762
(Release) Between Lewis Pearce Sen. of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis of said County..consideration of Five Shillings..150 Acres.. (same as above) Wit: same as above Lewis (L) Pearce Sen.
Recorded: 2 March 1762

Bk 6 -pg. 522, 27 Jan 1762
(Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun. of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis of said County..Consideration of Five Shillings..One Acre of Land belonging and being part of a Certain Tract Containing three Hundred & Sixty Acres lying & being on Opechon Creek (in possession of Edward Strode) ..rent of oneEar of Indian Corn on the last day of said Term..
Wit: Jas. Blair, Holloway Poor, Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares
John Hardin

Bk 6 - pg. 522, 27 Jan. 1762
(Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun. of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis of said County..consideration of five shillings..acre of land as abo
Wit: Same as above
Recorded: 2 March 1762 Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Pearce

Bk 7, pg 512 - 7 Sept. 1762
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick, Gent. (to) Strother Jones an Infant son of Gabriel Jones of County of Augusta..consideration of five Shillings..Tract of Land situate lying and being in County of Frederick and Granted by Deed from the Proprietors Office to said Richard Pearis the 8th May 1762..in the Patent Line of Jacob Vanmeter and a corner to Edward Mercers Late Survey..Containing two Hundred and Twenty four Acres..Rent of one Pepper Corn on Lady Day next..
Wit: None Richard Pearis
Recorded: 8 Sept. 1762

Bk 7, pg 513 - 8 Sept 1762
(Release) Between Richard Pearis and Rhoda his wife of County of Frederick (to) Strother Jones an infant son of Gabriel Jones of Counry of Augusta.. Consideration of Twenty Pounds..224 Acres (same as above).
Wit: none Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 8 Sept. 1762

Bk 7 pg 518 - 7 Sept. 1762
(Lease) Between Richard Stephenson of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis of County of Frederick..consideration of five Shillings, One Tract of Land Situate Lying and being on the Drains of Opechon at the Lower end of Swan Pond..at Edward Taylors line..Corner to Colonel John Carlyle.. containing one Hundred and Eighty Acres for which the said Richard Obtsine a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 5th February 1762..Rent of one pepper Corn on Lady Day next..
Wit: none Richard ( ) Stephenson
Recorded: 8 Sept. 1762

Bk 7, pg 519 - 8 Sept. 1762
(Release) Between Richard Stephenson and Konor (Cmmer) his wife of County of Frederick (to) Richard Pearis of said County..consideration of forty seven Pounds..180 acres as above..
Wit: none Richard (R) Stephenson, Konor (-) Stephenson
Recorded: 8 Sept. 1762

Bk 8, pg. 352 - 2 May 1763
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis and Rhoda his wife of County of Frederick (tO) Stephen West of Upper Marlbrough in Province of Maryland..consideration of five Shillings..Several Tracts of Land lying and being in County of Frederick in Virginia near Potomack River that is to said all that trac lately surveyed for said Richard Pearis by Thomas Rutherford..Four Hundred Acres Granted out of his Lordships Office and all that other tract ofland Containing Eight Hundred or 810 Acres of land..adjoining to my Lords Manor and Vanmeter's Marsh..and all that other tract of land bought of Lewis Pearce Containing by Estimation 150 Acres of Land the same as by deed of Conveyance fron said Lewis Pearce the 16th January 1762, and all that Tract of land containing 180 Acres formerly bought of Richard Stephenson by Deed of Conveyance..and all that other Tract of Land Lying at the Head of Swan Pond in Frederick County aforesaid Granted by Thomas Lord Fairfax unto said Richard Pearis by deed the 17th of February 1763 for three Hundred and Ninty Acres of Land..all that Tract of Land with the Saw Mill thereon erected containing by Estimation one acre heretofore conveyed by Edward Strode and his wife unto Richard Pearis and Lewis Pearce by Deed the 29th Nov. 1761 to which the said Richard Pearis has since become sole owner..Rent of one Peper Corn on Lady Day Next..
Wit: G. Ross, Wm. Neally, Lewis Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 4 May 1763 moore

Bk 8, pg. 354 - 5 May 1763
(Release) Between Richard Pearis and Rhoda his wife to Stephen West of Upper Marlbrough in Province of Maryland..Consideration of Eight Hundred and Seventy Nine Pounds Seventeen Shillings and five Pence Sterling money of Great Britain..Several Tracts of land (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 4 May 1763

Bk 9, pg. 95 - 25 Oct. ____
WHEREAS Robert Lemen and Isabella his wife by by their Deeds of L and R the 2nd & 3rd Sept. 1762..Sold unto William Heath..a certain Tract of Land in County of Frederick containing one Hundred and Sixteen Acres.. Isabella Lemen now releases Right of Dower to same.. /s/ Jas. Keith
2 Dec. 1763 - Elizabeth Lemen relinquished her Right of Dower to said land.
Recorded: 7 Feb. 1764 Rich. Pearis, David Shepherd

Bk 9, pg. 106 - 2 Feb. 1764
KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that I Robert Pearis of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina for Divers Good Causes and Considerations.. appoint Richard Pearis of Frederick County in Colony of Virginia my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name..
Wit: Wm Fowler, Robt. Wm. Kendrick Robert Pearis
Recorded: 6 March 1764

Bk 9, pg. 169 - 28 Dec. 1763
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick (to) Samuel Johns of the same Place..consideration of five Shillings..one Certain Tract of land Containing five Hundred and Seventy three Acres lying and being in County aforesaid..Corner to Jeremiah Jacks..Rent of one Pepper Corn on Lady Day next.. Richard Pearis
Wit: James Keith , Angus McDonald, Archibald Meyer, John McKimie
Recorded: 2 May 1764

Bk 9, pg. 170 - 29 Dec. 1763
(Release) Between Richd. Pearis of County of Frederick and Rhoda his wife to Samuel Jones of the same Place..consideration of three Hundred ad Seventy five Pounds Ten Shillings..573 acres (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Richard Pearis, Rhoda Pearis
Recorded: 2 May 1764

Bk 9, pg. 260 - 18 July 1764
(Lease) Between John Neilly of County of Frederick (to) George Neilly of the said County..consideration of five Shillings..parcel of land containing Sixty One Acres lying and being on the Drains of Opechon Creek Run in the Psrrish and County of Frederick and Part of a greater Tract Containing two Hundred and Eighty five Acres..Corner to Richard Pearis..Rent of one Pepper Corn on Lady Day next.. John Neilly
Wit: James Fowler, James Blair, Lewis Moore, Richard Pearis
Recorded: 7 Aug. 1764

Bk 9, pg 262 - 19 July 1764
(Release) Between John Neilly of County of Frederick (to) George Neilly of said County..consideration of four Pounds..61 Acres..(same as above)..
Wit: same as above John Neilly
Recorded: 7 Aug. 1764

Bk 10, pg. 1 - 3 Feb. 1764
(Lease) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia.. consideration of Five Shillings..four Sundry Tracts of Land situate lying and being in Frederick County..beginning at the Tract of Land sold George Pearis by Wm. Hog and said George Pearis to said Robert.. Containing 200 Acres another of the said Tracts..Containing 325 Acres for which said Robert Obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of North ern Neck November 9th 1752 another of said Tracts..Containing 229 Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck Nov. 9th 1752 the other tract of Land..Containing four Hund red and forty one Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 12th April 1753..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said term.. Robert Pearis
Wit: William Fowler, George Neilly, Robt. McKendrick
Recorded: 4 Sept. 1764

Bk 10, pg. 2 - 4 Feb. 1764
(Release) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife to Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia.. consideration of One Thousand Pounds..Four Tracts of Land (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Robert Pearis
Recorded: 4 Sept. 1764

Bk 10, pg. 54 - 18 Oct 1764
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsburry (sic) Town Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker in the Town of Winchester County of Frederick..consideration of five Shillings..a Certain lot of Land Situate lying and being in the Town of Winchester known by the No. 7..being 19,740 square feet..part of a Tract of Land Granted to James Wood dec'd by Deed from the Proprietors Office and by him devised by his last Will and Testament to Mary Wood who sold and Conveyed said Lott of Land to said Robert Pearis by Deed the 1st March (illegible roman numerals)..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn at last day of said Term..
Robert Pearis
Wit: Adam Haymaker, 1 wit. signed in German, Archd. Wager
Recorded: 4 Dec. 1764.

Bk 10, pg. 55 - 19 Oct 1764
(Release) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsbury Town Rowan County and Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker of Tow of Winchester..consideration of thirty Pounds..Lot No. 7 in the Town of Winchester (same as above).. Robert Pearis
Wit: same as above.
Recorded: 4 Dec. 1764.

Bk 11, pg. 384 - 25 Oct. 1766
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis of County of Frederick Esq. to David Hunter of Stracane Township in County of York in Province of Pennsylvania.,consideration of five Shillings..Tract of Land Containing five Hund red and thirty six acres situate lying and being on the said road to Watkins Ferry near Tuscarorah Branch..in the edge of Poison Field..rent of one peper corn on la dy day next.
Wit: David Denny, Sr., Edward Mercer, David Denny Jr., Richard Pearis
Sarah Pearis, Jno. Fleming, Ann (X) Pounds
Recorded: 9 April 1767

Proof that the Pearis Family were regular church-goers is apparent from the following. They attended the old Presbyterian church built by pioneer William Hoge, Sr., in 1736, pictured on page 8. Back then one had to be a church member in good standing to participate in the communion service, which was held only a few times a year, not often as common nowadays. Church elders questioned the person to ascertain that he or she was sufficiently devout and knowledgeable.

Old Frederick County Parish Record

Two pages from a Frederick County Parish record show signatures of parishoners who participated in the communion (Eucharist) during 1761-1763. The register was found in an original book among miscellaneous Frederick County records in the Virginia State Library, Archives Division. At the top of the register is this statement: "I do declare that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person Whatsoever." This was one way of saying that the communion table was for Protestants only.[17]

Some persons who signed the parish register were: Nicholas M___(German), John Hite, Jacob Morgan, Thomas Caton, ___ Mandley, James Craik, James Ireson, John Neaville, John McKensie, John Christopher (Heintz ?), James Keith, Thomas Speake, Lewis Moore, Cornelius Vansdell, Peter Hog (on June 1, 1762), Joseph Longacre (a German signature), Joseph Glass, John Lindsey, Thomas Bryan Martin, John Sheen, Richard Paris (Pearis), John Watson, John Taylor, Edward Robinson, David Shepherd, Jeremiah Odell, John Shealy (HisXMark--the only person who could not sign his own name), Charles Smith, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Rutherford, Thomas Whitson, William Overall, Thomas Wadlington, Archibald Wager, Humphrey Wells, Isaac Russell, Thomas Lowe, John Kennedy, Joseph A__(not legible), Elijah Isaacs(?), John Linsey, Daniel Bush, John Edwards, Edward Rogers Jr., Morgan Morgan, Walter Moffett, John Waton (German), Van Swearington, John Wager, Wastley Whit, John Dark, Alex Lemen, John Jenkins, Martin ___(German), Richard Jackman, Adam Stephen, Burr Harrison, Angus McDonald, Thomas Helm, and Henry Netherton. With several exceptions, this list represents persons in the power structure of Frederick County in 1761-1763. It is obvious that no women signed the register.

Copied from: Settlement and some First Families of Back Creek Valley by Wilmer L. Kearns (1995) page 16

CHRONICLES OF SCOTCH IRISH SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA (VOL IV?)

by Lyman Chalkey

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS

Page 82, long entry in case of Marshall vs. Hunter. This seems to be one of the very old cases created by the controversies between Lord Fairfax and the Virginia Proprietary. (Land in "Berkeley Co." corrected in parenthesis to Frederick County) Bill filed 22 June 1799.
.....Copy of survey 1775 for ltract of land adjoining old patent of John Van Meter on drains of Opequon in Berkeley County formerly surveyed for Robert Beal.....copy of grant of Fairfax to John Owlent in 1763...Copy of grant by Fairfax to Cap. Richard Pearis in 1763... Cpy deed 20 Feb 1784, Saml. Oldham and Anne of Berkeley Co. to Moses Hunter on drains of Opequon conveyed to him by John Linden ((Snider) Sep. 1772. Corner Moses Keywood, Cor. Csp. Richard Pearis, cor. John Newland....etc.

Page 138.- entry in case of Joliffe's Executors vs. Hite et al. Mentions will of John Hite of Berkeley Co. Bill 18 Dec 1794, Mar 1797 Answer states Jacob Obannion Hite, son and heir of John Hite, Jr., died leaving Mary, Sarah, and Catherine, his daughters... Will of John Hite--wife, Sarah; son, Jacob Obannion Hite. (John's father "has been unfortunately killed by the hands of violence and it is probable he has left no will; proposes division between his son and John's brothers and sisters of that large tract of land lying in the Indian country in South Carolina, being part of an undivided tract held by father under a deed from the Cherokee Nation to Richard Pearis, the said Pearis's Indian son, and testator's father.)...goes on to list heirs of John Hite, Jr., Dec.

Tyler's Quarterly Magazine
Vol 3 : 49 (July 1921)

CupL 929.1 T98 V3

ing chores. Three men in the cabins had not yet gone to their fields.

While Ingles was at work, he heard screams and gunfire in the cluster of homes in the clearing. He rushed home, and saw a band of marauding Shawnee assaulting the cabins. As he approached he realized that the attacking force was too large to oppose. He turned to run but two warriors spied him. Ingles dashed into the woods, jumped over a fallen tree, stumbled and fell. His pursuers circled the uprooted tree without seeing him and ran on ahead. This gave him a chance to dive deeper into the woods in another direction and escape.

When the shrieks of the victims and the war whoops of the savages died down, Ingles ventured out of his hiding place. Draper came in from a far field, and the two men scratched in the ruins of the smoldering cabins. They discovered the body of John's baby with its head broken open. Inside the Ingles home they found the giant frame of Colonel Patton, lying scalped before the table, with the bodies of two warriors whom he had struck down with his sword before he was shot. The bodies of Mrs. George Draper and a neighbor, Casper Barrier, lay near by. One man, James Cull, was found alive but seriously wounded. He told the tragic details of the massacre. Mrs. John Draper had been shot in the arm as she fled with her baby. A warrior had caught her, snatched the baby from her and brained it against the end of a log. The rest of the settlers, Mrs. Ingles and her two boys, the wounded Mrs. Draper and Henry Leonard, had been taken away by the marauders. Draper's Meadows had been completely wiped out, the homes plundered or burned, the store of ammunition brought by Patton and Preston stolen, the horses ridden away, and the other livestock killed or scattered in the woods.

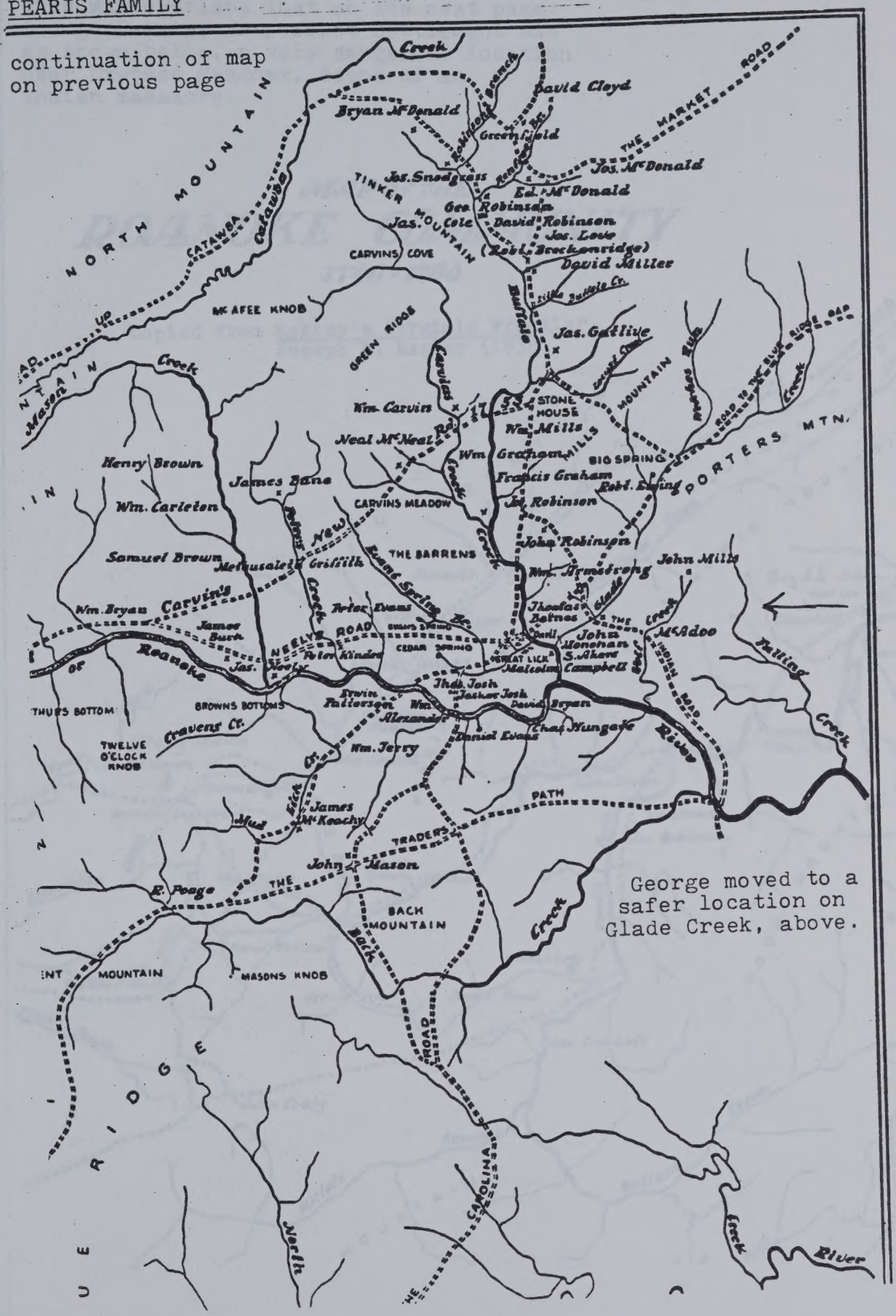
The raiders had come out of the north and they retreated by the same route. In a final gesture of cruelty and savage humor they stopped at the cabin of Philip Barger, a white-haired old man living alone in the valley. They cut off his head and put it in a bag. When the savages passed the home of Philip Lybrook

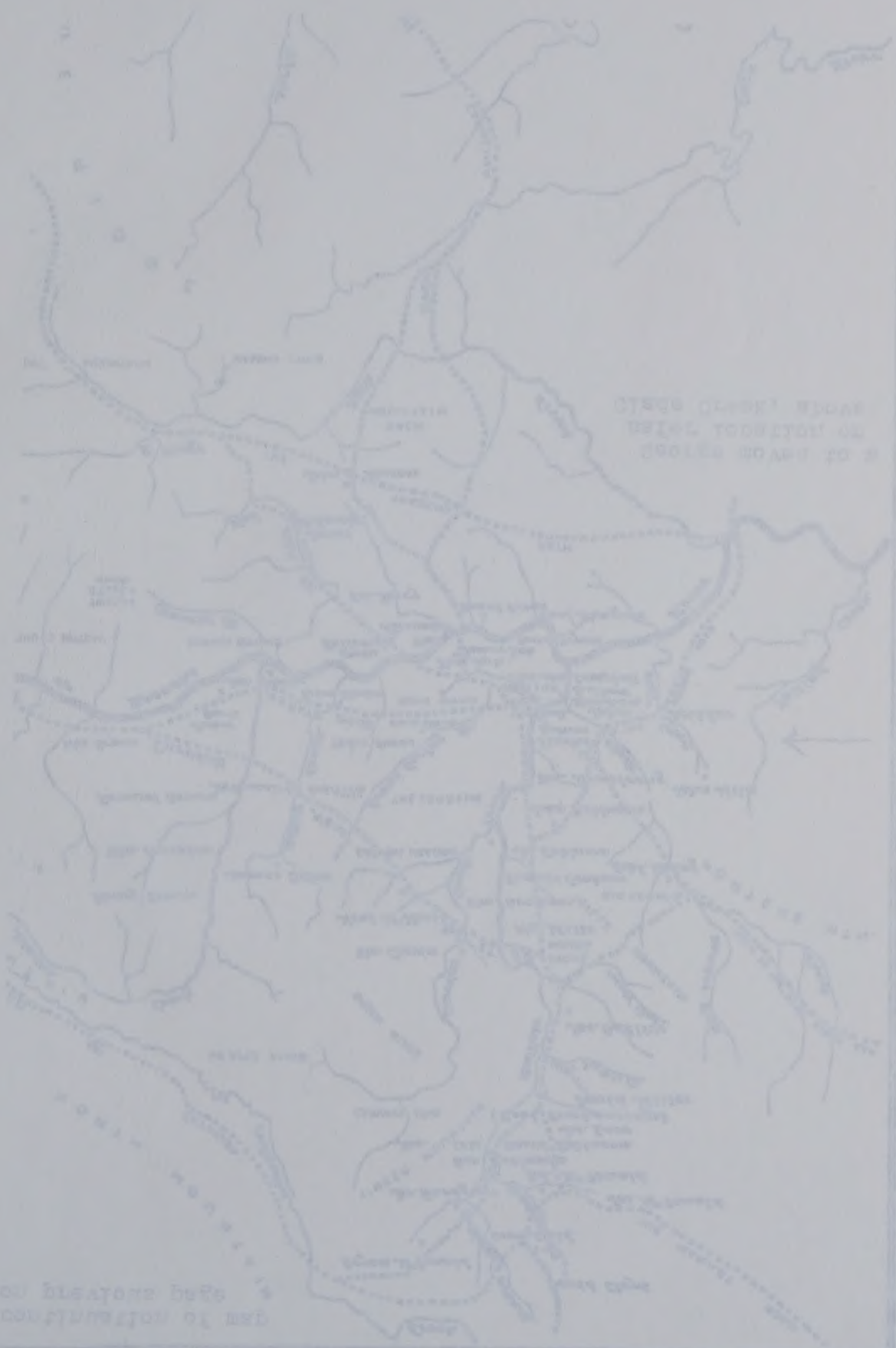
on Sinking Creek, they gave the bag to Mrs. Lybrook, whom they did not molest, and told her if she would look inside she would find an acquaintance. Lybrook himself was already on his way with Preston to the Meadows by another path, and thus both escaped.

Distraught over the fate of their loved ones, Ingles and Draper realized that haste in pursuit was imperative, but it required time to get word to Colonel John Buchanan at Pattonsburg, deputy of Colonel Patton in charge of the Augusta County militia. When Buchanan was at last on the trail with a force of pursuers, the savages were deep in the northern mountains and beyond reach. Ingles and Draper could only turn to the task of burying the victims near the scene of the tragedy and hasten to Dunkard's Fort on New River where alarmed settlers on the outskirts were taking refuge.

This unexpected attack upon Draper's Meadows and news the next day that General Braddock had been defeated and killed in western Pennsylvania terrified the settlers along the road from the lower Shenandoah to New River. Without doubt red hordes allied with the French would sweep down upon them. Governor Dinwiddie turned the command of the colonials over to Colonel George Washington at Winchester and Major Andrew Lewis at Staunton. Every available rifleman in the valley enlisted and the erection of forts at strategic points along the road was begun.

Ingles and Draper, brooding in their sorrow at Dunkard's Fort, had no opportunity to organize a search for their missing families. An ominous silence hung over the hostile Shawnee country. At last the men made a trip to the friendly Cherokee on the Tennessee and conferred with Virginia traders there, particularly Richard Pearis, a favorite among the Overhill Indians, as the settlers called the Cherokee. They also laid their troubles before Chief Attakullaculla, the Little Carpenter, who was always well disposed toward the English when other chiefs had been noncommittal or hostile. The distraught white men offered to employ Cherokee emissaries to go to the Shawnee nation to ran-

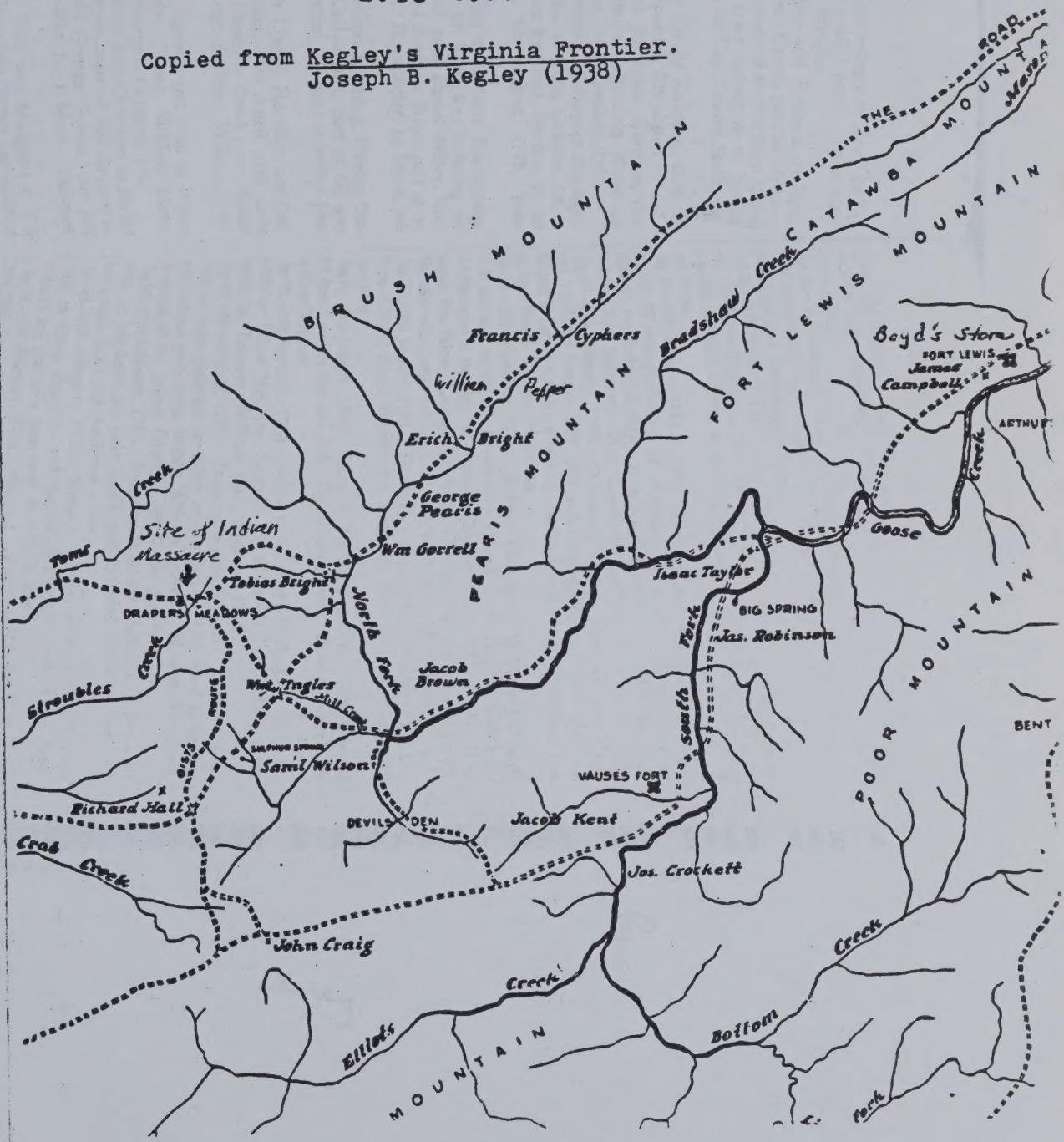

continuation of map on previous page
Creek
Bryan McDonald
David Cloyd
Greenfield
THE MARKET ROAD
Jos. McDonald
Jos. Snodgrass
Ed. McDonald
Geo Robinson
Jas. Cole
David Robinson
Jos. Love
(Robt. Breckenridge)
David Miller
TINKER MOUNTAIN
CARVINS COVE
NORTH MOUNTAIN
CATAWBA
Catawba
Buffalo
McAFEE KNOB
Jas. Gatlive
GREEN RIDGE
Carvins
Wm. Carvin
STONE HOUSE
Wm. Mills
Neal McNeal
Wm. Graham
BIG SPRING
Francis Graham
Robt. Ewing
PORTERS MTN.
Henry Brown
James Bane
Wm. Carleton
CARVINS MEADOW
Jos. Robinson
New
THE BARRENS
John Robinson
Samuel Brown
Methusaleh Griffith
Wm. Armstrong
John Mills
Wm. Bryan
Corvin's
James Burk
ROAD
Thomas Baines
John Monehan
S. Ahaver
Campbell
McAdoo
Roanoke
Jas.
Peter Kinder
CEDAR SPRING
SALT LICK
Malcolm
THURS BOTTOM
BROWNS BOTTOMS
Irwin
Patterson
Wm. Alexander
Thos. Josh
Josiah Josh
David
Bryan
Cravens Cr.
Daniel Evans
Chas. Hungate
TWELVE O'CLOCK KNOB
Wm. Jerry
James McKeachy
Mud
PATH
TRADERS
John Mason
P. Poage
THE
BACK MOUNTAIN
MASONS KNOB
MOUNTAIN
RIDGE
ROAD
CAROLINA
George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.



This map overlaps that on the next page. George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.

MAP OF THE
ROANOKE COMMUNITY
1740-1760

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)



Fredericksburg, to Abraham Hite, of Hampshire, release of deed, 1st February, 1755, by grantee here to grantor; Hite's Mill tract. Teste: David Ralstone, Jere Herreson, John and Abraham Wright.

Page 108.—31st December, 1760. Alex. Hite and Rebecca, of Hampshire, to John Wright, £150, 550 acres on Linvel's Creek, part of 1200 acres patented to McCoy, Hite & Co. and by them conveyed to Abraham by deed recorded in Orange; cor. to portion of said tract belonging to Jeremiah Harrison. Delivered: John Johnston by order of Cap. Daniel Smith, Augist, 1766.

Page 112.—31st December, 1760. Same to David Ralstone, £150, 250 acres on Linvel's Creek, part of 1200 above, adjoining 550 above.

Page 115.—31st Decemebr, 1760. Same to Jeremiah Harrison, £150, 400 acres on Linvel's Creek, part of 1200 above, adjoining Wright and Ralstone above. Delivered: Jeremiah Harrison, 14th October, 1765.

Page 119.—17th February, 1761. John Camplin (Johannes Keplinger) and Lydia ( ) Camplin (Keplinger), his wife, to John Gratton, £50, on the River, 156 acres, part of 800 acres taken up by Benj. Borden, Jr., and by his executors conveyed to John Camplin, 7th August, 1757. Teste: John Camplin. Delivered.

Page 123.—22d January, 1761. David Miller to Robert Brackenridge, £105, 307 acres on Buffelo Creek, a branch of Roanoke, including said David Miller's improvements, joining lands of said David Miller, David Robinson, William Graham, Baptist McNab and Andrew Hays, part of two surveys: A, conveyed to David by Wm. Syers; B, patented to David, 10th March, 1756. Teste: Geo. Paris.

Page 126.—14th February, 1761. John Dunlupe (Dunlap, Dunlop, Dunlape) to Robert Dunlape, £100, 295 acres on Calfpasture, part of 625 acres on Mill Creek, the river where the Creek empties. Teste: Arwaker Johnston, James Beard, Jas. Trimble.

Page 129.—17th February, 1761. Jeremiah (Jere) Harrison and Catherine to Samuel Semple, £22, 19 acres by patent, 10th April, 1759, at the great Spring on head of South Branch of Linvell's Creek; cor. Samuel Stewart's land. Teste: William Preston, George Skillern, William Anderson.

Page 133.—10th February, 1761. William Sprowl and Jean to William Stewart, £30, 168 acres on Cowpasture River. Teste: William Marten, Hugh ( ) Young, James ( ) Trotter. Delivered, October, 1761.

Page 137.—3d February, 1760. George Speece and Christina to Michael Hober, £35, on east side Linvell's Creek, 150 acres, part of 500 surveyed for Paul Froman and afterward conveyed to said George Speece; cor. John Miller's land. Teste: Henry Maese and Nicolas ( ) Mase. Delivered: Francis Morisey, April, 1763.

Page 141.—17th February, 1761. Samuel Bell and Margaret ( ) to James Ker, blacksmith, £40, 300 acres in Beverley Manor, at mouth of Christian's Creek on Middle River; cor. James Hamilton's land, formerly Ker's, fork of Long Meadow Run and said Creek, supposed to be a corner in the patent line; cor. George Roger, Thomas Baskin's line, formerly Widow Baskin's. Delivered: James Ker, 10th June, 1771.

Page 144.— — February, 1761. George ( ) Patterson and Margaret to Philip Horless (Horlish), £59, 110 acres on head of a draft running into

one Givens' land, patented to said [illegible]
Teste: George Drout. Delivered: Philip [illegible]
signed by Margaret.

Page 148.—17th February, 1761. William [illegible]
ish. 220 acres patented, 10th August, 1759, [illegible]
Delivered: Hugh Lusk, 15th August, 1771.

Page 151.—18th February, 1761. Jeremiah (Jere) [illegible]
erine ( ) to Thomas Harrison, £20, 120 [illegible]
an east draft of Cook's Creek, a branch of Shaw[illegible]
Robert Cravens.

Page 155.—29th January, 1761. John Madison and Martha his Wife to Wm. Lamb, £300, 363 acres purchased of William Thompson, [illegible] Middle River; cor. Andrew Leeper, fork of the meadow, [illegible] Gists, Buffelow Run. Delivered: Wm. Lamb, September, 1771.

Page 158.—17th February, 1761. Jeremiah (Jere) Harrison and Catherine ( ) to Samuel Semple. £22, 270 acres patented, [illegible], 1760 on head waters of Linvel's Creek, whereon Samuel now dwells, joining [illegible] Little, Samuel Stewart, Thomas Harrison.

Page 162.—29th November, 1760. Robert Gibson to William Caldwell, £20, 186 acres on a branch of Christian's Creek; cor. George Caldwell, cor. land belonging to the heir of Robert Gibson, deceased. Teste: Wm. Armstrong, Wm. Palmer, George Caldwell, George Caldwell. Delivered Philip Dold by written order from David Caldwell, 29th May, 1781.

Page 165.—29th January, 1761. Borden's executors to David Gray, £—, 100 acres of 92100; Moses Whiteside's cor. on John Davidson, Samuel McCosky's line..

Page 168.—29th January, 1761. Same to David Gray, £—, 100 acres of 92100, James Greenlee's cor. on John Davidson's line; Moses Whiteside's cor. William Gray's cor.

Page 172.—10th February, 1761. Same to William Hall, £—, 150 acres of 92100; cor. Halbert McClure, Samuel McMurtry's line, Mary Anne Crawford's line. Delivered: William Hall, August, 1762.

Page 176.—7th February, 1761. Same to Samuel Davis, £—, 300 acres of 92100; cor. James Anderson in a line of a tract of 636, said to be sold to John Buchanan, gent., unto Robert Allison, side of Mount Atlas, [illegible] tract surveyed for Mr. James Greenlee, William Davis' Cor.

Page 180.—13th February, 1761. Same to William Davis, £—, 100 acres of 92100; cor. John Scot; cor. said Scot's and Samuel Davise's line, cor. Francis Reynolds, Scot's and Anderson's line.

Page 184.—11th February, 1761. Same to John Scot, £—, 150 acres of 92100; cor Francis Reynolds and James Anderson, cor. Mary Lind, cor. Paxton's land, Davison's line, said Rundal's line.

Page 189.—12th February, 1761. Same to Francis Reynolds, £—, 100 acres of 92100; James Anderson's line, cor. survey for Samuel Davis.

Page 193.—8th November, 1760. Same to Samuel Norwood, £—, 150 acres of 92100; cor. Francis McCown, bank of Kerr's Creek; cor. William Hamilton. Delivered: Wm. McKee, May, 1764.

Page 197.—11th February, 1761. Same to Alexander McCorkle, £—, 300 acres of 92100; cor. John Smiley on west side North Branch of Lower Creek; Abraham Brown's cor., including a large island. Delivered Alex. McCorkle, 9th January, 1796.

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track, but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'Danl. Wolstenholme.

'J. Ridout.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

Hundred Pounds Proclamation Money to such Person (except the Offender) as shall discover any of the Parties concerned payable on Conviction thereof, And I do also offer His Majestys most Gracious Pardon to such Offender as shall first appear, and make a discovery of his Accomplices, so that they may be prosecuted according to due Course of Law.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal etc. at New Bern 27th August 1770.

Wm. Tryon.

His Excellency was pleased to lay before this board Several Letters of Correspondence that passed between him, Mr. Steuart the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and one from Mr. Cameron the Deputy Superintendant (with a Letter from Mr. Mitchell Merchant in Salisbury) and desired the Opinion of this Board whether any measures can be taken to prevent Richd. Paris from Settling the Cherokee Lands on the Western Frontiers of this Province. It is the opinion of this Board that as Richard Paris is not an Inhabitant of this Province, they are at a loss to know what Steps to recommend to remedy the matter complained of by Mr. Steuart, But that this Goverment will take Effectual care that no Settlement shall be formed on the said Lands but under Grants from the Crown.

Then His Excellency desired the Opinion of this Board, as the Suggestions in Mr. Steuarts and Mr. Camerons above Letters intimate a dissatisfaction of his conduct towards the Cherokees, whether in his Behaviour to the said Indians he has at any time been wanting in Attention and regard to their Interest. It is the Unanimous Opinion of this Board, that the Suggestions set forth are false and frivolous and that the discontent of the said Indians appear to have been excited by the Traders settled amongst them.

His Excellency informed this Board, that in pursuance of a Petition from the Freeholders in the Town of Hillsborough, he thought fit to Grant a Charter of Incorporation[123] to the said Town, bearing date the 9th day of July last, with a power of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly Ordered that the said Charter be read, and recorded in the Secretarys Office.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber at New Bern on thursday 18th October 1770. Present His Excellency the Governor. The Hon'ble John Rutherfurd, Lewis DeRosset, Alexr. McCulloh, Robert Palmer, and Samuel Cornell Esqrs.

The proceedings of the preceeding day being read to Mr. McCulloh he approved of the same.

Mr. Attorney General having delivered in his Opinion at this Board, Agreeable to the Order of Council the 16th of this Inst., in the following words Videlicet

"In Obedience to the Commands of your Excellency in Council requiring my opinion upon the several Offences set forth in Mr. Hendersons Letter, Mr. McNare's and Mr. Lyon's Affidavits together with the Petition of the Insurgents, I have attentively perused them, and I am of Opinion, to consider them in a distinct and Separate View.

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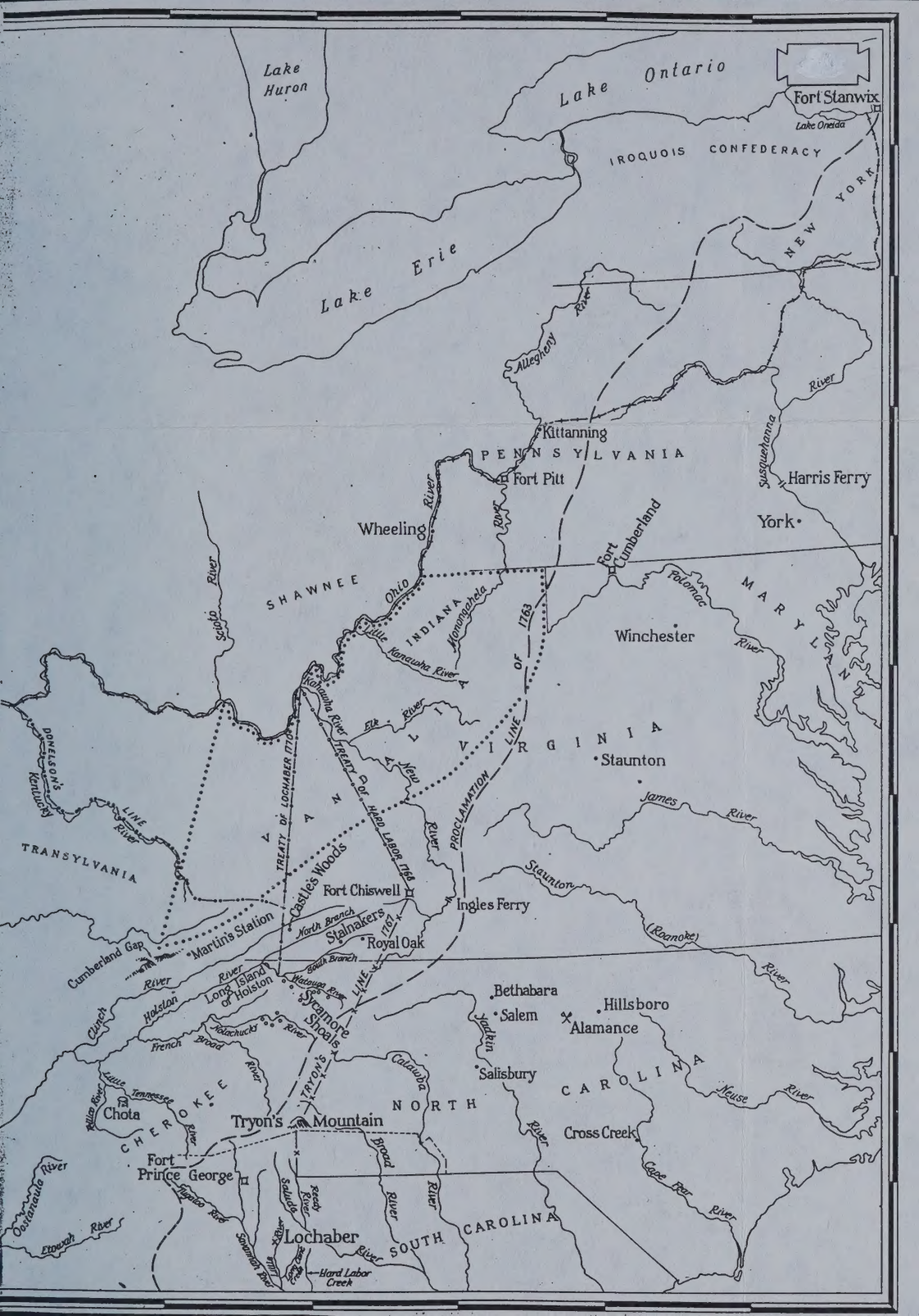
[123]Pp. 628-630, below.


Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Fort Stanwix
Lake Oneida
IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY
NEW YORK
Lake Erie
Allegheny River
Kittanning
PENNSYLVANIA
Fort Pitt
Susquehanna River
Harris Ferry
Wheeling
York
Fort Cumberland
SHAWNEE
Scioto River
Ohio
Little Kanawha River
Monongahela River
INDIANA
1763
Potomac River
MARYLAND
Winchester
Kanawha River
Elk River
VIRGINIA
Staunton
DONELSON'S LINE
Kentucky River
TRANSYLVANIA
TREATY OF LOCHABER 1770
TREATY OF HARD LABOR 1768
New River
PROCLAMATION LINE
James River
Staunton (Roanoke) River
Castle's Woods
Fort Chiswell
Ingles Ferry
Martin's Station
Stalnaker's
Royal Oak
1768 LINE
Cumberland Gap
North Branch
South Branch
Watauga River
Long Island of Holston
Clinch River
Holston River
Sycamore Shoals
Bethabara
Salem
Hillsboro
Alamance
Yadkin River
Salisbury
Catawba River
Holachucky River
French Broad River
Little Tennessee River
Tellico River
Chota
CHEROKEE
Tryon's Mountain
TRYON'S LINE
NORTH CAROLINA
Neuse River
Cross Creek
Cape Fear River
Fort Prince George
Keowee River
Broad River
Pacolet River
Saluda River
Reedy River
Savannah River
Lochaber
SOUTH CAROLINA
Hard Labor Creek
Oostanaula River
Etowah River

MAP SHOWING
WESTERN
COLONIAL SCHEMES
1768-1776
(based on John Mitchell's Map)
Indiana Company 1768
Mississippi Co.—Petition of 1768
Vandalia 1768-1776
Transylvania 1775
Georgiana
Mississippi Colony
Illinois Purchases
Wabash Purchases
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Missouri R.
Kolsoma R.
R. of the Arkansas
Illinois R.
Wabash R.
Alleghany R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomack R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Pedee R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alatamaha or Georgia R.
Flint R.
Apalachicola R.
Chatahouchee R.
Conasauga R.
Coosa R.
Tennessee R.
Cherokee R.
Yadkin R.
Delaware R.
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Superior
Lake Winnipeg
Red R.
Red R. of the North
Assiniboin R.
Saskatchewan R.
Missouri R.
Yellow Stone R.
Columbia R.
Lake Timiscaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Abbitibbi
Lake Temiscamingue
Lake Mistassini
Lake Nekaskagamaw
Lake Winnipegoos
Lake Manitou
Lake Winnipegoos
Lake Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Alleghany R.
Potomack R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Pedee R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alatamaha or Georgia R.
Flint R.
Apalachicola R.
Chatahouchee R.
Conasauga R.
Coosa R.
Tennessee R.
Cherokee R.
Yadkin R.
Illinois R.
Wabash R.
Missouri R.
Kolsoma R.
R. of the Arkansas
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.

There was an immense crowd gathered for the Treaty, with an estimated 3400 Indians. Both colonial representatives and Indians realized that one of the most important treaties ever made in the forests of America was about to be consumated, and they both had hopes that it would result in a long peace between the two peoples. Sir William Johnson opened the meeting with the solemn and figurative language usually employed in addressing the natives. He recalled that in 1765 he had laid before them the plan of a boundary line to which they had agreed and told them that now the time had come to run the same. Great emphasis was laid on the fact that the king was prepared, in return for a grant of land, to give the large and handsome present which was conspicuously arranged before the eyes of the assembly.

Without doubt this array of gifts had its effect on the savage mind; there was at first great opposition to granting all that Sir William demanded, particularly in the colony of New York; but by dwelling on the subject of the presents and by means of private gifts, this objection was partially overcome. The boundary line, however, was not extended to the lake at the north.

When the question of the southern end of the boundary line came to an issue, Sir William found difficulties of another kind. The Indians made certain conditions before they would make any cessions. The first conditions were undoubtedly the fruit of the conferences with the Whartons held before the assembly met at Fort Stanwix. Secret meetings with the same persons during the period of the congress further strengthened the Indians in their purpose, and there is even considerable evidence that Sir William lent his influence to gain the same end. At any rate he was not surprised when the Indians demanded that they be permitted to give a tract of land to the traders who had suffered at the hands of the Shawnee and Delawares in 1763. This tract was a very large one, situated in what is now the state of West Virginia; it was later christened "Indiana." The Indians further demanded that George Croghan, who had previously bought from them many acres of land, which now proved to lie within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, should receive another cession in compensation. Both of these grants were dated two days before the other stipulations of the treaty.

These cessions to the traders and Croghan were within the territorial claims of Virginia, and were therefore not looked upon with favor by her delegate. (This was Dr. Thomas Walker, who was now alone, Lewis having returned to Virginia in the meantime.) In later years Walker made a declaration upon which the following charge of dishonesty was based:

> The whole transaction wore the face of mystery and knavery; for though Dr. Walker was there as a public commissioner for Virginia, he was refused access to the conferences, the caution was used to conceal from him what they were about, and everything until the business was finished, was conducted privately with the Indian chiefs by Sir William Johnston (sic) and the traders.

Though Doctor Walker was unable to protect the territories of Virginia from encroachments, he was successful in accomplishing the object of his mission, the cession of the Iroquois claim on the western frontier of Virginia. Johnson's mind was also prepared for this act on the part of the Indians by being shown a deed "for a great part of these lands which they (the Virginia commissioners) assured (him) had formerly met with encouragement from His late Majesty and the then ministry." He was also assured that the Virginians intended to settle the region and that no power could prevent them. What methods were employed to persuade the Indians to part with a title to such a large extent of territory is matter of some doubt, since the story of the secret negotiations was carefully guarded. There are, however, indications of the means that were used.

A few years later Colonel William Preston, who was in a position to know, informed Lord Dunmore that Walker and Lewis made a purchase of the territory from the Indians. Of course no such a purchase is to be found in the public minutes of the congress, nor is there contemporary proof of it. Still, if Preston was correct, the whole affair has a sinister aspect. At least some contemporaries, having their opinion on information no longer accessible, believed inducements to make the cession were given to the Indians. Superintendent John Stuart received, shortly after the congress, information concerning the methods employed by the Virginia commissioners that aroused his suspicions of the whole transaction.

Howsoever they may have been induced to do so, the Iroquois affixed a third condition to their cession in the south, a condition which was to prove most momentous in the development of the West. They insisted that their claim to the land south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee River was just and that the Cherokee had no rights to it; and the means they took of proving that right was the presentation of this large territory to the king. Sir William always asserted that in order to consummate the treaty he felt constrained to this departure from his instructions.

The line as finally established started in northern New York near the east end of Lake Ontario, ran in a southerly direction to the Delaware River, then westerly until it touched the Alleghany River, then down that river to the Ohio and westerly along the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee. The boundary line was now completed; it extended as an unbroken line from near the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River in northern West Florida; it closed the far West to colonization but opened up for immediate settlement land in New York, a large part of western Pennsylvania, and the territory back of Virginia as far west as the Great Kanawha.

Taken from The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Vol. II pages 68-71 (1959) WI SHS #F352 A47

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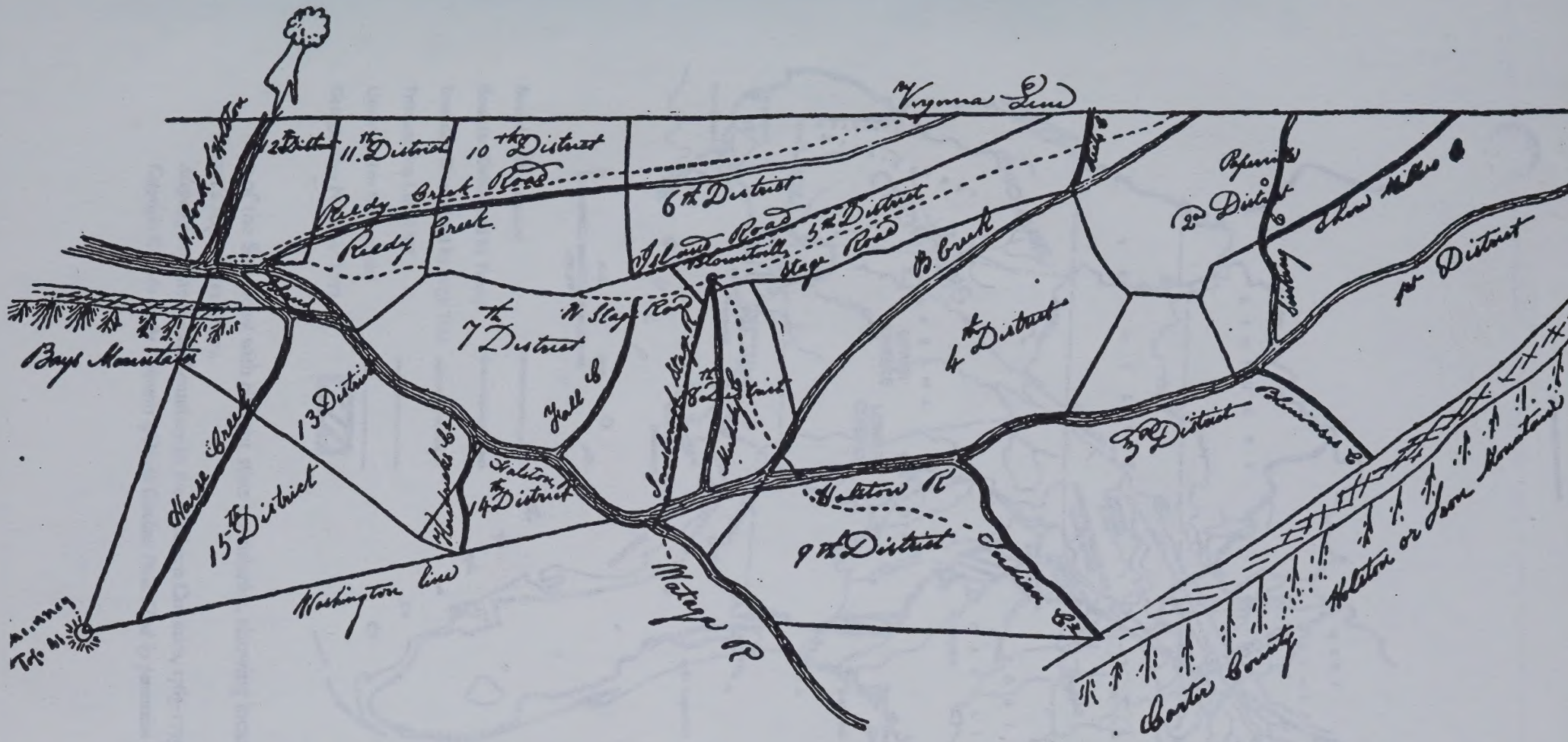
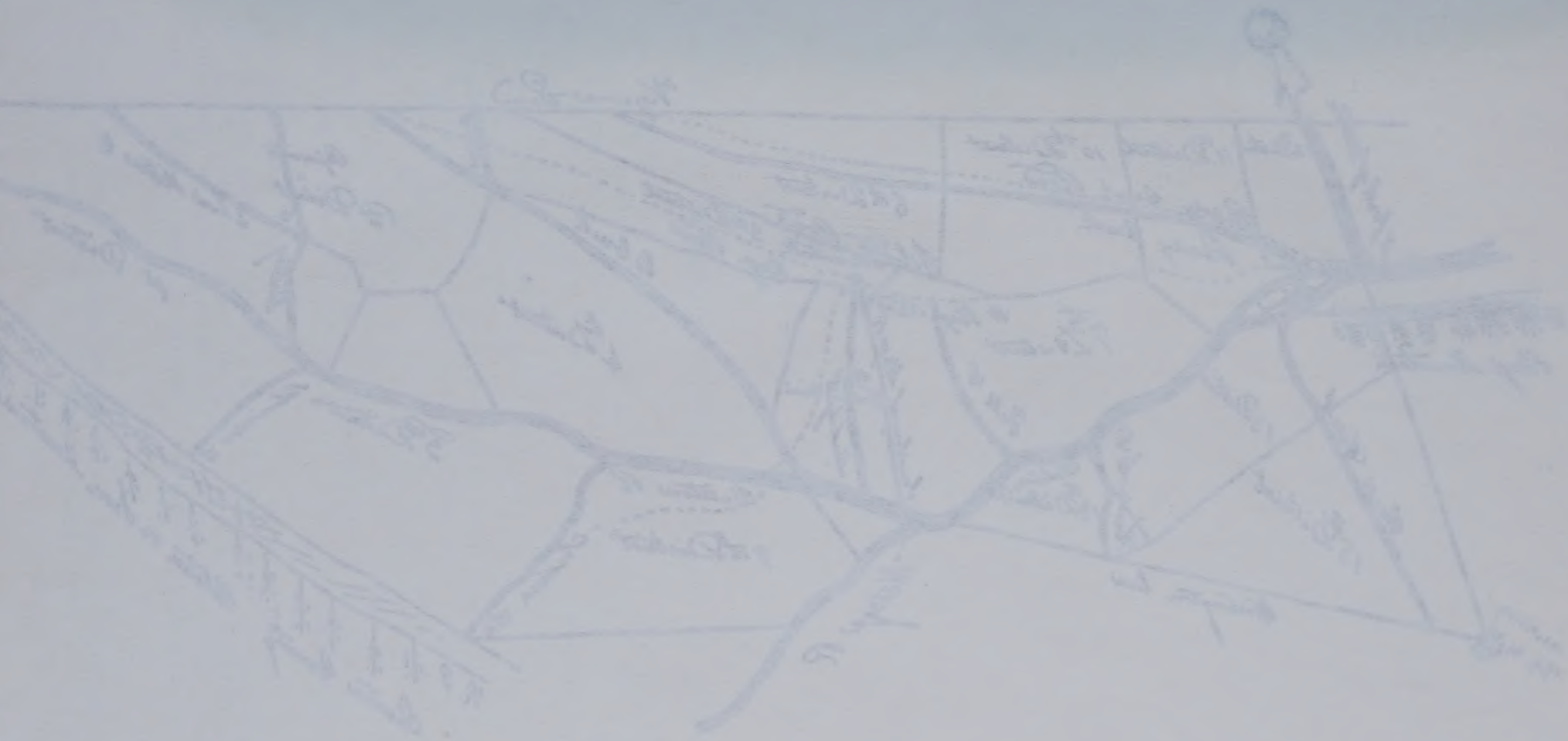
An eyewitness said, "By the best estimating there were about three thousand four hundred Indians collected, and much fewer women (than usual) occasioned

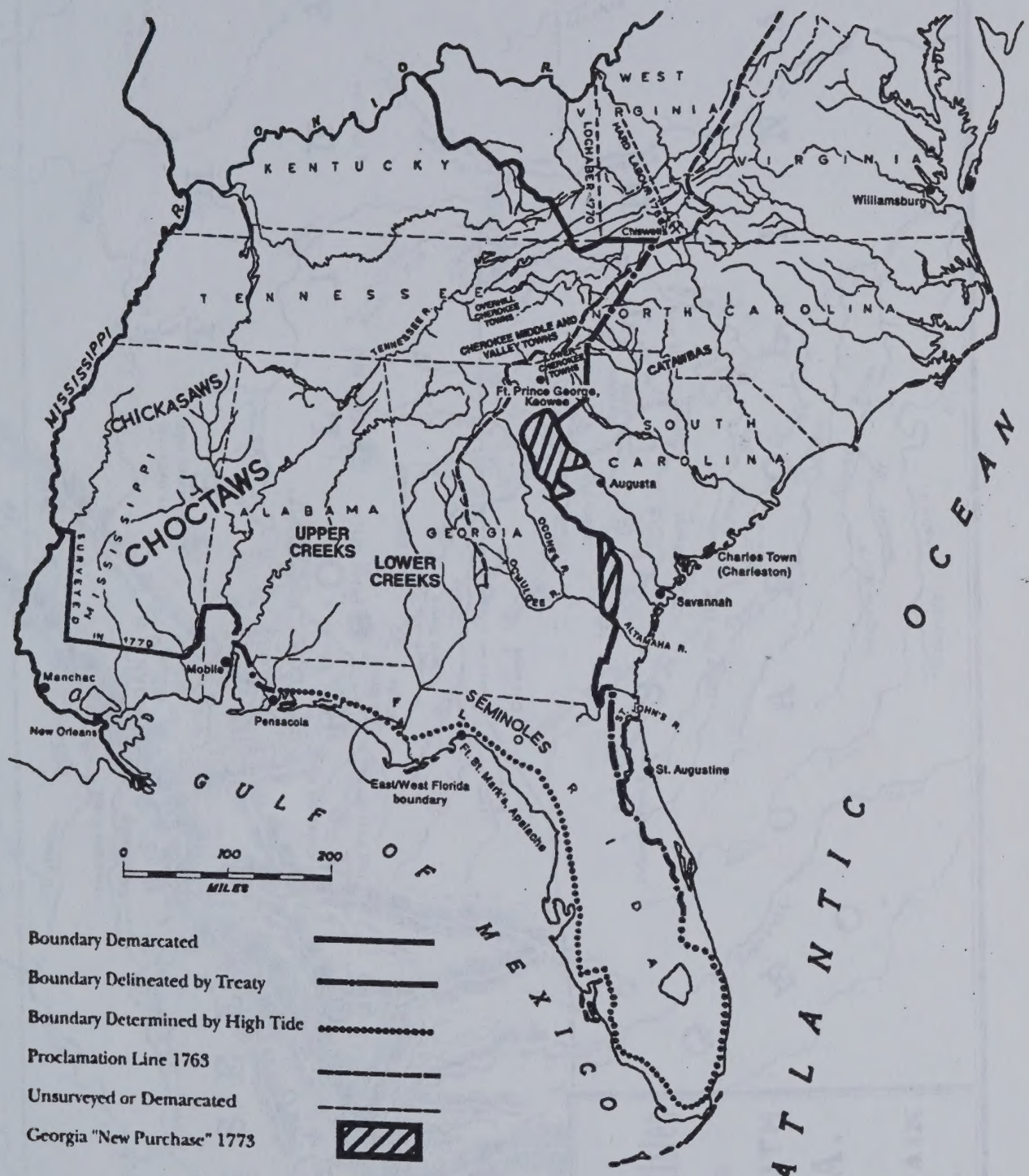
John Stuart, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the South, concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, the results of which he communicated in a letter of 17 October 1768, from Hard Labor, to the Governor of Virginia. In it he defined the resultant boundary line as

"From the place called Towahilie, on the Northern Branch of the Savannah River, North 50 degrees East course in a straight line, to a place called Dewisses corner, or yellow water, from Dewisses, or yellow water, a North 50 degrees East course in a straight line to the south bank of Reedy River, at a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, where the line behind Carolina terminates. From a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, to the South Bank of Reedy River, a course in a straight line to a mountain called Tagon Mountain where the great ridge of the mountains becomes impervious. In a straight line to Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway River, to a N.B.E. course, and from Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway in a straight line in a North course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway to the Ohio."

See History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers (1903) pp. 90-1.


Virginia Line
N. fork of Holston
2 Dist
11th District
10th 2 District
Reedy Creek Road
Reedy Creek
6th District
Island Road
Mountain Stage Road
5th District
B Creek
Rye
Rye
2d District
Laurel
Laurel
Laurel





Map of the Southeast with current state boundaries, showing locations relevant to Stuart's superintendency.

Adapted from The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763–1775, *by Louis De Vorsey, Jr.*

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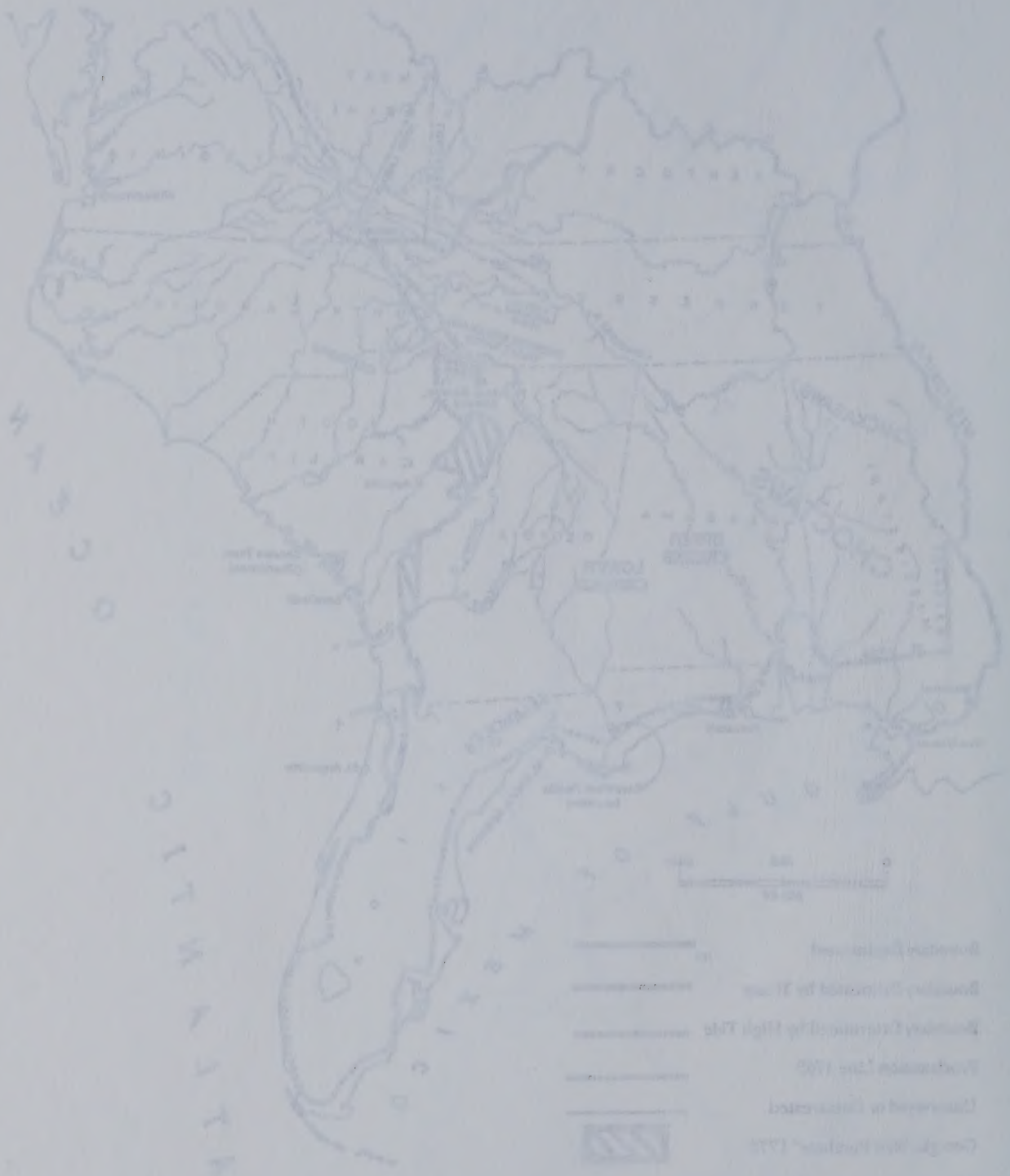
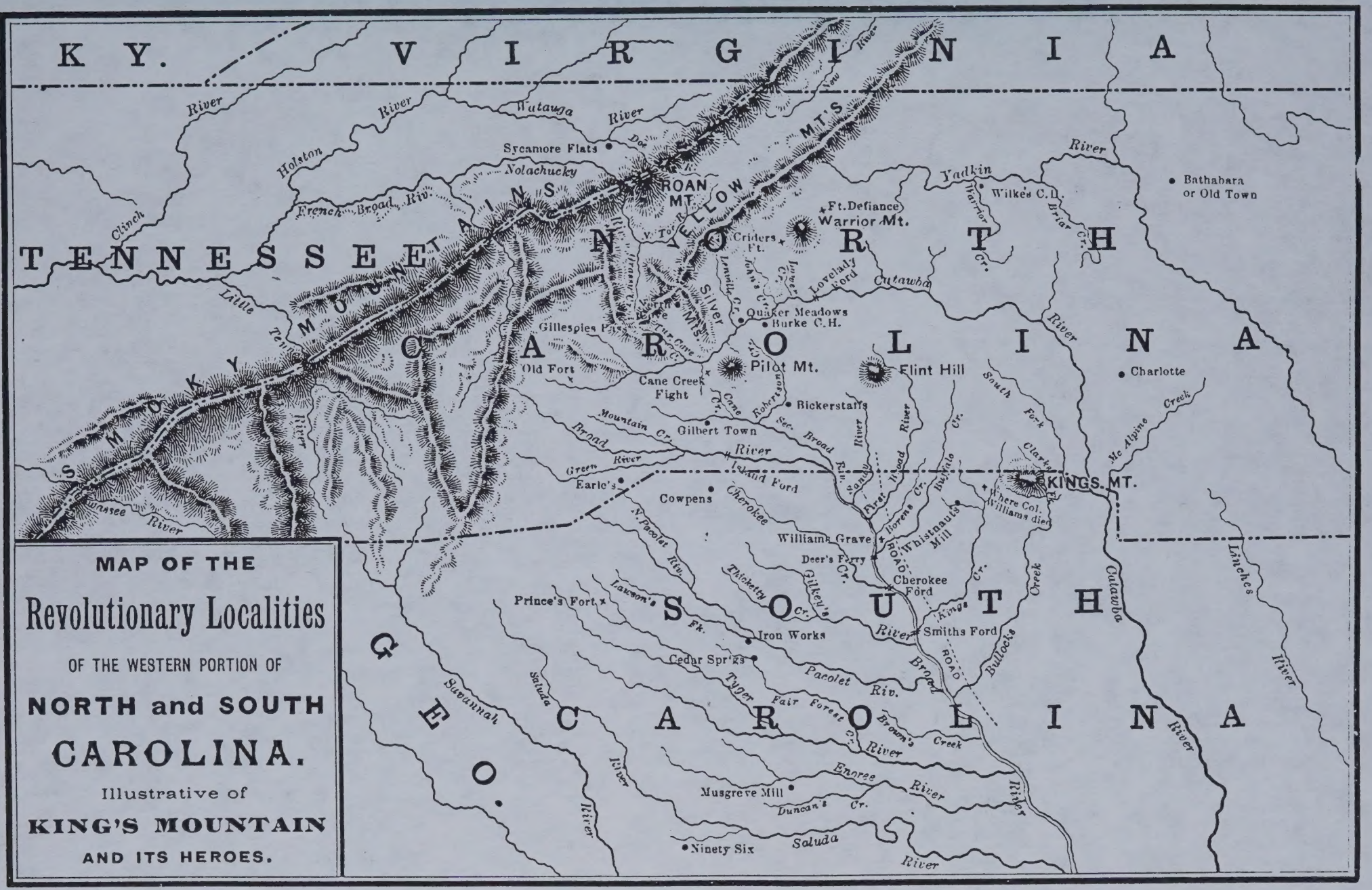
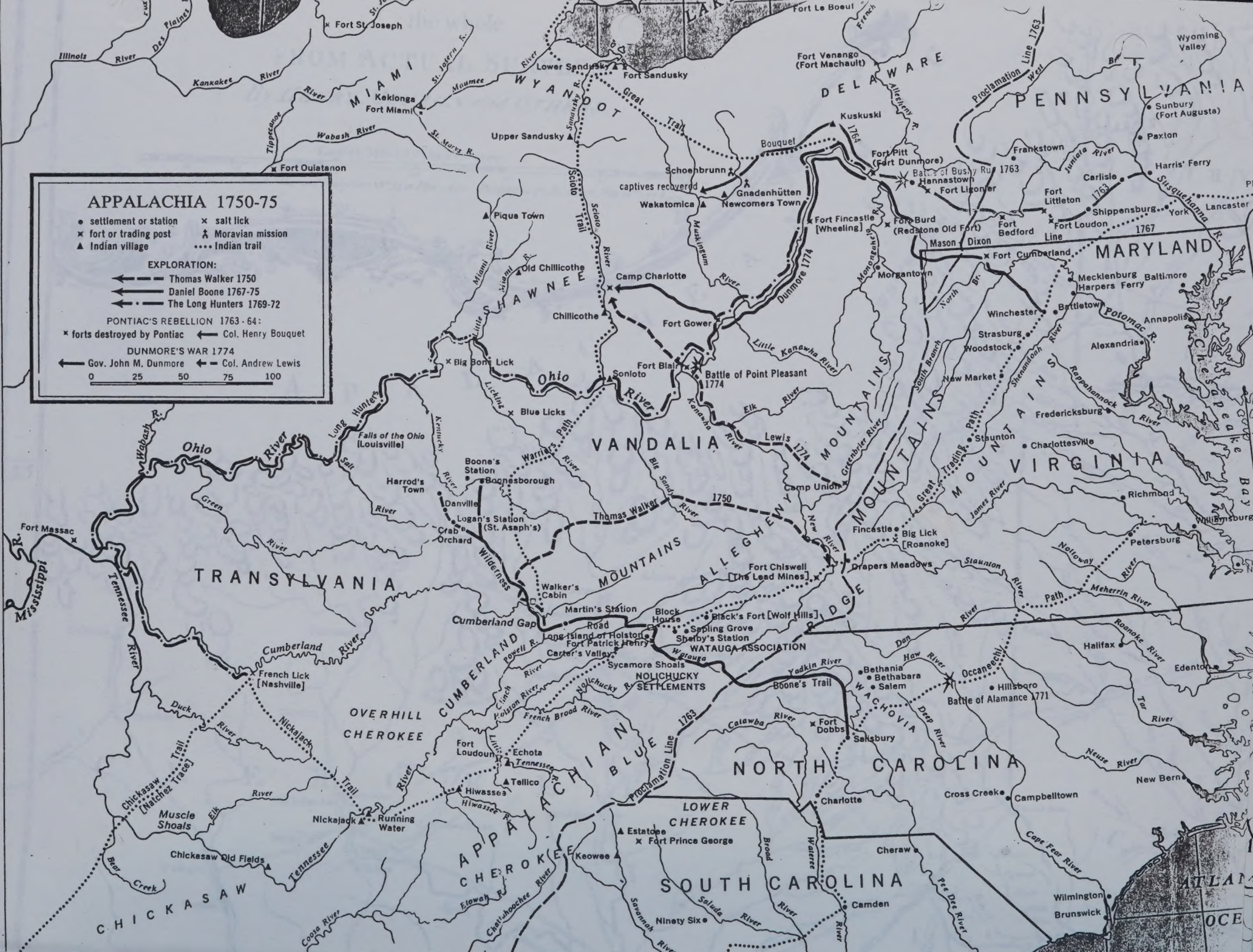



MAP OF THE
Revolutionary Localities
OF THE WESTERN PORTION OF
NORTH and SOUTH
CAROLINA.
Illustrative of
KING'S MOUNTAIN
AND ITS HEROES.
KY.
VIRGINIA
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEO.
Sycamore Flats
Nolachucky
Watauga River
Holston River
French Broad Riv.
Clinch River
Little Tennessee River
Smoky Mts.
Unicoi Mts.
Roan Mt.
Yellow Mts.
Blue Ridge
Gillespies Pass
Old Fort
Cane Creek Fight
Pilot Mt.
Flint Hill
Ft. Defiance
Warrior Mt.
Criders Ft.
Quaker Meadows
Burke C.H.
Wilkes C.H.
Bathabara or Old Town
Yadkin River
Catawba River
Charlotte
Bickerstaffs
Gilbert Town
Earle's
Cowpens
Island Ford
Broad River
Green River
Mountain Cr.
Cherokee
N. Pacolet Riv.
Williams Grave
Whitsnauts Mill
Deer's Ferry
Cherokee Ford
Prince's Fort
Lawson's Fk.
Thicketty Cr.
Gilkey's Cr.
Iron Works
Smiths Ford
Cedar Springs
Pacolet Riv.
Tyger River
Fair Forest Cr.
Broad River
Saluda River
Savannah River
Musgrove Mill
Enoree River
Duncan's Cr.
Ninety Six
Saluda River
KINGS MT.
Where Col. Williams died
First Broad River
Second Broad River
Sandy River
Buffalo Cr.
Robertsons Cr.
Lovelady Ford
Quaker Meadows Cr.
Lenoir Cr.
Turkey Cove Cr.
Silver Cr.
Warrior Cr.
Briar Cr.
South Fork
Clarks Cr.
Mc Alpine Creek
Kings Creek
Bullocks Creek
Catawba River
Linches River
Broad River Road
Kings Mt. Road


APPALACHIA 1750-75
settlement or station
fort or trading post
Indian village
salt lick
Moravian mission
Indian trail
EXPLORATION:
Thomas Walker 1750
Daniel Boone 1767-75
The Long Hunters 1769-72
PONTIAC'S REBELLION 1763-64:
forts destroyed by Pontiac
Col. Henry Bouquet
DUNMORE'S WAR 1774
Gov. John M. Dunmore
Col. Andrew Lewis
0 25 50 75 100
Fort St. Joseph
Illinois River
Des Plaines R.
Kankakee River
Fort Le Boeuf
French
Fort Venango (Fort Machault)
Lower Sandusky
Fort Sandusky
Kekionga
Fort Miami
Maumee River
St. Joseph R.
St. Marys R.
Wabash River
Tippecanoe River
Fort Ouiatanon
Upper Sandusky
Great Trail
Sandusky R.
Scioto Trail
Scioto River
Piqua Town
Miami River
Little Miami R.
Old Chillicothe
Camp Charlotte
Chillicothe
Fort Gower
Big Bone Lick
Licking R.
Blue Licks
Ohio River
Fort Blair
Sonioto
Battle of Point Pleasant 1774
Little Kanawha River
Kanawha River
Elk River
Greenbrier River
Lewis 1774
Camp Union
Big Sandy River
Thomas Walker 1750
New River
Fincastle
Big Lick [Roanoke]
Draper's Meadows
Fort Chiswell [The Lead Mines]
Falls of the Ohio [Louisville]
Boone's Station
Boonesborough
Harrod's Town
Danville
Logan's Station (St. Asaph's)
Crab Orchard
Kentucky River
Warriors' Path
Long Hunters Path
Salt River
Green River
Wilderness Road
Walker's Cabin
Martin's Station
Block House
Cumberland Gap
Long Island of Holston
Fort Patrick Henry
Carter's Valley
Sycamore Shoals
Watauga R.
Powell R.
Clinch River
Holston River
Nolichucky R.
Black's Fort [Wolf Hills]
Sapling Grove
Shelby's Station
WATAUGA ASSOCIATION
NOLICHUCKY SETTLEMENTS
Cumberland River
French Lick [Nashville]
Fort Massac
Mississippi R.
Tennessee River
Wabash R.
Duck River
Nickajack Trail
Chickasaw Trail [Natchez Trace]
Muscle Shoals
Elk River
Nickajack
Running Water
Chickasaw Old Fields
Tennessee R.
Bear Creek
Coosa River
Chattahoochee River
Etowah R.
Hiwassee River
Hiwassee R.
Tellico
Fort Loudoun
Little Tennessee River
French Broad River
Nolichucky R.
Proclamation Line 1763
Boone's Trail
Yadkin River
Catawba River
Fort Dobbs
Salisbury
Bethania
Bethabara
Salem
Occaneechi
Hillsboro
Battle of Alamance 1771
Haw River
Dan River
Staunton River
Roanoke River
Halifax
Edenton
Meherrin River
Nottoway River
Petersburg
Williamsburg
Deep River
Neuse River
New Bern
Tar River
Cape Fear River
Pee Dee River
Wilmington
Brunswick
Cross Creek
Campbelltown
Cheraw
Camden
Ninety Six
Saluda River
Savannah River
Wateree River
Broad River
Charlotte
Estatoee
Fort Prince George
Keowee
Fort Burd (Redstone Old Fort)
Fort Pitt (Fort Dunmore)
Battle of Bushy Run 1763
Hannastown
Fort Ligonier
Kuskuski
Bouquet 1764
Schoenbrunn
captives recovered
Gnadenhütten
Newcomers Town
Wakatomica
Fort Fincastle [Wheeling]
Muskingum River
Dunmore 1774
Monongahela River
Morgantown
Proclamation Line 1763 West
Wyoming Valley
Sunbury (Fort Augusta)
Paxton
Frankstown
Juniata River
Harris' Ferry
Carlisle
Fort Littleton
Shippensburg
Susquehanna R.
York
Lancaster
Fort Bedford
Fort Loudon
Mason Dixon Line 1767
Fort Cumberland
Mecklenburg
Harpers Ferry
Baltimore
Battletown
Winchester
Potomac R.
Annapolis
Strasburg
Woodstock
Alexandria
Shenandoah River
New Market
Fredericksburg
Rappahannock River
Staunton
Charlottesville
Trading Path
Richmond
James River
Great Path
Chesapeake Bay
North Br.
South Branch
Potomac River
Allegheny R.
Ohio River
Tennessee River
Cumberland River
Mississippi R.
Wabash R.
Kentucky River
Tippecanoe River
Illinois River
Kankakee River
Des Plaines R.
Maumee River
Sandusky R.
Scioto River
Miami River
Little Miami R.
Muskingum River
Monongahela River
Allegheny R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomac River
Rappahannock River
James River
Roanoke River
Yadkin River
Catawba River
Saluda River
Savannah River
Pee Dee River
Cape Fear River
Neuse River
Tar River
Deep River
Haw River
Dan River
Staunton River
Meherrin River
Nottoway River
Wateree River
Broad River
Chattahoochee River
Etowah R.
Coosa River
Bear Creek
Tennessee R.
Elk River
Duck River
Clinch River
Holston River
Powell R.
Nolichucky R.
French Broad River
Hiwassee River
Hiwassee R.
Little Tennessee River
Wabash R.
Ohio River
Tennessee River
Cumberland River
Mississippi

the whole

FROM ACTUAL SURVEYS

By HENRY MOUZON and OTHERS.

English Miles 69½ to a Degree.

3 10 15 20 30 40 50 60

LONDON. Printed for Rob.t Sayer and J. Bennett, Map and Print-sellers, N.o 53 in Fleet Street. Published as the Act directs May 30.th 1775.

APALACHEAN MOU

WHITE OAK

TRYO

Eſtatoe

Toxaway

Acconnee

Quacorarchie

Sugar Town

Fort Prince George

New Keohwee

Old Keohwee

Chicherohe

Echotee

Naguchee

Tarurw

Tugaloo Mountain

Savannah R

Echay

CHEROKEES

Old Eſtatohe

Kayowee

Tooksoe or Toogoola

Takwaſhuaw

Tetohe

Chagee

Tuſsee

Cuſsatee

Cattuſe

Sennekaw

Tugaloo or Savannah R

Keowee R

Seneca R

Tugaloo R

Chatuche R

Miles Road

Three Runs

Little Beaver Dam

Corner Tree

Pickens Corner

Richards

Hooker

Millers G

Dunkins G

Barkers G

Gennoways G

Hawkins G

Mulberry

Allums

Mahon

Creek

Irishmans

Path from the Cherokees

Gillets G

Rocky Creek

Buck G

Island G

Richland G

Beaver Creek

Sandy R

First

Second Broad River

Third Broad River

Green River

North Pacolet River

South Pacolet R.

Boundary Line

Surveyed

Chimney

Drowning Creek

Lynch River

Kings R

Corning Creek

Lawrences

Cowpens

Broad River

Ferguſons Creek

Gunnels or Enoree R

the Fork

the Forks of Tyger River

Ten Miles

Path from the Cherokees

Rocky Fork

Dunkins G

Millers G

Richards

Hooker

Pinson

Creek

Irishman

Lynch River

Kings R

Corning Creek

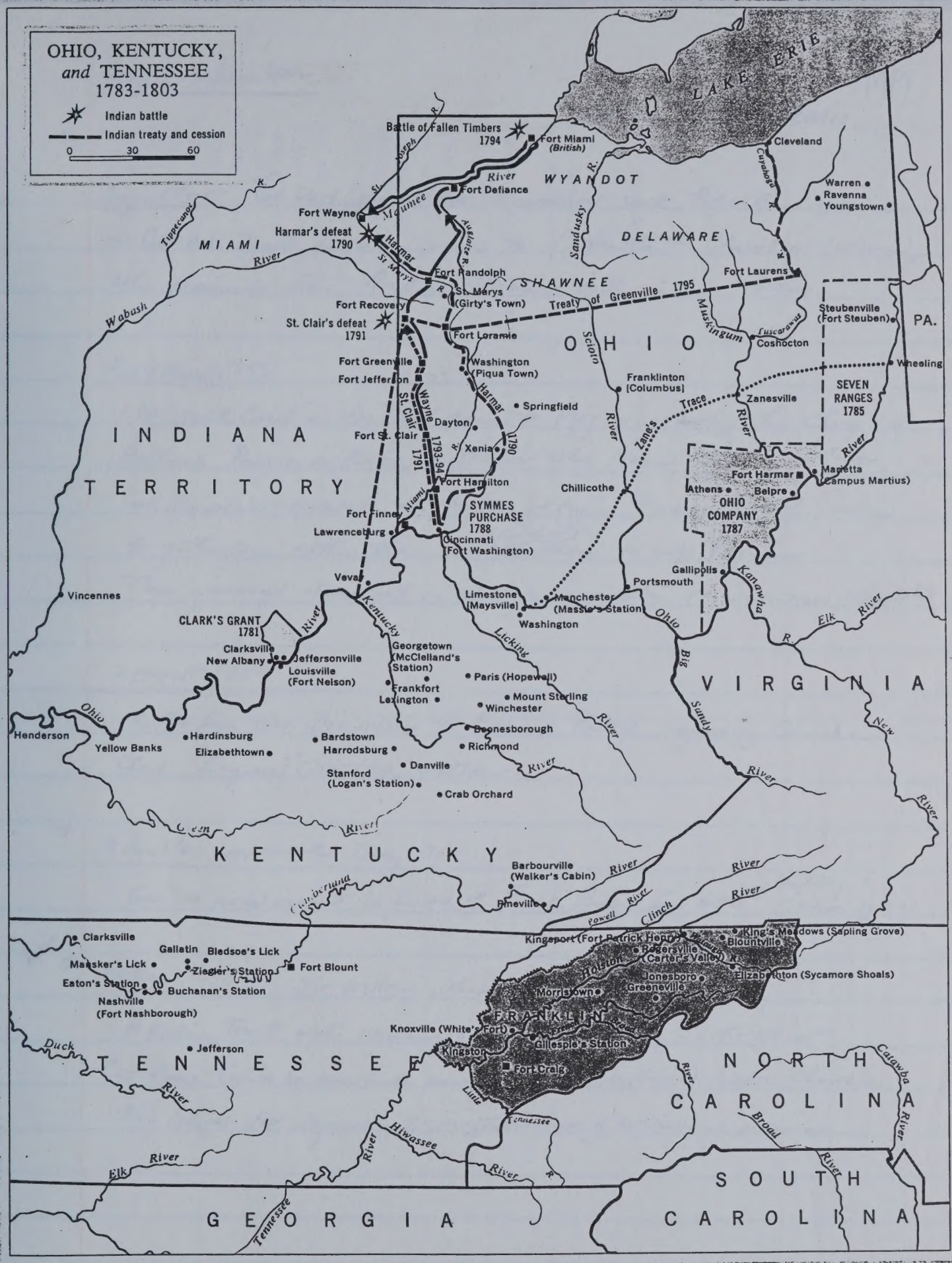
Lawrences

Cowpens

Broad River

Ferguſons Creek

Gunnels or Enoree R


OHIO, KENTUCKY, and TENNESSEE 1783-1803
Indian battle
Indian treaty and cession
0 30 60
LAKE ERIE
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Fort Miami (British)
Fort Defiance
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WYANDOT
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Elizabethton (Sycamore Shoals)
Jonesboro
Greeneville
Morristown
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Kingston
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FRANKLIN
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Ziegler's Station
Fort Blount
Eaton's Station
Buchanan's Station
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Jefferson
TENNESSEE
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Tippecanoe R.
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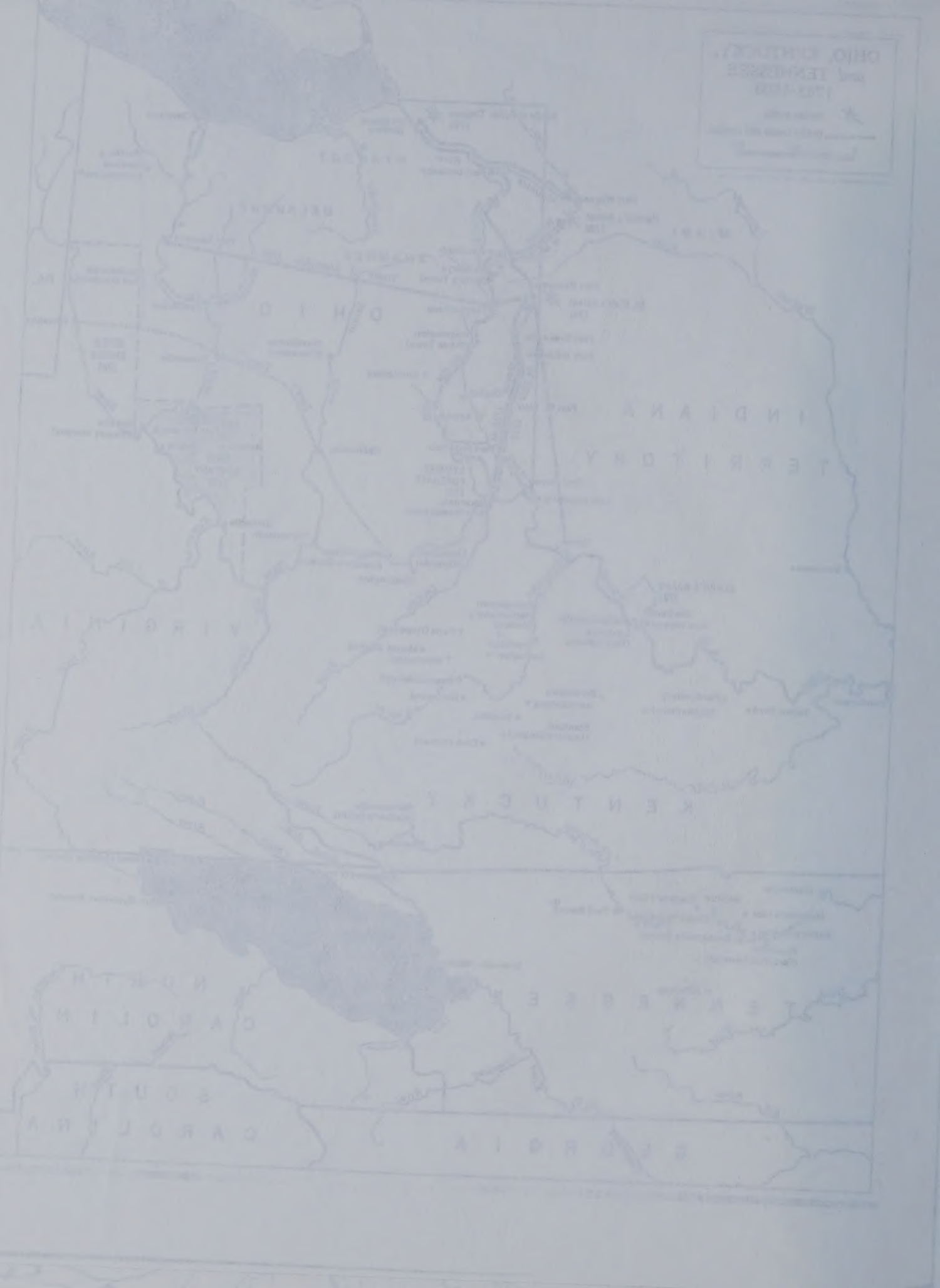

French-Indian War

Capt Richard Pearis MPL

Aug. 1755 at Col Washington's Gov. Dinwiddie sent Peter Randolph & Col Wm Byrd as commissioners to Catawba & Cherokee Indians, who promised aid. Richard Pearis influenced Indians.

Feb & Mar 1756

130 South Carolina traders came to Virginia under the charge of Richard Pearis, or Paris, a trader who lived on the Holston. Gov. Dinwiddie accused the traders of trying to persuade the Indians to gather furs rather than send Cherokee warriors to help Virginians. These warriors took part in abortive expedition vs. Shawnees above date.

2 August 1754

Letter from Gov. Dinwiddie to Richard Pearis regarding Cherokee Chief "Emperor," "Old-Hop," & others.

9 Dec 1761 approved 7 May 1762

Gov. to issue warrant in favor of Capt Pearis for 65£ Military - (Indian Svc.)

19 Mar 1758 Sir William Johnson Papers

A William Trent wrote regarding a complaint by — Smith against Capt. Paris (which he considered unwarranted & disruptive) involving Cherokees, Ohio Indians, Fort Duquesne, & ineffectiveness of Williamsburg provincials.

Given at Williamsburg, under my Hand and the Great Seal o this Colony, this Twenty-Third Day of December, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-Five.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE

In Confirmation of the above I give you a Belt of Wampum.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE, ESQUIRE, HIS MAJESTY'S LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE COLONY AND DOMINION OF VIRGINIA.

To the Emperor, Old-Hop,* and the other Sachems, and Warriors, of the great Nation of the Cherokees.

Wishing Health and Prosperity.

This will be delivered you by the Honorable Peter Randolph and William Byrd, Esquires, two of His Majesty's Council, who will take you by the Hand; they have undertaken this long Journey to assure you of the real Love and Friendship your Brothers of this Dominion have for you; they have my Commission to enter into a Treaty of Peace with you, to brighten and strengthen the Chain of Friendship that has so long subsisted between your Brothers the English, and the brave Cherokees, I desire you will receive what they say to you, as if spoke to you by myself.

I am in hopes the Treaty now proposed to be made with the above Gentlemen in Behalf of this Dominion in particular, and all your Brothers on this Continent, will continue as long as the Sun and Moon give Light. The French by their Emissaries are endeavouring to poisen the Minds of our Friendly Indians, and to withdraw them from their Brothers the English; I advise you

* Old Hop was one of the principal chiefs of the Cherokees. Governor Dinwiddie, in a letter to Richard Pearis, August 2, 1754 (*Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 267), states that he had always thought that the "Emperor" was their chief man; but that now he had learned that Old Hop was even a greater man he would treat him with due respect. He remained on friendly terms with the English during the whole of Dinwiddie's administration. His son was at the head of a delegation of Cherokees who had a consultation with Dinwiddie in Williamsburg on September 5, 1775, and the speech of the Cherokee, together with the Governor's reply, are printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 187-189.

to be on your Guard against them, their Speeches are made up of Falsehoods and unjust Reports, let none of them remain among you, and by no Means allow them to build any Forts on the River Hogohegee, in the Upper Cherokee Country, for their Intentions are with evil Design against you and your Brothers the English.—The Six Nations have taken up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and joined our Forces to the Northward with a great Number of their Warriors; and in a Battle with the French, we killed a great Number of their Men, and took several of their chief Officers Prisoners, obtaining a compleat Victory over them; and I hope on Occasion you will be ready and willing to give us your Assistance.

The Treaty now proposed to be made shall be confirmed by me, and transmitted to our Father the King of Great-Britain, &c. the other Side of the great Water. The Commissioners will deliver you some Powder, Lead, and other Goods, from your Father and your Brothers of this Dominion, to convince you of our sincere Friendship to your Nation.

That you may remain an happy people, and that true Love may subsist between you and your Brothers the English, till the End of Time, is my sincere Wish.

Given at Williamsburg, under my Hand and the Great-Seal of this Colony, this Twenty Third Day of December, One Thousand Seven Hundred Fifty Five.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

In Confirmation of the above I give you a Belt of Wampum.

A TREATY &c. AT THE CATAWBA-TOWN, THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY, 1756.

PRESENT.

The Honorable Peter Randolph and William Byrd, Esquires, Commissioners for Virginia.

Thomas Adams,* Esquire, Secretary.

* Thomas Adams (1730-1787) was a member of the United States Congress, 1778, and of the State Senate. His home at this time was in Henrico county. See *Wm. and Mary Quarterly*, V, 159-164.

Samuel Overton a commission and instructions "the same as above" to command a company of volunteers from Hanover County; and on the 20th commission and instructions to Capt. Jno. Philips to command "a company of Rangers to be raised in Bedford County."

It seems clear that the first Company of Rangers authorized in Virginia, after Braddock's defeat, was that from Lunenburg County, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Terry. But whether this company was actually organized, and if so what service it rendered, remains in considerable doubt. At any rate, in anticipation of its being raised it was ordered into Augusta County, where the local forces had been unable to cope with the situation. The Governor writing to Colonel John Buchanan, August 11, 1755, said: "There is a company of 50 men from Lunenburg County come into your county, your own company of Rangers of 50 men, another company of forty to be raised by Captain Smith with Captain Lewis's company, I think will be sufficient for the protection of your frontiers without calling out the militia, which is not to be done till great extremity."[1]

On August 14, 1755, Governor Dinwiddie commissioned George Washington Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, and made him Commander-in-Chief of all forces raised or to be raised in Virginia. In order to facilitate recruiting the Regiment was separated into three divisions, with recruiting officers in charge at Winchester, Alexandria and Fredericksburg, and in his instructions Washington was advised: "As Winchester is the highest place of rendezvous which is exposed to the enemy, you are hereby required to make that your headquarters."[2]

Colonel Washington repaired to Winchester and found everything in confusion and the people in a panic. In order to bring some order into the situation he resorted to such military power as he had, which was inadequate under the existing law. Some of the people resenting his measures threatened, as he informed Governor Dinwiddie, to blow out his brains. As soon as he was able to gather a few recruits, learning of the perilously small strength of the force at Fort Cumberland, he hastened thither.

[1] *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 154.
[2] Id., 185.

Page from "The Old Free State - History of Lunenburg County & Southside Virginia" by Bell GPC 1974
R 975.5 B434 (UPL)

While this fort was in Maryland, and was really more of a protection to the frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania than to Virginia, neither of those colonies did anything of importance to protect it or their frontiers which it defended.

Upon Colonel Washington's recommendation, Governor Dinwiddie urged upon the General Assembly the enactment of laws under which a more effective military discipline would be possible.

The Governor sent Peter Randolph and Colonel William Byrd as commissioners to the Catawba and Cherokee Indians, and it was no doubt through their instrumentality the promise of aid from the Indians was secured. In this, too, Richard Pearis was of some assistance.

An expedition against the Shawnees, which came to be known as the Sandy Creek Expedition, was determined upon, under the command of Major Andrew Lewis. It was the most pretentious effort of the year, and had as its object not only the chastisement of the Indians, but the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the "Great Sandy," the Big Sandy River of the present day, at or about the present town of Kenova, West Virginia.

The expedition never reached its destination, and accomplished practically nothing.

Frontier conditions became so bad that in August, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie ordered three forts built by the militia in Halifax County and one in Bedford, to be garrisoned by a part of them.

On August 23, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Clement Read:

"Upon your recommendation I agreed to the building a magazine for provisions and ammunition in a proper place convenient for supplying the forces and forts on the frontiers of Augusta. This now is to advise you that I have a letter from Major Lewis, from the Cherokee Nation of Indians, acquainting me that soon [after] the date of his letter, 150 warriors of that nation will come in to our assistance for the protection of our frontiers from the invasion of our brutal enemies, and I have reason also to expect fifty of the Catawba Indians. I am not acquainted

Men they may send in to our Assistance, you may come into such Terms as you may think reasonable ; but if they do not mention any Thing of that Nature, you may assure them of being properly taken Care of.—Do all you can to raise their Resentment against the French and their Indians, and that they may discourage and hinder their coming into their Nation,

The Catawbas, I hear, have long complained of being so much confined by the English settling on their Land, that they wanted to sell their Land, and go further to the Westward ; if they mention any Thing of this, you may assure them I shall do every Thing in my Power with the Neighbouring Governors for their Service. You will have Occasion to go thro' the forementioned Ceremonies, &c., with the Cherokees ; but you are to consider them as a much more numerous Nation, and their Lands very extensive ; The French have been endeavouring for many Years to bring them over to their Interest, and to build Forts in the upper Cherokee Country, but I hope they have not as yet built them ; if they have, endeavour to prevail with the Indians to destroy them, and by no Means to allow them any Settlement in their Nation ; and if possible, to hinder any of the French or their Indians, having any Consultations with them, unless they bring a Certificate or Message by one of the Six Nations or their Brothers the English, otherways they will endeavour to deceive them. Persuade them to take great Care of the Passes over the Mountains to the Upper Cherokees to prevent any Surprize.—Make an Excuse for not sending them some Arms, let them know they were not to be had here, but we will endeavour to provide some for them, you will find the Traders* from South-Carolina, will do all they can to harrass * * your Treaty. There is one Smith a Native of this Country, and a Trader from Charles-Town, he bears a good Character, you may send for him, he probably will be of Service to you. Be sure to return the Cherokees hearty Thanks for the Men they sent in with Mr. Paris to our Assistance against the Shawnese.†

* Governor Dinwiddie accused the South Carolina traders of trying to persuade the Indians to go on hunting trips, that they might have skins and furs to sell to them, rather than send their warriors to the aid of the Virginians.

† These men were 130 in number, and came to Virginia under the

As many Things may occur in the Course of your Negotiations, that I cannot foresee your own good Sense must be your Guide, and I accordingly refer it entirely to you. The Attorney-General brings you the £250 you wrote for. I am greatly disappointed in Wampum, having wrote to Col. Hunter to bring me a Quantity * * he is not returned ; I think you wrote me Col. Eaton would supply you, he would let you know the Quantity necessary.

Inclose you have Invoice of Goods for a Present, packed up and directed for each Nation ; and I hope, if the Weather permits, to send them from this on Monday or Tuesday next, for Petersburg. The ten Pieces of Dutch Blanketing, from Mr. Turnbull, are for the Cherokees, and if there be any Thing wanting ,have it from him, and desire him to send me the Account. —As the Cherokees are, by Report ten to one of the Catawbas, I have proportioned the Powder and Lead accordingly, which you may alter if you see proper.—Two Cherokee Boys, who were taken Prisoners by the Northern-Indians, were retaken by a Company of our Rangers ; I ordered them back to their Nation, pray enquire about then

Since writing the above, I have a Letter from Mr. Dobbs, Governor of North-Carolina, he appoints two Commissioners to go to the Catawbas and Cherokees : he proposes their meeting you at a Place, I think he calls it Salisbury which he says is near the Indian Road, which Rout he supposes you will take. I wrote him, I believed you would set out from this the 4th or 6th of January.

If I have omitted any Thing as Hints for your Conduct, please send me word and I shall answer you.—That you may have your Health, Success in your Negotiations, and a safe Return is the sincere Wish of Gentlemen,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

To the Hon. Peter Randolph and William Byrd, Esquires,

charge of Richard Pearis, or Paris, a trader who lived on the Holston. These Cherokees took part in the abortive expedition against the Shawnese in February and March, 1756.

23 Mar 1770 Richd Peers appoints Thomas Hite P/A to sell from him 378 acres on Opeckon Creek adj Robert Snyder & Jacob Strode — the land his father Gabriel had purchased of Richd Morgan & devised to his grandson George III Peers, the latter consigned it to his uncle Richd.

---

6 Mar 1772 — David Ogden & Martha Dalziel sold off a mortgage to Hackley, Wardell & Jacob Wood to procure money to purchase the large purchase (4 tracts for £1340/0/0) from Richd Peers in 1770.

There are no further purchases or sales in Frederick Co by any of the Peerses, and I have found no evidence of sales thru Thos Hite of the land Richd bought from George III

Thomas Hite made a will 25 Sep 1776, proved 17 Aug 1779

John Hite's will 25 Oct 1776 proved 6 Mar 1777 mentions a tract his father bought from Richd Peers in the Fairfax City of SC, part of a deed from to Richd Peers, the said Peers son & "my father" also was killed "by the hands of persons" at that same

Geo Peeris Jr. land — 271 acres Nov 1753 + 35 acres next to this 29 Jan 1755 Survey
35
= 306 acres

6 x 8 = 48
÷ 3 = 16 Hearths

*According to Pepper Genealogy by Thomas Pepper Page ( )

25 men to join him [illegible] 1775 - joined Greene -
1777 [illegible]

Aug 1779 Legion part under RP - to go to Mobile [illegible] Capitol surrendered
but [illegible] Fring [illegible] the prisoners to [illegible]

June 1778 Capt from York & the horses [illegible] Robt Howe
on CA Exped - [illegible] - dismissed in 3 [illegible] Fring sent
back to Orangeburg

- after Retreat ——— then Capt Pierce [illegible] at Eto
to for Service of [illegible] Williamson & Pickens. - then Ga Robt Leighton
to Orangeburg & finally away

Fring raised when he Regt (d 1779 was in Siege of Charles) the next Capt Pierce of SC Regt
to gather those or some from after return from Florida

Fring joined Legion in 1781 [illegible]

(Retreat 1780)

1778 Legion first from Charles Co to Florida Expedition -
then wounded & lost, and Wade then Maxwell
Lee raised St Augustine great Horse Expedition to the extreme
Precast division of GA.

Pierce in Siege & Capture of Charleston

When 1780 Charles after Surrender of Charleston - At this
junction Pierce Lt Col SC - to Dist to raise & Brig - Command of Wade
Pickens kept the Militia from [illegible]

Cattle & stock used to find Williamson's army on its [illegible] north [illegible] Turnbull
but Pierce & pickets [illegible] by Col Hall

CHAPTER ONE - THE FIRST GENERATION

Our Pearis Family were early pioneers in old Frederick County Virginia but they don't seem to have been in the first emigrant train led there in 1734 by old Jost Hite, first owner of a huge new Virginia Colony grant. We descend from George and Sarah Pearis's middle son Richard. It is important to us to know what year they got there, for a tradition in my Grandpa's family says we have Indian blood.

Before getting involved with genealogy, I used to think the story was just someone's overactive imagination. Many of his lines have been traced to the 1630's and before, with nary a trace of an Indian. But Richard Pearis was an ancestor of Grandpa's paternal grandmother, Susan Griffith, and his oldest son George had a Cherokee mother. We descend from his oldest daughter Sarah, born about 1744/5, when he was 19 or 20 years old. Was she from the same mother? We honestly can't tell. Part of this story will be a quest for that information.

For that to be feasible, the family must have been there about 1743 or sooner, at which time he must have begun his occupation of Indian fur trader, trekking up the ancient Indian trace which led to south-west Virginia to trade with the Cherokees before encroachment of whites drove them and the animals away. Most likely he was sponsored at first by Jost Hite's son Jacob. Boys became men very early on the frontier and, as you will see, Richard was a very talented, unusual man who led a daring life of adventure. This is all very possible, but did it happen quite that soon? It did happen.

Historians writing about Richard generally say he came there from Ireland "before 1750," which is much too vague to help us. British documents unavailable at the Wisconsin State Historical Society* reportedly say he came to America at age 10. The earliest Frederick County Deed Book mention of any of the family was on 11 February 1747/8 when Richard witnessed a Grub Family deed in which Emanuel Grub of Newcastle, Delaware, sold 225 acres bought from Jost Hite to Benjamin Grub, bordering on John Grub. Nothing else I have found connects our family to the Grubs, but it does show they were there then. Deed books do not usually (but occasionally do) tell us when land was originally acquired by patent, though they do show any sub-sequent sales of the patented land. The patents themselves were recorded on the manor rolls of the first grantee, such as Hite, Ross, Morgan, Lord Fairfax, et al, who issued the patents. Some manor rolls never became public.

When the settlers first came, the area was part of Spotsylvania Co., then Orange Co. from 1734-1738, then Frederick, but deed books of the latter do not begin until 1743 and are rather thorough. Such records as have survived before 1743 are spotty at best. However, proof (albeit negative) that the Pearises were there before 1743 is that George Pearis, Sr.'s will left land he had purchased from Peter Helton to Richard, and land from Richard Morgan to grandson George III, son George's son--both bought before the F.C. deed book started. This is part of the proof we need, in case we have Cherokee ancestry.

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*American Loyalists Audit Office Transcripts (76 vols) Public Records Office of England, ii, (we need Vol XXVI, pages 362-385)

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF
LATTER-DAY SAINTS

INDEX TO SERIES 1.

of

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INTRODUCTION

In the years since the Revolutionary War, Americans, for the most part, have been impressed with the idea of being descendants of Revolutionary Soldiers & Patriots. But they were, after all, revolutionists, intent on overthrowing the government.

The real victims of this war,aside from those killed and wounded, were those who had remained loyal to the crown. Before actual fighting began those citizens of the Colonies who refused to sign Oaths of Alligence to the American Cause were branded as Loyalists and laws were passed in the Colonies to banish them and confiscate their property.

The British Government set up commissions to receive their claims for losses and to make decisions on their cases. Loyality to the Crown had to be proved. Owenership of real and personal property had to be proved. Inventories with value had to be submitted and witnesses had to concur.

Not all claims were paid and less than 30% of the amount of losses were paid.

Under the auspices of the National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C. Peter Wilson Coldham,F.A.S.G., published "American Loyalist Claims" abstracted from A.O. - 13, which is Series 2 of these records. His introduction states far more eloquently than I, the plight of the Loyalists and the sources of these claims. It is excellent reading. This book is available through the National Genealogical Society.

For those interested, these film may be borrowed on inter-library loan from Library of Congress, by volume and reel number. For information on purchase of film contact the Kraus Microform Division, Kraus-Thomson, Route 100,Millwood, NY, 10546

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Great Britain Public Record Office Lists & Indexes Vol. 46, pages 191 - 193 (List of Records of the Treasury Paymaster General's Office, Exchequer & Audit Dept. & Board of Trade, prior to 1837), Kraus Reprint 1963.

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1776 -1831
MEANS OF REFERENCE

1. On Reel 1: Great Britain Public Record Office. Lists and Indexes volume 46, pages 194B-194E (List of Records of the Treasury, Paymaster General's Office, Exchequer and Audit Department, and Board of Trade, prior to 1837). Kraus Reprint, 1963.

2. Index of Names of Claimants (except to AO13-1-10) typescript index in the search rooms of the Public Record Office.

Series 2 - 145 Reels

REEL LABEL:

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/Public Records of Great Britain (E 277 / (Lib.)
/American Loyalist Claims        (.G 74 / (call)
/Exchequer & Audit Dept.         (Ser 1 / (no. )
/Series 2 /  128,  362  - 129, 531      /
/AO-13 - 136                            /
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Bundle#, page -Bundle#, page
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Audit Office, Claims, American Loyalists, Series II

A.O. 13

These bundles consist of the original memorials, certificates, accounts and vouchers of the various claimants, as presented to the Commission. The memorials are usually the same as those entered in the set of volumes containing the evidences taken before the Commissioners, but the other papers are supplementary. In some cases, where the volumes are missing, these bundles supply the only information. Bundles 1-10 being claims for supplies furnished to the Army and Navy, are not included in the Index to Claimants Names. They correspond with the numbers 71-76 in the series of volumes.(A.O. 12/71-76). The index th these volumes in number 77 (A.O. 12/77) which should be applied for under the reference Index 10342(1).

INTRODUCTION

This Series is much more difficult to use than AO12, SERIES 1, which was neatly written, and orderly assembled with volume and pages given in the index.

Series 2, although it has paging simply refers to the entries in the index by Bundle number. Only on one or two occasions is a page number given. But the Bundles are by areas of residence. So entries within the Bundle you search may have other pertinent information on neighbors or relatives.

Abstracts of this Series has been published by Peter Wilson Coldham, Special Publication copyright 1980 by National Genealogical Society, American Loyalist Claims. His introduction eloquently describes the plight of the Loyalists as the true victims of the Revolutions, abandoned by both sides, the Americans and the Crown. A wealth of genealogical information is to be found.

These film may be purchased from Kraus-Thomson, Route 100, Millwod, NY. 10546. They may be borrowed on interlibrary loan from Library of Congress, by volume and reel number.

Explanation of entries:

Surname: alphabetical; given name; State, when known; Bundle number(s) separated by ; () indicate more than one entry within that bundle. Cross referencing is given where applicant is mentioned within other claims. Entries may give more than one state, as claimant migrated.

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Parkins, Charles	67	Wts. Opequon	1765	2	500
Patterson, William	138	Wts. Opequon	1765	2	490
Patterson, William	65	Wts. Opequon	1760	1	502
Patton, Samuel	331	Middle Creek	1753	1	126
Paul, Andrew	400	Sleepy Creek	1762	1	248
Paul, Andrew	52	Sleepy Creek	1762	1	252
Paul, George	190	Back Creek	1766	2	11
Paul, John	719	Wts. Potomac	1763	1	336
Paul, John	365	North Mountain	1753	2	374
Paul, John	300	Back Creek	1760	1	531
Paul, Robert	284	North Mountain	1767	2	412
Paul, William	218	Sleepy Creek	1762	1	250
Paul, William	340	North Mountain	1753	2	376
Paxton, Ruben	400	Wts. Opequon	1760	2	422
Peahtolt, George H.	400	Wts. Potomac	1756	1	243
Pearis, Richard	209	Wts. Opequon	1762	1	576
Pearis, Richard Capt.	51	Wts. Opequon	1762	1	272
Pearis, Richard Capt.	536	Tuscarorah Cr.	1763	1	324
Pearis, Richard Capt.	390	Swan Ponds	1763	1	326
Pendleton, Philip	17¾	Tuscarorah Cr.	1788	2	298
Peterson, Peter	182	New Creek	1752	1	68
Peyton, Henry	290	Middle Creek	1754	1	163
Phipps, Benjamin	400	Cacapon River	1751	1	30
Pickering, William	210	Back Creek	1751	1	28
Potts, John	77	Wts. Potomac	1767	2	44
Potts, John	18	Adj. James Strode	1771	2	208
Powell, Joseph	220	Wts. Gr. Cacapon	1754	1	157
Proven—or Province					
Proven, John W.	174	Brush Creek	1766	2	597
Proven, John William	307	Back Creek	1766	2	16
Province—See Proven					
Province, Thomas	340	Back Creek	1762	1	286
Pruner, Michael	13	Wts. Potomac	1768	2	74
Pruner, Michael	60	Wts. Potomac	1763	1	338
Pugh, Evan Jr.	160	Wts. Cacapon	1752	1	89
Pugh, Evan Sr.	226	Trout Run	1752	1	88
Pugh, Jacob	220	Trout Run	1751	1	38
Pugh, Jesse	400	Back Creek	1752	1	58
Pugh, Jesse	150	Back Creek	1762	1	296
Pugh, Jesse	400	Horse Lick Branch	1789	2	302
Pugh, Thomas	75	Back Creek	1778	2	288
Pursley, Daniel	230	Wts. Potomac	1754	1	146
Ramsay, John	400	New Cr.	1752	1	57
Rankin, David & William	778	Wts. Opequon	1756	1	230
Rankin, Hugh (Ranken)	412	Doe's Run	1760	1	466
Reagan—or Regan, Regen					
Reagan, John	273	Wts. Opequon	1762	1	570
Reagan, Reason	265	Wts. Opequon	1761	1	552
Reeder, Joseph	420	Wts. Opequon	1767	2	62
Rees, Thomas	430	Mill Creek	1760	1	508
Regan—Reagan, Regen					
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Reid, Mary (Widow)	100	Opequon	1751	1	40
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Reno, Lewis	428	Wts. Opequon	1754	1	174
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Rice, Patrick	400	Long Marsh	1752	1	92
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SIMS INDEX

To

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Teague, Edward	400	Adj. Guy Broadwater	1751	2	444
Teague, Moses	100	Wts. Potomac	1761	1	539
Teague, William	145	Cattail Run	1750	1	16
Thatcher, Stephen & Samuel	400	Tuscarorah Cr.	1764	2	453
Thomas, Edward	203	Wts. Opequon	1760	1	496
Thomas, Edward	182	Wts. Opequon	1760	1	497
Thomas, John	400	Wts. Cacapon	1753	1	123
Thompson, Ralph	265	Wts. Opequon	1764	2	460
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Thornbrough, Robert	86	Middle Creek	1766	2	531
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Vanmeter, Abraham	500	Wts. Opequon	1754	1	171
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Vanmeter, Henry	327	Tuscarorah Cr.	1766	2	600
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Vanmeter, Jacob	13	Vanmeter's Marsh	1767	2	60
Vanmeter, Jacob	193	Mill Creek	1768	2	130
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Vanmeter, Jacob	96	Wts. Potomac	1761	1	540
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Vestal, John	17	Island Shenandoah	1766	2	553
Vestal, John	408	Adj. Gersham Keys	1766	2	555
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Vulgamore, David	288	Wts. Potomac	1790	2	321
Vulgamore, Joseph S..	188	Sleepy Creek	1766	2	18
Walker, Abel	338	Mill Creek	1766	2	532
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Washington, George	550	Bull Skin	1750	1	22
Washington, George	760	South Fork of Bullskin	1752	1	72
Washington, George Major	240	Wts. Potomac	1753	1	113
Washington, Lawrence Major	371	North Branch Potomac	1752	1	78
Washington, Lawrence Major	613	Adj. Robt. Washington	1752	1	79
Washington, Lawrence Major	371	North Br. Potomac	1752	1	80
Washington, Lawrence Major	570	Bullskin	1752	1	81
Watkins, David	372	Near Watkins Ferry	1756	2	420
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Excerpts from Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pp. 175-189

The original intent had been to present these much-quoted letters in their entirety, but there just is not room in this book. Edmund Atkin's letters are long-winded and pompous, designed to impress others of his great authority as the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department, for the King. In all of them he proclaims that HE had been appointed by His Majesty to preclude disorder such as that which had just occurred, and also circumvent a drain on His Majesty's purse--otherwise the Indians, being no fools, would go from colony to colony extorting the greatest bounties, or worse yet, double-charge for the same service. All His Majesty's governments must combine to give only one present, as cheap as possible, for each service.

In the letter to George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern Dist. of Indian Affairs, dated 8 June 1757, he first cites in excrutiating detail Clement Read's version of recent Lunenburg disorders, and goes on at length to explain that "the Swallow and Wawhatchee" were the "worst-behaved in the Nation."

> Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.
>
> "This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.
> In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

> "The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present
>
> "Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)
>
> "Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes. 9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

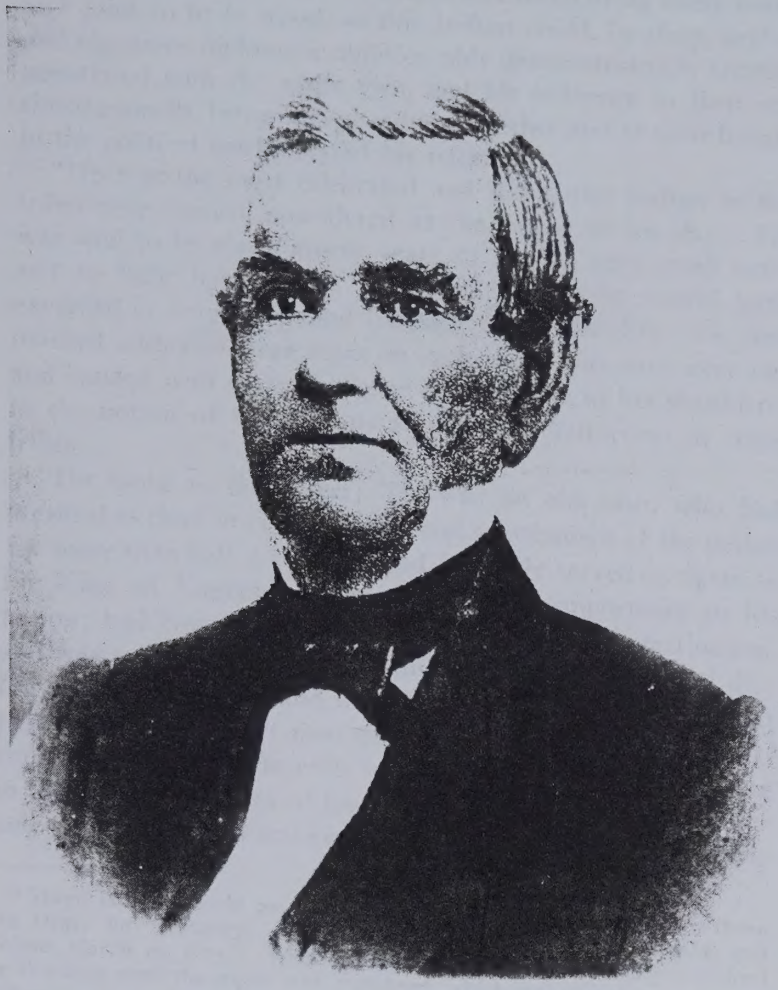
Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Though to all outward appearances Atkin had received great cooperation from Gov. Dinwiddie, Maryland Gov. Horatio Sharpe was harder to convince though he decided it was wise to at least appear to go along. Part of Atkin's letter to Sharpe of 12 June 1757 contains the following:

> Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.
> Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...
>
> ....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Crogan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....
>
> "I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...". This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....
>
> "On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

On receiving Adkin's message, Croghan decided to cover himself by asking Pennsylvania officer Col. John Armstrong to accompany him, as they answered to different bosses. Armstrong recognized that it was important, but made sure to stay out of trouble by writing to report everything to Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania on 19 June 1757. After thefirst quote he relays the sad fate of Swallow Warrior and experiences of other Cherokee groups, also a report regarding Col. Stanwix and Capt. Dagworthy, probably the scare at top of page 73.

> per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.
> "On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ..Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne,
>
> that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place
>
> where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."



CHIEF JOHN ROSS AFTER THE REMOVAL
From a picture made about the time of his second marriage.

OLD FRONTIERS

The Story of the Cherokee Indians
from Earliest Times to the
Date of Their Removal
to the West, 1838

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by

JOHN P. BROWN

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"We continued at Watauga during the treaty,[5] which lasted about twenty days. Among others, there was a distinguished chief called Attakullakulla, known to the white people as 'The Little Carpenter.' As a white carpenter could bring every notch and joint to fit in wood, so this Indian could, by deep, artful, and ingenious diplomatic abilities, ably demonstrated by treaties negotiated with the white men, and his influence in their national councils, bring various minds together and fit their beliefs in the political machinery of his nation.

"He was the most celebrated and influential Indian in the tribes then known, considered as the Solon of his day. He was said to be about ninety years of age,[6] a very small man, and so light habited that I scarcely believe he would have exceeded in weight a pound for each year of his life. He was marked with two large scars on each cheek; his ears were cut and banded with silver, hanging nearly down to his shoulders, in the notion of the Indians a mode of distinction in some tribes.

"He spoke to this effect; 'He was an old man, who had presided as chief in every council, and as president of the nation for more than half a century; had formerly served as agent to the King of England on business of first importance to his nation; had crossed the big water, arrived at his destination, and was received with great distinction; had the honor of dining with His Majesty and the nobility; had the utmost respect paid him by the great men of the white people, and had accomplished his mission with success; that from long standing in the highest dignities of his nation, he claimed the confidence and good faith of all and everyone in defending and supporting

[5] There is some doubt as to the actual date of Boone's departure from the treaty for Kentucky. Walker, who wrote fifty years afterward, said "*about* March 10, 1775." Walker states, however, that his party remained at Watauga until the treaty was completed, which was March 17, 1775. A difference of a week, after lapse of half a century, would doubtless seem a small matter to an old man. Boone probably started for Kentucky after the treaty was completed, Mar. 17, 1775.

[6] Attakullakulla was certainly younger than Walker's estimate. His age is given by one authority at the time of his visit to London as 10, and by another as 30. Even the latter would make him only 75 at the time of Henderson's treaty. William Bartram visited the Cherokee country in the following year, 1776, and met Attakullakulla, who was then much too vigorous for a man of 90.

the rightful claims of his people to the Bloody Grounds, then in treaty to be sold to the white people.' " [7]

The other Cherokee chiefs readily fell in with the opinions of their principal leaders. It seemed that the plans of Henderson and Boone were assured of success, when there was an interruption among the Indians.

4

Dragging Canoe, chief of Amo-yeli-egwa, the Great Island, rose to his feet. Six feet tall, broad and muscular, of mature years,[8] his strong face deeply pitted with the scars of smallpox and made fiercer thereby, Dragging Canoe made an impressive appearance. This famous Indian was the son of the great chief Attakullakulla, who had been known as Ookoo-naka, the White Owl, in his youth, and whose title "The Little Carpenter" had been bestowed later by the white men.[9]

Dragging Canoe was deeply chagrined that his father, the great Attakullakulla, beloved of all the Cherokees, and Oconostota, whom he had been proud to follow upon the warpath, should consider selling, at any price, the fairest hunting grounds of his people. He rose to deliver an earnest protest.

He began by telling of the ancient flourishing state of his people; mentioned encroachments of the white men upon various nations of Indians who had left their homes and the tombs of their ancestors to satisfy the insatiable desire of the white man for more land. Whole nations had melted away like balls of snow in the sun, leaving scarcely a name except as imper-

[7] *Felix Walker's Narrative*, as quoted in *Boonesborough*, by George W. Ranck. *Boonesborough* contains the best description of Henderson's treaty, Deposition of Charles Robertson, and much other valuable material from original sources.

[8] Goodpasture, in his *Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest*, gives the age of Dragging Canoe at Henderson's treaty as 24. He was certainly older, as his son, Young Dragging Canoe, is mentioned by the trader Robert Dews as a grown warrior two years later, 1777. James Sevier, who saw Dragging Canoe a few years afterward, estimated him to be a man of 45.

[9] Ookoo-Naka, later known as the Little Carpenter, accompanied Sir Alexander Cuming to London in 1730, with seven other chiefs. For names and identity of the Indians who made that trip, see Drake, *Indians of North America*, 367-375; and Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, Cuming's Journal*, 122-143.

of his nation, was not barred from the warpath. In company with Oconostota, he led a war party against the French fort at Toulouse. Six French scalps, and two prisoners, were taken. The Carpenter wrote Demere of his success: "I hope you will have white shirts ready for our return. Make them large. Our paint is all gone. Please send two pounds of paint by the bearer, and four bottles of rum. I think it long until I see you." [2]

Oconostota and the Carpenter added a diplomatic triumph to their victory in the field. A party of Cherokee warriors, scouting along the Ohio, had killed five Chickasaws, thinking them to be enemy Shawnees. The incident threatened inter-tribal war. The Carpenter returned with his war party by way of the Chickasaws, and appeased that tribe with his usual eloquence, aided by the gift of two of the French scalps, a string of beads, and a war hatchet. He plead in defense of the offending Cherokees that "they were young fellows, and could not come back without something to show." [3]

The Carpenter set off for Charles Town on his arrival at Fort Loudoun, to present the scalps to Governor Lyttleton. He deemed the occasion appropriate, too, for registering complaint against the trader John Elliott, who had "charged the Indians outrageous prices, particularly on womens' wearing apparel, and who threw the goods at them as if they were dogs." The Carpenter introduced a number of Cherokee women to the governor to bear witness to Elliott's conduct, with the remark:

"It is customary among the red men to admit women to our councils. As the white people, as well as the red, are born of women, is not that the custom among them, also?"

Presenting the French scalps, the Carpenter said:

"When I was last in Charles Town, your Excellency desired me to take up the hatchet against the French and their Indians and to

[2] *Ibid.*, 6: 115. The white shirts were desired by the Indians on their return from the warpath for the ceremony of purification. The shedding of blood rendered unclean the garments worn at the time. A fast of three days was required for cleansing, with drinking of the Black Drink, and ceremonies by the Adawehi or conjurors. The white shirts would indicate that the warriors had put away their war clothes and were at peace, white being the peace color.

[3] *Ibid.* 6: 95 and 115.

take their scalps. I always regard the orders of my brothers the English, and did take up the hatchet and now bring to your Excellency the scalps of the French. As your Excellency is the representative of the great king over the water, I expect you to make him acquainted therewith."

The governor replied that the king should be informed not only of the scalps, but of the Little Carpenter's constant friendship for the English, and that the trader Elliott would receive adequate punishment. The chief then desired that his Excellency "would be pleased to order a little red trunk for each of the warriors, which being promised, they shook hands and withdrew." [4]

On his return trip to Fort Loudoun, the Little Carpenter met the trader Elliott at Keowee and told him that he had complained of him to the governor. Elliott begged for another chance, and the Carpenter, with his usual kindness of heart, wrote the governor:

"The Little Carpenter says that he made a complaint against Mr. Elliott, but meeting him at Keowee, he hath agreed with Old Hop for Elliott to have his yard longer; and all shirts to be 3 pounds weight of leather apiece; likewise he hath agreed to sell all kinds of striped cotton at 4 pounds weight of leather and a fathom likewise of calico; so the Carpenter and the Great Warrior desire that you would not say anything to Mr. Elliott concerning the complaint the Carpenter made, for they have agreed among themselves. I desire that you send me a cloak for my wife." [5]

[4] *S. C. Council Journal*, Feb. 9, 1757; and Apr. 11, 1758.

Many writers have commented on the childlike quality of Indian reasoning and desires, of which the Carpenter's request for "a little red trunk" for his warriors may be considered an example. Curtin, in his *Seneca Legends and Myths*, has pointed out that such instances should not be considered as applicable to the Indians alone, but to the entire human race in its earlier stages. The Indian was in the Stone Age, and reasoned as a Stone Age man. It is permissible to assume that our own forbears, when in the Stone Age, reasoned much the same. As Curtin remarks, the American Indian offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the childhood of humanity.

[5] *Ibid.* This communication of the Little Carpenter is particularly interesting because it was written and signed for him by the interpreter John Watts. This was the first appearance of the father of Chief John Watts, who was later to make the name famous in Cherokee annals.

3

Following Braddock's defeat, General John Forbes had been assigned the duty of expelling the French from their frontier forts. Forbes apparently learned nothing from his predecessor's disaster as to the value of Indian help. Washington and Dinwiddie wrote him, and placed the blame for Braddock's failure upon lack of Indian allies. Forbes continued to regard Indians with supreme contempt, and his attitude was seconded by his aides, Colonels Bouquet and St. Clair. Bouquet wrote his chief:

"It is a great humiliation for us to suffer the repeated insolence of such rascals. I think it would be easier to make Indians of our white men than to coax that damned tanny race."

St. Clair likewise wrote that he "would have nothing to do with the unreasonable nation of Indians." [6]

Washington, however, had different ideas of the Indians. Writing to Dinwiddie, he said:

"They are more serviceable than twice their number of white men. Their cunning and craft cannot be equaled. Indians are the only match for Indians. If they return to their nation, no words can tell how they will be missed, for upon these people the safety of our march very much depends. However absurd it may seem, it is certain that five hundred Indians have it in their power to more annoy the inhabitants than ten times their number of white men." [7]

There was at the time quite a controversy as to the matter of scalping. Many people, while they had no objection to paying white frontiersmen for Indian scalps, scrupled at paying Indian

[6] The quotations are from Rupert Hughes' *Life of Washington*.

Colonels Bouquet and St. Clair could have profited by an attempt to understand the "damned tanny race."

Bouquet later in the campaign commanded Forbes' advance guard against Fort Du Quesne. Hearing that the fort was defended by a small garrison only, he foolishly detached Major James Grant with eight hundred men to reconnoiter the position. Grant was surprised by French Indians, lost three hundred of his men, and was himself taken a captive.

General Arthur St. Clair was later to meet with disaster at the hands of the "unreasonable nation of Indians" that was comparable to that of Braddock.

[7] Dinwiddie Papers.

allies for such work.[8] Washington, knowing Indians, and valuing them on their own terms, shared no such feeling. A party of Cherokees under Ucahala lying in ambush near Fort Du Quesne, took the scalps of an Indian and a French officer, Washington forwarded the scalps to Dinwiddie for the reward, saying:

"I hope, though one is not an Indian's, they will meet with adequate reward, as the Monsieur's is of much more consequence."

Dinwiddie justified scalping by claiming that the French had introduced the practice.

"There are come to our assistance, near four hundred Indians of the Catawbas, Cherokees, and Tuscaroras. I've ordered them out in parties to discover the motions of the enemy, and to scalp those they can overcome, a barbarous method of conducting war introduced by the French, which we are obliged to follow in our own defense." [9]

Edmund Atkin, who had been appointed His Majesty's Indian Agent, brought the accusation: "The Cherokees, in particular, have got the art of making four scalps out of one man's hair." He was not so far wrong. There were rogues among the Cherokees as among all people, and the heavy reward for scalps was a temptation. The Head Warrior of Estatoe informed Governor Lyttleton in a letter that while on the way to Virginia he had met a party of Overhill Cherokees who had killed and scalped two men.

"After the Headman had killed the two men, he scalped them and made four scalps out of the two, and forced every one of his gang to make a promise not to divulge it on pain of being immediately killed; and so made the best of his way toward Winchester to there get the same reward for them as if they had taken that many French scalps." [10]

[8] Virginia had a standing offer of fifteen pounds for each Indian scalp, and a bonus for extra scalps in the same year. Other states, notably Pennsylvania, offered more, and were accused by the Virginians of enticing the Indian allies by greater inducement.

[9] Dinwiddie Papers.

[10] *S.C.I.A.* 6: 137.

4

With the feeling that existed upon the part of General Forbes and his aides; and the additional fact that Cherokee chiefs led war parties into Virginia at will and without interpreters, it was natural that trouble should arise between the Virginians and their red allies. Richard Pearis was the official interpreter. He was compelled to accompany Major Lewis, who commanded both provincials and Indians, in order that the officer might communicate his wishes.

It often happened that a war party of Cherokees, returning from a scouting trip, would find Pearis absent. They were thus unable to explain their wants. Secrecy being an essential of scouting, they were compelled to leave their horses at headquarters. The regular officers treated them with contempt, and they could not recover their horses until the return of the interpreter. One such party consisting of ten warriors was seized and held in confinement for ten days until identified by Judd's Friend.[11]

The Cherokees had come to the assistance of Virginia with the promise of receiving good treatment and substantial reward. Being insulted and even denied their horses, after the service they had rendered, stung their pride and roused them to bitter resentment.

In the month of May, 1758, Moytoy of Settico, at the head of a band of warriors who had served in Virginia, left for the Cherokee country. He was in an ugly mood. A number of his men had lost their horses or had been unable to recover them from English authorities. They took others to the number of twenty to replace their own. Affidavits of various Virginia citizens indicate that the Cherokees took the first horses available, used little ceremony in taking them, and posed as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their own nation.

Among the Virginians whose horses were taken were William Verdiman, his son William Verdiman Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, Robert Jones, and Henry Snow, all of

[11] See Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 2: 245, 252, 260, 268. The incident caused Washington much embarrassment, and he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie that but for his own efforts, it would have cost the province dearly. He suggested that no Indian war party be permitted to enter Virginia without an interpreter. Lachlan McIntosh, Commander at Fort Prince George, made the same suggestion.

Halifax County. These men gathered some reinforcements and followed the Indians, hoping to recover the animals.

The elder Verdiman, a man of advanced years, led the white men into the Cherokee camp. With hat in hand, he bowed and accosted the savages courteously. "Gentlemen," he said, "we have come to you in a brotherly manner to ask you for the horses and other goods you have taken from us."

The Indians could not understand the words, but perceived that the white men wanted the horses. Thereupon, they began painting themselves, primed and cocked their guns, struck trees with tomahawks, and attempted to encircle the white men. The Virginians took to trees, and a general firing was commenced by both sides. John Hall, a white man, was killed, and three Indians. Verdiman and his companions retreated and alarmed the country. The local militia under command of Captain Mead, to the number of forty, pursued Moytoy's party. The Indians had moved toward Staunton River, plundering the settlers' cabins as they proceeded.

Realizing that their actions might bring on a general Indian war, the Virginians made an effort to parley with the Cherokees. Two men, Hawkins and Tarbro, were sent for that purpose. They found Moytoy and his followers camped on the opposite bank of Staunton River, hallooed, and ten of the savages crossed to meet them.

Hawkins acted as spokesman. He could not make himself understood, but the Indians caught the word "brothers," whereupon they slapped themselves upon their chests and answered, "No, no, no, brothers! English damned rogues!" The two white men were seized, stripped of clothes and beaten, and signs were made to them that they must run or be killed. They ran.

Captain Mead and his men, on the advice of one Shote who acted as guide, placed themselves in ambush at a pass through which the Indians must go, and awaited the savages.

The Indians captured three white men before reaching the pass. John Wallacks, whose affidavit states that he was moved by curiosity to see the Indians, had his wish more than gratified. He was discovered as he hid near the road to watch them pass, and was stripped and beaten. The Indians then shook tomahawks over his head and ordered him to run. As he ran, pleased

to escape with his life, an Indian threw a rock which cut his back severely, and well nigh killed him.

John Yates and Philip Preston, who were riding along the road, had heard nothing of the Indian outbreak. Their horses were taken, and they too were stripped, beaten, and ordered to run, which their affidavit states they "instantly obeyed."

A running fight ensued when the Indians reached the pass where Mead's men were posted. Three Indians were left dead on the field and others were carried away. Moytoy afterward stated that the Indian loss was nineteen. After much firing, "both parties fled from each other."

Moytoy hastened a runner to Chote to inform Old Hop of the trouble. Burning for revenge, he led his warriors to the Yadkin River settlements of North Carolina, where he left a trail of blood and destruction. When he returned to his town of Setticoe, he brought with him nineteen scalps of men, women, and children. The victims were poor German emigrants who had nothing whatever to do with the wrong the Cherokees had suffered in Virginia, but to Moytoy's mind, a scalp balanced a scalp.

There were many Cherokee war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1758. Without doubt, there were other cases of horse stealing, although the chiefs, in correspondence with both Lyttleton and Dinwiddie, placed entire blame upon Moytoy of Settico.[12] An ugly feeling against all Indians developed on the Virginia frontier. At least one party of Virginians, under Captain Robert Wade, followed a band of Cherokees and killed

[12] For affidavits of various Virginia citizens relative to trouble with Cherokee Indians passing through their country, June 1, 1758, see *S.C.I.A.* 6: 153-183.

Historians generally have followed Hewatt in reference to the matter. His version is favorable to the Cherokees and he is corroborated by Adair. The writer, however, has followed affidavits of Virginia citizens compiled by Governor Dinwiddie immediately after the trouble, and forwarded by him to Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina, *S.C.I.A.* 6: 153-183. The affidavits show plainly that the Virginians had ample provocation, and could hardly have acted other than they did. Hewatt's account is as follows:

"As the horses in those parts ran wild in the woods, it was customary both among Indians and white people on the frontiers to lay hold of them and convert them to their own purposes.

"While the savages were returning through the back parts of Virginia, many of them, having lost their horses, laid hold of such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province.

four, who were scalped. Wade's men were required by their leader to take an oath to testify that the victims were not Cherokees, but Shawnees.[13]

5

Early in 1758, Governor Dinwiddie had sent Colonel William Byrd to the Cherokees to encourage the sending of additional warriors to Virginia. Byrd had met the Little Carpenter while the chief was on his way to Charles Town to deliver the French scalps to Governor Lyttleton. The chief had promised Byrd that immediately upon his return to Fort Loudoun he would use his influence to secure warriors from the entire nation, and relying on the promise, Byrd had returned to Virginia. He left his deputy, George Turner, to accompany the Indians.

The chiefs had given Turner hearty cooperation, and announced that they would lead a large number of warriors to Virginia. The date of departure had been set, when the runner arrived from Moytoy with the news of his fight with the Virginians.

The Little Carpenter waited upon Turner at Fort Loudoun, and told him he need not prepare his baggage for departure. He was, instead, requested to attend a talk at Old Hop's on the following day. Turner, in surprise, told the Carpenter that he was ready to set out for Virginia the next day. "One day will break no squares," the chief retorted, and insisted that Turner be at Old Hop's as requested.[14]

When the warriors were assembled, the Little Carpenter told Turner that their conjuror had advised them not to go to Virginia at that time, that the way was beset by danger; that sickness and death would overtake many, and great fatigue be the portion of all, if they were to go.

Turner protested that presents and ammunition had already been distributed. "I can hardly credit," he said, "that so many

The Virginians, however, instead of asserting their rights in a legal way, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspicious warriors."

The evidence shows, however, that the horses taken by Moytoy were not wild, but domestic horses taken from their owners by force.

[13] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 1: 254-257.

[14] An expression derived from the practice of the English soldiers of fighting in squares.

valiant warriors will be diverted from their purpose by the words of a conjuror."

The chief replied that the Indians never undertook anything of consequence without consulting their conjuror, "that they might know the will of the Great Man above; and that they never departed from the conjuror's opinion." [15]

Turner asked for an escort out of the country, and was told that he would have to wait two weeks. The Cherokees were disturbed at the killing of their people in Virginia, and wanted further details before taking action.[16]

6

The chiefs, after consideration, sent this letter to Governor Lyttleton, requesting him, "Brother, when you read this, send it to our brother the Governor of Virginia, that he may read it and think well."

"BROTHER: The Governor of Virginia has acquainted you with our people's behaviour, and we now hear it from you. We are ashamed and sorry to find how they have behaved, but it was not our orders. Since it has happened contrary to our desire, we beg that it may from this time be forgot, and hope that the path will still be open between us, and everything be as usual.

"What has happened seems as if it was done by people in their sleep, who dreamed a bad dream, but are now awakened out of it, and we hope that this talk, (to confirm which we send some beads) will make everything up, and let us live as before." [17]

The communication was signed by Old Hop, Standing Turkey, the Little Carpenter, and Willenawah. Governor Lyttleton in reply warned the Cherokees that the armies of the great king were strong; that the English were the only people who could supply the Cherokees; that he had been informed that war parties had set out from the Cherokee towns to take revenge, and they must be recalled, or the Cherokees would regret their action when it was too late.

[15] *S.C.I.A.* 6: 162-166.

[16] *Ibid.* The trader John Elliott came to Turner's assistance. He loaned the Virginia deputy horses for the trip through the Catawbas, the Virginia road being unsafe; sent Turner's baggage over the mountains on his own horses so that the Virginian might have fresh mounts, and when Turner asked the amount of his charges, replied, "Not a farthing!"

[17] *S.C.P.R.* 28: 86-87.

residence at Chote in spite of Demere's protest. The Mortar ridiculed the Cherokees for not taking up the hatchet against the English. The Frenchman Lantagnac was sent to Tellico by Governor Kerleric to fan Cherokee dissatisfaction into action. He urged particularly that the Cherokees should destroy Fort Loudoun. The weeping of the Cherokee women over their slain warriors increased the general bad feeling.

In April, 1759, Lieutenant Richard Coytmore was sent to Fort Prince George to succeed Lachlan McIntosh. The change was unfortunate, for McIntosh had treated the Indians kindly, and had their confidence. Coytmore and Ensign Bell intensified the dissatisfaction while on a drunken spree by forcing their way into a Cherokee house in Keowee while the men were away, and grossly mistreating the women therein. The offense was repeated a few days later.

Lantagnac, in an impassioned talk, urged the Cherokees to war. Seizing a tomahawk, he struck the war pole and cried: "Who is there that will take this hatchet for the King of France? Let him come forth!"

Saloue of Estatoe answered: "I will take it! The spirits of our dead warriors call. He is less than an old woman who will not answer them!"

Wauhatchie, chief of three lower towns, followed Saloue and took the hatchet. The example was followed by the warriors generally, and a war dance was soon in full swing. The excitement swept through the lower towns. War parties departed for the frontier to gain glory by "killing swarms of white dung-hill fowls, in the corn fields and asleep." [22]

The chiefs responsible for the outbreak are said to have instructed their followers to go to Virginia and take scalps from the people who had shown such ingratitude to the Cherokees. The impatient young warriors could not wait, and the force of the attack fell on the Carolina frontier. Governor Lyttleton, in his report to the council on Oct. 20, 1759, summed up the loss: "twenty-two killed, two scalped but yet alive, and the entire frontier terrorized."

The outrages were committed entirely by warriors from the lower towns. Not a warrior among the Overhills took up the hatchet. At Fort Loudoun, Old Hop, Willenawah, and the

[22] Adair, 263.

Little Carpenter delivered to Captain Demere the scalps taken by Moytoy, and they were given burial.

Early in December, Governor Lyttleton advised the council that he was determined to lead a force to chastise the Cherokees into a lasting peace. The council authorized an army of fifteen hundred men. Colonels Beale, Pawley, Byrne, Hayward and Rivers were ordered to "fire the alarm and draft one half of their regiments."

9

In the midst of busy preparations, Oconostota, the Great Warrior, with twenty-two leading men from the nation, arrived at Charles Town. The council advised the governor that the chiefs should not be received with the usual marks of friendship, "Nevertheless, as your Excellency has in some talks lately sent to them assured them that if any of their head men should come hither to treat upon any matter, they shall come and go to their nation in safety." The council also advised the governor to tell the chiefs that as he was himself about to set out for the Cherokee country, they might return under his protection.

The Cherokees were admitted to the council chamber, and after smoking, Oconostota delivered a frank and straightforward appeal for peace. He said:

"Your Excellency is the beloved man; I am come to talk with you. I come from my governor, Old Hop, at Chote. There has been bad doings at the towns thereabouts, but I was not the beginner of them. Old Hop, my governor, has always loved the white people, and I am come hither to prove it. The path has been a little bad, but I am come to make it straight from your Excellency to my governor. There has been blood spilled, but I am come to clean it up. I am a warrior, but want no war with the English. Like a cloudy morning that clears away again, I am endeavoring to clear away all that is bad."

He laid some deerskins at the governor's feet, and continued:

"Your warriors have carried the hatchet to war against us. We have done the same against them, and both have acted like boys. I am willing to bury the hatchets of my young people, and put weights on them never to be taken off again. I have heard that the

to come down into the settlements. We have now given the white men enough land to live upon, and hope in return to be well used by them.

"We have not demanded any payment for the land, and shall be content with what our father chooses to give, for he knows that we are poor, and the value of the land is great."

Probably no other man than John Stuart could have procured so large a tract of Indian land without striking a bargain in advance.

Oconostota paid remarkable tribute to Stuart's deputy, Alexander Cameron.

"I am now going to talk to you concerning Mr. Cameron. He has lived among us as beloved man. He has done us justice. He has told us the truth. We all love and regard him, and hope he will not be taken from us. When a good man comes amongst us, we are sorry to part with him.

"Our beloved brother, Mr. Cameron, has got a son by a Cherokee woman. We are desirous that he may educate the boy like the white people, and cause him to be able to read and write, that he may resemble both white and red, and live among us when his father is dead. We have given him for this purpose a large piece of land, which we hope will be agreeable to our father." [33]

The gift of land to Cameron's son caused severe criticism from London authorities, and was near to losing the deputy his position, as English law did not permit cessions save to the crown. Stuart defended his deputy on the ground that it was not a cession but a gift to one of their own people, for the Indians regarded the child as a member of its mother's clan, regardless of the father's people.

II

The Treaty of Hard Labour was the signal for an inrush of settlers toward the Cherokee country, not only from South Carolina, but from Virginia and North Carolina. In March, 1769, the first glimpse is had of the Watauga settlement, when Oconostota wrote Stuart that settlers from Virginia were over the line, and wished to buy land. "If my father desires," he

[33] Proceedings at Treaty of Hard Labour, Oct. 14, 1768, British Colonial Papers.

said, "I will sell them the land, but a few presents are as nothing compared to good land, which will last forever." [34]

The first settler at Watauga was one Honeycut, who built a cabin in which he entertained James Robertson, then a young man dissatisfied with political conditions in North Carolina, and in search of better conditions for himself and his family.

Robertson was delighted with the beauty of the Watauga site. He planted a crop and started for the Yadkin to bring his family to the new country. He lost his direction, and wandered in the wilderness for fourteen days, being rescued at the point of starvation by some hunters.

His description of the land across the mountains fired the enthusiasm of his neighbors. Accompanied by his brother Charles, and several families from the Yadkin section, Robertson returned to Watauga and settled, early in 1769. About the same time Captain William Bean settled upon Bean's Creek, and his son, Russell Bean, was the first white child born west of the Alleghenies. John Carter settled in Carter's Valley, and Jacob Brown upon Nolichucky River. Colonel Gilbert Christian led a party from Virginia into Holston Valley on an exploratory trip. On their outward journey, they found wilderness. Returning, they found a cabin at every spring. Daniel Boone was in demand as a guide from North Carolina to the new country.

All of these settlements were on Cherokee land, and created consternation in the Cherokee towns. Oconostota wrote Stuart in July, 1769:

[34] The one man who inspired the settlement of the country west of the Alleghenies more than any other was Christopher Gist, of the Yadkin River settlement of North Carolina. Gist was a man of ability, and of more education than was customary at the time. He was employed in 1750 by the Ohio Company to explore the Ohio Valley. It was while engaged in this work that he was propounded the question by an Indian chief: "The French claim all the land north of the Ohio, and the English all to the south. Where do the Indian's lands lie?"

Gist made two trips to the Ohio, visited the principal tribes of Indians, made friends with them, and had gathered a band of a hundred pioneers to settle upon the Ohio when the French and Indian war disrupted his plans. His proposed settlers were shifted to Washington's militia, and served at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity.

On his second trip to the Ohio, Gist returned by way of the Kentucky River and brought with him a great curiosity, the tooth of a mastoden. It was his description of the Kentucky country that later sent his friend and neighbor Daniel Boone over the same path that he had explored. See affidavit of John Shaw, *S.C.I.A.* 5: 1-4.

"FATHER: The white people pay no attention to the talks we have had. They are in bodies hunting in the middle of our hunting grounds. Some of our people went as far as Long Island of Holston River, but were obliged to come home, for the whole nation is filling with hunters, and the guns rattling every way on the path, both up and down the river. They have settled the land a great way this side of the line." [35]

Richard Pearis, interpreter to the Cherokees in the French and Indian war, desired to buy 200,000 acres of land direct from the Cherokees. Oconostota wrote Stuart:

"Who is this Pearis? He certainly must be a great man, greater than the Governor of Virginia, for when the Governor wanted land, we had to ask the King's liberty first, but Pearis wants to ask nobody. He, being a great man, it is for him to do as he pleases." [36]

The rapid settlement of the Watauga was facilitated by trouble between the Cherokees and Chickasaws which distracted, for the time being, the attention of the Indians. Oconostota, for real or fancied insults, led his warriors against the Chickasaws, and was badly defeated at Chickasaw Old Fields. Captain Stuart soon made peace between the two tribes.

Alexander Cameron, Stuart's resident deputy, was disturbed by the encroachment of the Watauga settlements on Cherokee land. He ordered that the settlements be abandoned, which the Wataugans refused to consider. They offered, however, to pay the Cherokees a fair rental for the ground. Cameron submitted the matter to Stuart, who recommended that the offer be accepted by the Indians, for he well recognized the impossibility of removing settlers once over the Indian line. Stuart's advice being accepted, the Little Carpenter was appointed by the nation to go to Watauga and arrange details.

The Carpenter wrote his friend:

"Father, when I go to Virginia I will eat and drink with my white brothers, and will expect friendship and good usage from them. It is but a little spot of ground that you ask, and I am willing that your people should live upon it. I pity the white people, but

[35] Oconostota to Stuart, July 29, 1769, *British Colonial Papers.*

[36] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1769.

the white people do not pity me. Captain Guess comes into our country hunting, with fifty men. When we tell him of it, he threatens to shoot us down. The Great Being above is very good, and provides for everybody. It is He that made fire, bread, and the rivers to run. He gave us this land, but the white people seem to want to drive us from it." [37]

The Little Carpenter arrived in Watauga and successfully concluded his mission by signing a lease to the Wataugans for their lands for a period of eight years, for which the Cherokees received goods amounting to £2000.

A horse race was arranged to celebrate the conclusion of the agreement, and the Indians were invited to participate. There were rough characters on the border, who hated all Indians, and were angered at the implied equality of the contestants. Upon this pretext, one of the Indians was killed, and the Little Carpenter withdrew in great dissatisfaction and disappeared with his followers toward the Cherokee towns.[38]

The Watauga men, fearing an Indian war, sent James Robertson to Chote to make apology and restitution. Robertson's bravery and frankness won the Cherokee admiration. He distributed presents to relatives of the slain warrior, and promised that the offender would be punished when apprehended. The Indians were appeased, and Robertson from that day became a marked man, not only among the white men, but among the Cherokees as well.

Having leased the ground, the Wataugans proceeded upon the principal that they owned it. The settlement grew rapidly in numbers, and the line established by the lease was soon

[37] *British Colonial Papers.* The Captain Guess referred to by the Carpenter was Nathaniel Gist, son of Christopher Gist. Captain Gist later became well liked by the Cherokees. He was the father of Sequoyah.

[38] John Sevier was among the spectators at the horse race, it being his first trip to Watauga. He had planned to settle, but was disgusted at the action of a frontier bully named Shote, who took a horse by force from a smaller man, claiming to have won it although the owner insisted that he had made no bet. Sevier mounted his horse and started for Virginia, determined that he would not settle in so barbarous a community. He met General Evan Shelby, who was also looking over the country with a view of settling, and told of the incident. "Never mind those rascals," Shelby told him, "They'll soon take poplar and push off," (meaning that they would take canoes and leave.) The frontiersmen had their own methods of dealing with horse thieves, and Shote was soon apprehended and hung.

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CHAPTER VI

FRENCH OR ENGLISH?

I

The long promised Cherokee fort had been built and garrisoned, and there was no longer any excuse for the Cherokees to refuse to go to Virginia. The Little Carpenter promised that they would set off immediately after the Green Corn dance in September. He requested that ammunition and war hatchets be prepared, and that a keg of rum be furnished the warriors of each town to infuse them with proper fighting spirit. Wauhatchie, chief of three of the lower towns, called upon Ensign McIntosh at Fort Prince George, stating "The Indians have dreamed that they must have a keg of rum before they go to war, or they will have no success."

"I am well acquainted with their way of dreaming," McIntosh wrote; "they have dreamed me out of a good many pounds of beef and salt since I came here. I am afraid they will dream for some of this fresh pork before they go to war," referring to a consignment of hogs he had just received. Upon McIntosh's refusal to supply the dreamed for rum, Wauhatchie informed him that he had a great mind to join the French, and spoke of King George with contempt. "He is one of the greatest villains unhung," McIntosh wrote.[1]

About the middle of September, the Cherokees began leaving in large numbers for Virginia. All were under general command of Judd's Friend, although each chief was a law unto himself. Other chiefs were: Wauhatchie, Willenawah, Round O, Scolacuta, Oskuah, Moytoy, the Raven, Saloue, Ucahala, and Tiftowe. Lieutenant Richard Pearis accompanied Judd's Friend as interpreter.

The Little Carpenter, although he was the peace or civil chief

[1] *S.C.I.A.* 6: 134-135. The desire of the Indians for rum was cause for constant friction, and caused Captain Demere endless trouble. Samuel Benn, a reliable trader who had been among the Cherokees for twenty years, was assaulted and robbed of his packtrain of goods because he refused to comply with a request from the warriors of Tellico for "a keg of rum." The warriors returned the goods at Demere's command and demanded the rum as a reward for so doing.

JUDD'S FRIEND, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS OCTACITE (MAN-KILLER), AND OSTENACO

A sketch made by the court artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds, while the chief was visiting London in company with Lieutenant Henry Timberlake in 1762.

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A sketch made by the court artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds, while the chief was visiting London in company with Lieutenant Henry Timberlake in 1762.

my brothers, and want to buy from them the road to Kaintuckee."

This was too much for Dragging Canoe. Springing to his feet, he stamped the ground angrily, and pointing to Kentucky, said, "We have given you this, why do you ask more?" Facing Henderson, he said, "You have bought a fair land, but there is a cloud hanging over it. You will find its settlement dark and bloody." [15]

He left the council, and did not return; to the day of his death he never again entered a treaty with the Americans. His departure threw the council into confusion, and threatened for a time to break off the negotiations as to the path deed. John Reid, one of the traders, insisted that Henderson should specify the exact limits of the land he wanted, "for it is unfair to ask a people to sign a deed without knowing the boundaries. Henderson replied angrily that he hoped Reid would not be the means of breaking the treaty, for he had been put to great expense, and after the deed was signed he would read the boundaries.[16]

The path deed was signed by the same chiefs who had made the great grant. Henderson apparently understood that he had bought all the land lying between Holston and Kaintuckee, and so advised the trader Richard Pearis. Pearis asked the Indians if they had sold the lands on Holston River. The chiefs thereupon informed Henderson that they had not sold him those lands, but only a path through them to pass to Kaintuckee. He then asked the chiefs to allow him "a small distance on each side of the path for hunting," to which they agreed.[17]

Following the conclusion of Henderson's negotiations, the Wataugans purchased their lands of the Cherokees; Jacob Brown purchased a tract on Nolichucky River; and Carter and Parker were given Carter's Valley in return for goods stolen from them by the Indians. The stolen goods, however, were not considered by the Cherokees to be equal to the value of the land. Carter and Parker, therefore, gave additional merchandise, and burned their book of accounts against the Cherokees, approximately £700, in the presence of the chiefs.[18]

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Henderson's goods made an impressive appearance in bulk, but the distribution caused much dissatisfaction, for the number of Indians present at the treaty was large. One warrior who received a shirt as his portion complained, "We have sold the land, and I could have killed more deer upon it in a day than would have bought such a shirt." [19] The dissatisfaction gained followers for Dragging Canoe, the only chief who had protested the bargain. Some of the Cherokees later claimed that they had been deceived by the terms of the treaty. Dragging Canoe, though he may not have understood the treaty terms, realized that the intent of the document was to deprive the Cherokees of their hunting grounds. The Savage Napoleon had found his life work. He devoted his future to making the treaty null and void.[20]

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[20] Henderson's treaty is given in full in the appendix. It is a complicated document, and there is little likelihood that the Indians understood its exact terms, although Henderson probably made his verbal explanation plain enough. The boundaries of the vast territory ceded are vague, no southern boundary being attempted at all. James Robertson in his deposition, however, states that the Cherokees understood that Cumberland River was the southern boundary. The original deeds, of which there was a copy for each of the partners in the Transylvania Company, and also for the Cherokees, have been lost. One copy was filed for record in Rogersville, Hawkins County, Tennessee, in 1794. So far as is known, no copy of the Path Deed is in existence.

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"We had hoped that the white men would not be willing to travel beyond the mountains," he continued. "Now that hope is gone. They have passed the mountains, and have settled upon Cherokee land. They wish to have that usurpation sanctioned by treaty. When that is gained, the same encroaching spirit will lead them upon other land of the Cherokees. New cessions will be asked. Finally the whole country, which the Cherokees and their fathers have so long occupied, will be demanded, and the remnant of Ani-Yunwiya, 'The Real People,' once so great and formidable, will be compelled to seek refuge in some distant wilderness. There they will be permitted to stay only a short while, until they again behold the advancing banners of the same greedy host. Not being able to point out any further retreat for the miserable Cherokees, the extinction of the whole race will be proclaimed. Should we not therefore run all risks, and incur all consequences, rather than submit to further laceration of our country? Such treaties may be all right for men who are too old to hunt or fight. As for me, I have my young warriors about me. We will have our lands. *A-waninski*, I have spoken." [11]

The young chief drew his blanket around him and left the council circle. The Cherokees were profoundly impressed, and further proceedings were abandoned for the day. Henderson and Boone were dismayed but acted promptly. The Indians were feasted, and persuasion was brought to bear on the older chiefs.

The Cherokees, as was their custom, counseled among themselves over the events of the day. Attakullakulla advised the acceptance of Henderson's offer. Oconostota frankly admitted that he was neither orator nor diplomat, and was swayed by

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It must have taken strength of character for Dragging Canoe to deny his father and the other influential chiefs of his tribe, and to resist the tempting display of the white man's goods. "We will have our lands" was his stubborn reply to all appeals. He re-entered the council, however, on the following day, and remained bleakly silent while the negotiations moved to their conclusion.

The treaty was read aloud and translated, sentence by sentence, by the interpreter Joseph Vann and both whites and Indians took the precaution to have other interpreters present.[13] Oconostota warned Henderson that he must go to Kaintuckee at his own risk; that he could no longer hold him by the hand, and that the Cherokees must not be held responsible for the actions of the "Northwards," who would certainly resent the settlement of the land by white people. Henderson was willing to take the risk.

As the older chiefs were on the point of affixing their signatures to the document, the interpreter Vann stepped forward and stopped Oconostota's hand. "Take care what you are about!" he said. "It is what you will to sign, but clear me of it, and do not blame me afterward." [14] Regardless of the protest, the treaty was signed by Attakullakulla, Oconostota, and the Raven, in behalf of the entire Nation.

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(MIL-R929.3 V816)

TITHABLES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, 1767.

(Contributed by Mrs. N. E. Clement, Chatham, Va.)

	Tithes	Land
Swinfield Hill		150
Austin Shot	1	
Thomas Shoat	1	
John Vanbibber	1	400
Henson McDonal	1	
Francis McGuier	1	
John McGuier	1	
Thomas Carter	1	
John McGuier Jr	1	
Merry McGuier	1	
Paul Henson	1	
John Henson	1	
William Henson	1	
James Standeford	1	
William Murphy	1	113
Miller Dogget	1	
Richard Hough	1	
Joshua Barton	1	107
David Barton	1	
Isaac Barton	1	
William Ferguson	1	
Thomas Miller & William Sumers	2	
Francis Bird	1	240
Andrew Ferguson	1	
Joseph Rentfro		280
Robert Jones, Thomas Jones & Henry Jones	3	520
John Jones	1	400

Robert Jones Jr.	1	220
Philip Smith	1	150
William Cook	1	610
John Fushon	1	225
James Rentfro jr.	1	
James Rentfro Sen, Joseph Rentfro & Peter Rentfro	3	600
Veath Dilingham & negro Jeany	2	100
Peter Vanbibber, jr.	1	200
Isaac Vanbibber	1	
Mack Foster Sen.	1	
Richard Pearis's tithes are, William Lowry, negroes: Jack, Harry, Jeany, Hannah & Silviah	6	
Anthony Litle	1	170
Christopher Lackenair	1	
John Meadly	1	200
John Dilingham	1	
James Lamb	1	
William Webb	1	
John Ramsey	1	230
Joshua Weaver & Isaac Weaver	2	
Holden McGee	1	
Edward Richards	1	140
William Dilingham & Joshua Dilingham	2	93
Amos Richardson & negro Moll	2	150
Benj. Jenkins	1	300
Robert Tormet	1	
John Hall	1	200
Francis Farley	1	
Wm. Heard, George Heard & Wm. Beans	3	400
Thomas Bird	1	
Richard Shoat	1	
Jeremiah Muray	1	526
John Stevenson	1	
John Callaway, negroes Flemen, Asher, Nan & Nell	5	500
Abraham Motley & negro Peter	2	

(MPL-R929.3 V816)

TITHABLES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, 1767.

(Contributed by Mrs. N. E. Clement, Chatham, Va.)

	Tithes	Land
Swinfield Hill		150
Austin Shot	1	
Thomas Shoat	1	
John Vanbibber	1	400
Henson McDonal	1	
Francis McGuier	1	
John McGuier	1	
Thomas Carter	1	
John McGuier Jr.	1	
Merry McGuier	1	
Paul Henson	1	
John Henson	1	
William Henson	1	
James Standeford	1	
William Murphy	1	113
Miller Dogget	1	
Richard Hough	1	
Joshua Barton	1	107
David Barton	1	
Isaac Barton	1	
William Ferguson	1	
Thomas Miller & William Sumers	2	
Francis Bird	1	240
Andrew Ferguson	1	
Joseph Rentfro		280
Robert Jones, Thomas Jones & Henry Jones	3	520
John Jones	1	400

Robert Jones Jr.	1	220
Philip Smith	1	150
William Cook	1	610
John Fushon	1	225
James Rentfro jr.	1	
James Rentfro Sen, Joseph Rentfro & Peter Rentfro	3	600
Veath Dilingham & negro Jeany	2	100
Peter Vanbibber, jr.	1	200
Isaac Vanbibber	1	
Mack Foster Sen.	1	
Richard Pearis's tithes are, William Lowry, negroes: Jack, Harry, Jeany, Hannah & Silviah	6	
Anthony Litle	1	170
Christopher Lackenair	1	
John Meadly	1	200
John Dilingham	1	
James Lamb	1	
William Webb	1	
John Ramsey	1	230
Joshua Weaver & Isaac Weaver	2	
Holden McGee	1	
Edward Richards	1	140
William Dilingham & Joshua Dilingham	2	93
Amos Richardson & negro Moll	2	150
Benj. Jenkins	1	300
Robert Tormet	1	
John Hall	1	200
Francis Farley	1	
Wm. Heard, George Heard & Wm. Beans	3	400
Thomas Bird	1	
Richard Shoat	1	
Jeremiah Muray	1	526
John Stevenson	1	
John Callaway, negroes Flemen, Asher, Nan & Nell	5	500
Abraham Motley & negro Peter	2	

again from Col. Reade's, which last was sufficient Notice.[4] But they found from every Action, the Great Men of Virginia were Liars. Keerarustikee (who was here with Pearis in the Winter)[5] told them he knew them all, that they had laid in no Goods here; that the Warriours were obliged to send them down to Williamsburg, and when they came there, they seemed surprized, that they had not been supplied at Winchester. To all this I replied in the best and warmest Terms I possibly could, and told them I was willing to give them any security they could desire, that the Presents should be here ready for them at their Return; that if they had it, they would be obliged to leave it here in my Care, it would be too heavy for them to carry to War; and I told them, they must look upon it in that Light, that I had the present in the House keeping for them 'till their Return, that all their Things might look new & clean; and urged them again to take the Wampum as a Token that I spoke nothing but the Truth. After this, the Warriour of Tallassee[6] said, Brothers, why do you despise that Wampum? We must not measure the Warriours Present by that. for my part, I take the Will for the Deed. I look upon it in the Light he offers it, as a Token that his Heart is good towards us, and that he tells us the Truth. Because others have lied shall we not believe him? I will do it, and tho' I am here with a small Number, I came here to fight for the Great King George; and if none of you will take his Wampum, I will do it, and I will stand by him 'till I find he lies. He tells you that yet he has not received Orders from the Govr and that perhaps he is in a Hurry, and yet has not Time to write. I believe it is so. The present will be here when we return. The Swallow then made an Apology for what he had said; and said, he had spoke his Mind thus freely, to let us know how he had been used, and he hoped it would have the desired Effect, when the Govr heard what he had said. that they should never be again disappointed. In his own part, he did not want Presents, but that it was his Promise of great Rewards from the Governour that engaged his young Men to come in, and that the Govr had now made him a Liar amongst his own Warriours: that made him angry.

From all this you see how necessary 'tis to have a proper Present immediately laid in for them. We may soon expect the Catawbas in too, who have an absolute promise of a present from

me on their Return.[7] If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation.

You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.

As faithfully as I promised, so faithfully did I deliver the Indentures and Valuation, not to you indeed, but to Mr Kirkpatrick, which I imagined would do as well.[8]

Mr Heath is in a great Hurry.[9] I have been terribly plagued with these Indians coming so dissatisfied, and have been writing since Day-break. I have the Luck of the Management of Indian Affairs. troublesome Task. You'll please to excuse Errors and Blunders in this, and the Speech, as I was obliged to be in a Hurry with them, as well as subscribing myself Dear Sir Your most obedient and obliged humble Servt

Go. Mercer

Copy, CSmH; Copy, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 151–52. The copy in the Loudoun Papers is endorsed by Edmond Atkin. The journal of the Virginia council of 3 May 1757 noted that Dinwiddie "had shewn to Mr. Atkin" Mercer's letters to GW of 24 and 26 April, "with the Speeches inclosed of their two Chiefs, and Capt. Mercer's Answers" (*Exec. Journals of Virginia Council*, 6:42). Except for variations in punctuation and spelling, the two copies are identical.

1. The headstrong Wawhatchee, the First Warrior of the Cherokee lower towns, had arrived in Lunenburg County in early April with a party of more than one hundred Indians. Enraged because there were no presents, Wawhatchee and his braves went on a rampage. Clement Read, a leading man of the county, finally prevailed on the Cherokee to go "to Winchester to Colonel Washington" where "they Should have presents, They Should be provided for according to the Treaty, Should be well used" (Read to Dinwiddie, 5 April 1757, P.R.O., W.O. 34/47, ff. 150–51).

2. In his speech the Swallow, First Warrior in the lower Cherokee town of Estatoe, declared: "I don't understand writing, but got a Man to write a Letter for me to the Governour to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. . . . Brother we blame the Govr and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me, the Govr has little Regard for you that are in the back Settlements" (CSmH).

3. Dinwiddie called on the Cherokee for assistance shortly before Braddock's expedition and again on 22 Aug. 1755, but Wawhatchee was clearly referring to the agreement or treaty that Dinwiddie's special commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, made with the Cherokee in early 1756.

4. See note 1.

5. See William Fairfax to GW, 22 Mar. 1757, n.2. Richard Pearis also served as the guide for Wawhatchee's party to Winchester.

Companies; by his Letter of the 12th he said he shou'd be at Fredericksburg last Sonday was a Week, by which I expected him last Saturday.[4]

I cannot write You any Thing further till the Assembly goes thro' the Business before them, in the mean Time I doubt not You will keep Your Men properly employ'd.

Capt. McNeill tells me he has a Ballance of the Money in his Hands that I gave him to pay for the Servants enlisted in Augusta, I have order'd him to pay it to You. I remain with Respect[5] Sir Your humble Servant

Robt Dinwiddie

P:S: If Mr Atkin at any Time shou'd incline to be in Priva⟨te⟩[6] with the Indians, I desire You will take care to prev⟨ent⟩ his being interrupted.

27th Last night Collo. Stephens arived here with his men & is marched this day for Hampton, I am out of order & much fatigued. adieu

LS, DLC:GW; MH: Sparks Papers. The letter was written on both sides of a sheet of paper, and the sheet was torn approximately in half. The top part of both pages of the letter are in DLC; the bottom parts are in MH. The letter appears to be in the hand of John Kirkpatrick. The second postscript, dated "27th," is in Dinwiddie's shaky hand, a rare sample of his handwriting from his years in Virginia.

1. The portion of the first page, at DLC, ends here; and the portion at MH begins with the lower half of the words taken to be "a detachment." The left-hand margin of the lower part of the first page has been torn off. The letters in angle brackets in this and the next paragraph are the letters that are missing as a consequence of the tear. In his *Writings of Washington*, Stanislaus Hamilton prints only the top, or DLC, portion of the letter, but he does supply the letters missing from words on the lower half of the page at MH, indicating that the scrap torn from the lower left margin remained with the upper half of the letter in DLC. Hamilton also supplies words or parts of words that he mistakenly supposed came at the end of the lines that were missing to him.

2. GW issued orders to John David Wilper (Woelpper), a sergeant in Peter Hog's company, on 7 June 1757 to conduct the Cherokee to the North Carolina line, which he did.

3. The first part of the second page of the manuscript begins here. See note 1. Edmond Atkin wrote George Croghan on 8 June 1757: "Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended[,] had carried [Wawhatchee and Youghtanno with their parties of Cherokee warriors into Maryland and Pennsylvania at the end of April] to offer their Services. This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. . . . I was impowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects" (*Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 3:175–81). One of the complaints was lodged by Clement Read who reported that Richard Pearis as guide to Wawhatchee's party did nothing to halt the Indians' rampage in Lunenburg County in early April. See George Mercer to GW, 24 April 1757, n.1. For Pearis's view of the matter, see GW to Dinwiddie, 10 June 1757, n.1. For further elaboration of Atkin's complaints about Pearis, see particularly Atkin to Horatio Sharpe, 12, 30 June 1757, to William Denny, 15 Sept. 1757 (*Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 3:183–86, 197–201, 268–73).

4. Dinwiddie's postscript indicates that Stephen arrived on 26 May, and Dinwiddie's final order to Stephen to sail from Hampton to Charleston, S.C., with fewer than two hundred men from the Virginia Regiment is dated 26 May. The expedition set to sea on 31 May. See Dinwiddie to GW, 5 April 1757, n.2.

5. The second part of the second page of the manuscript begins here. See note 1.

6. The letters in angle brackets are on the missing margin of the sheet described in note 1.

From John Stanwix

Sir Lancaster [Pa.] May 23d 1757.

His Excellcy the Earl of Loudoun having ordd five Companys of my Battalion to serve in the back parts of the Southern Provinces and likewise that I am to be supply'd with Amunition & Millitary Stores from Fort Loudoun in Winchester,[1] to prevent any dissapointmt in Carriages I have sent from this place nine Waggons which will be sufficient to bring to Lancaster the following Amunition &c.

100 Barrells Gunpowder
12000, Musquit Flints
100—Reams Cartridge paper
50, pounds of Macth[2]
50. pound Brimstone
50. pounds Saltpeter
50, Three pounds Ball
3. Tons of Lead

which youl please to Order to be diliverd to the Waggoners, whose names are mentiond in the Warrant herewith sent you of this date,[3] with all immaginable Speed, they haveing undrtaken

w'ch must be taken care of till they recover a little, or his Honor's Orders are rec'd ab't 'em—that he shall send an Officer to Cumberland with the men's pay & sh'd be glad to receive his last Orders ab't the paym't of those men that remain at Redstone—& desires his Honor will be pleas'd to prevent his applying to Assembly about the balance of Mr. Fraser's Rations—that the Country must have p'd a shilling till a Commissary was app'd. Advice of the Council that the s'd L't be sent to H. B.

Decem'r 9th. (1762)

The Auditor acq'd the Board that he had exam'd Mr. Bradley's Acc'ts & found them just, whereon the C'l advis'd his Honor to give him his Warrant on the Rec'r G'l for paym't of the same, ye Ball'ce amount'g to £116.12.7.

The Board took into Consideration Mr. Israel Christian's Demand for his Services respecting the Indians, w'ch was found just, & the Gov'r advised to give him his Warrant on the Rec'r G'l for ye same 182£ 15, 6, disall'd by H. B.

Gov'r advised to issue his Warrant on Rec'd in favor of Cap't Pearis for 65£.

Wm. Johnston Pet. granted May 7th '62, renew'd.

1762

Decem'r 11th.

Gov'r advis'd to grant his Warrant on Rec'r G'l for paying £10 given as a Reward by Sam'l Jones for causing to be apprehended a man who broke into his House, barbarously wounded & rob'd him and who was tried & convicted in the G'l Court, nam'd McCarty.

Decem'r 13th.

The Acc't of his Maj's Revenue of Q't Rents due from the Exors of Phil. Grymes Esq'r late Rec'r G'l w'th an Acc't of Arrears rec'd since his last Acc't pass'd.

Decem'r 17th.

Gov'r com'd a L'r from Mr. Ch's Stuart dated Portsmouth

Who were above correspondents?
Capt Rent or Richard Pearis?

X'r 12th—w'th a Certificate of the survey of the Provisions complained of belonging to his Maj's hired transport or Cartel Ship Amitys Addition Wm. Longbottom Master taken by Thomas Taylor Paul Loyall, Max'n Calvert.

Addition of 50£ St. p. an ag'd to be given to C'l of Cou.

Decem'r 21.

£20 or'd for apprehend'g a Deserter from ye Arundel.

Or'd that a Proc. issue for revoking the Proc. offering a Reward in regard to Deserters from the Arundels after she goes on a Cruize.

Advice of Council that Gov'r will give a peremptory Order to Col. Hunter Agent Victualer to supply the Transport that brought in ye Spaniards w'th Provisions necessary for her voyage.

Decem'r 23d.

Gov'r acq'd the Board that he had signified to Col. Hunter he insisted upon his supplying the Spanish Transport w'th Provisions, upon w'ch Col. Hunter desir'd time to look over his Contract, and that he w'd return his answer immed'y after, & if he c'd not comply with the Requisition, give his reasons in writing. Upon w'ch the Council advis'd that if Mr. Hunter persisted in his refusal, his Honor w'd give orders to such persons whom he sh'd judge proper to furnish the s'd provisions, & take Cap't Longbottoms Bills, & if he sh'd decline giving his Bills, that his Honor w'd draw on the Com'rs of the victualling Office for ye same.

May 19th '63.

Or'd That a new Com'on of the peace issue for Halifax, & that the five Gentlemen recomended be added.

May 21st

Or'd That a new Com'on of the Peace issue for Frederick, that John Neavill & John Bowman be added, & two more of the Justices be put in the Quorum.

colonies the double task of furnishing troops for an offensive at the North and at the same time caring for their own defense against the Northwestern Indians.[3] In this attitude Governor Dinwiddie looked for succor to the red mountaineers, the Cherokees and Catawbas. They responded to the call.[4] Dinwiddie purposed to send fifty to one hundred troops from Augusta and neighboring counties to garrison the Virginia fort on the little Tennessee while the warriors should be away. By June "all the Cherokees have taken up the hatchet for us except the town of Telico."[5] Most of the Cherokees marched by way of the Moravian town (Salem, N. C.) which was to the Indians "Dutchee town where there are good people and much bread."[6]

The Indians on arriving at Winchester in Virginia were sent scouting. With one of Colonel George Washington's officers, Lieutenant Baker, they routed a party of French near DuQuesne, killing two officers and capturing a third. But the victory was barely

[3] Dinwiddie urged an offensive in the Upper Ohio Valley, but was overruled in the conference.

[4] Lieut. Hugh Allen of the Valley of Virginia had been sent in January to the Overhills, and returned reporting affairs there in an unsettled condition. However, the British faction was in ascendancy and took measures to send good-sized squads of warriors to aid the Virginians. *D. Papers,* II, 577, 587, etc. The Cherokees in Sept. 1757 had delegates at the conference with the Six Nation, called by Sir Wm. Johnson at Fort Johnson, where they joined in pledges to oppose the French. "We are warriors and our nation have lifted their hatchets against the French and are determined not to lay them down whilst there is a man amongst us left alive." *N. Y. Col. History,* VII, 325; *Sir William Johnson Papers,* IV, 148, 154.

[5] April, 1758. *D. Papers,* II, 603. One of these bands, of thirty warriors, was under Ostenaco. Dinwiddie esteemed this chief a brave and sensible man, who "talked much of Major [Andrew] Lewis." *Ib.,* 640, 648.

[6] The passing of the Cherokees to and fro may be traced in Fries, *Moravian Records,* I, *passim.*

won. A sub-chief leading the Cherokees was killed, and this prevented a further pursuit of the flying enemy.[7]

A large party of the Cherokees[8] going to war for Virginia as they passed through the eastern parts of the frontier counties of Halifax and Lunenburg came into collision with "the white people of all ranks," plundered homes and committed other outrages when they were disappointed in not finding supplies for themselves at the county seat.

Such incidents were unfortunate; they boded ill for a continuance of peace. However, Governor Lyttelton was of opinion at the close of the year 1757 that Indian affairs were "in good train; that some scalps had been brought in by the Little Carpenter."[9] But, on the whole, the year was one of disaster for the British cause. French General Montcalm in Canada felt himself justified in defining the eastern boundary of New France to be the Appalachian Mountains, not dreaming that his own death would mark the ebb of the French tide.

The year 1758 opened[10] with the situation in the

[7] *N. Y. Col. Manuscripts,* LXXXIV, 94; Fernow, *Ohio Valley in Colonial Days,* 149.

[8] Apparently Lower Cherokees (South Carolina), under Chief Wahachy of Keowee, who was described by Edmund Atkin, Indian superintendent, as "the greatest rogue among them all." Ford's *Writings of Washington,* I, 445. He and Richard Pearis extended their operations in gathering in shekels from British colonial officers as high up as Maryland and Pennsylvania. Edgar, *A Colonial Governor of Maryland,* 124 *et seq.* Pearis was, indeed, a mercenary scamp; the two were well mated. Dinwiddie suspected Pearis of complicity in the Lunenburg and Halifax counties outrages. For Atkin's account: *Penn. Arch.* (Orig. ser.) III, 175.

[9] Nov. 3rd. Chalmers' MSS in N. Y. Public Library, (Mans. Div.) II, 149.

[10] Dinwiddie, forced by ill health, left the gubernatorial chair in

Hundred Pounds Proclamation Money to such Person (except the Offender) as shall discover any of the Parties concerned payable on Conviction thereof, And I do also offer His Majestys most Gracious Pardon to such Offender as shall first appear, and make a discovery of his Accomplices, so that they may be prosecuted according to due Course of Law.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal etc. at New Bern 27th August 1770.

Wm. Tryon.

His Excellency was pleased to lay before this board Several Letters of Correspondence that passed between him, Mr. Steuart the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and one from Mr. Cameron the Deputy Superintendant (with a Letter from Mr. Mitchell Merchant in Salisbury) and desired the Opinion of this Board whether any measures can be taken to prevent Richd. Paris from Settling the Cherokee Lands on the Western Frontiers of this Province. It is the opinion of this Board that as Richard Paris is not an Inhabitant of this Province, they are at a loss to know what Steps to recommend to remedy the matter complained of by Mr. Steuart, But that this Goverment will take Effectual care that no Settlement shall be formed on the said Lands but under Grants from the Crown.

Then His Excellency desired the Opinion of this Board, as the Suggestions in Mr. Steuarts and Mr. Camerons above Letters intimate a dissatisfaction of his conduct towards the Cherokees, whether in his Behaviour to the said Indians he has at any time been wanting in Attention and regard to their Interest. It is the Unanimous Opinion of this Board, that the Suggestions set forth are false and frivolous and that the discontent of the said Indians appear to have been excited by the Traders settled amongst them.

His Excellency informed this Board, that in pursuance of a Petition from the Freeholders in the Town of Hillsborough, he thought fit to Grant a Charter of Incorporation[123] to the said Town, bearing date the 9th day of July last, with a power of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly Ordered that the said Charter be read, and recorded in the Secretarys Office.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber at New Bern on thursday 18th October 1770. Present His Excellency the Governor. The Hon'ble John Rutherfurd, Lewis DeRosset, Alexr. McCulloh, Robert Palmer, and Samuel Cornell Esqrs.

The proceedings of the preceeding day being read to Mr. McCulloh he approved of the same.

Mr. Attorney General having delivered in his Opinion at this Board, Agreeable to the Order of Council the 16th of this Inst., in the following words Videlicet

"In Obedience to the Commands of your Excellency in Council requiring my opinion upon the several Offences set forth in Mr. Hendersons Letter, Mr. McNare's and Mr. Lyon's Affidavits together with the Petition of the Insurgents, I have attentively perused them, and I am of Opinion, to consider them in a distinct and Separate View.

[123] Pp. 628-630, below.

F257 N67 (1894)
Col. Records of North Carolina
Vol IX
Records of the Exec Council
1755-1775

Re: Richard Peirs -

get 5c Ht Mag re: Robert Cunningham

Paris Moreton

(Henry Lawrence?) VI 464

Settlement + Sur 1st Fam William L Kerns Dk D (CESS)

Trans Allegheny Pioneers - by Dr John P Hale

R975.5 B434 Old Free State - Hx Lunenburg Co VA - ( ) Bell
p181 mentions Richard Peirs - do any others? (or Deeds etc?)

(get) History of the Valley of Virginia - Kercheval - p 183
(Says Richard Peirs, Thos Pine, Jesse Hite in Indian Wars)
check index for others)

F 232 P75 O33 X Pioneers of old Frederick Co VA - Cecil O'Dell 1964
- get Maps #2 (Tract 80 Tract 148)
#1, 2, 4, 8 parts heirs? Robert?
already got 3, 5, 6, 7 — get rest
p84 - Strode property on what map - Wild tract

Northern Neck Warrants & Surveys - by ____ Nugent
VIB1 I 1 764-1763,
Vol II - p 119 - Richard Peirs (Gen Confirmed)
also p. 51
~~Hopewell Friends History~~ -

(1) Chalkley - Annals of Augusta Co get call #
(2) Scotch-Irish Settlement in VA "

Orange Co Deed Book 3 etc - get Griffin - get
Dickens / Dixon at Fleet Creek

PA Colonial Records F 146 P409 Index 1852 - Dr Mong
7 pages here 272, 505-6, 527-9, 532, 535, 552-7, 598
Re: Pears 1757

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of His Majestie's most Honble. Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.*

"My Lords:

"Pursuant to your Lordship's Order of the 12th of last Month We have had under our Consideration the Petition of sundry of His Majesty's Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania, in behalf of themselves and others, setting forth 'the distressed and defenceless State of that Province, and humbly praying that His Majesty would graciously Condesend to take their Condition under his wise and princely consideration, which upon enquiry will be found to be singularly distressing and grievious; and that his Majesty would further be graciously pleased to interpose his Royal Authority that this important Province, situated in the Center of his Majesty's American Dominions, may be put into a posture of Defence;' and having been attended by Mr. Paris, Soll^r for the Petitioners, with Mr. York and Mr. Forrester, his Council, and by Mr. Joshua Sharp, Soll^r in behalf of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, with Mr. Henly and Mr. Pratt, his Council, and by the Agents of the said Province, and several of the Persons called Quakers, and heard what the respective Party's had to offer thereupon, We beg leave to report to your Lordships That no Evidence has been laid before us on the part of the Petitioners tending to prove the Facts set forth and alleged in their Petition; but as the defenceless State of the Province, arising from the want of a proper Militia and Forts and Places of Strength, has not been controverted by the Council for the Assembly, and as the Invasion of the French, who have forcibly possessed themselves of a Fort built by his Majesty's Subjects within the Actual Limits of this Province, and the Ravages and Devastations of the Savage Indians upon their Frontiers are Facts well known to your Lordships; We apprehend your Lordships will not require such legal Proofs of them as might be necessary upon a Question of less public Concern & Notoriety.

"This is not the first Complaint which his Majesty's Subjects, Inhabitants of that Province, have made of the Distressed State of it arising from the Assembly's neglecting to make proper Provision by Law for putting it into a posture of Defence in times of Danger and Hostility. Alike Complaint was made to his Majesty in the Year 1742, upon an Examination into which it did appear that no Laws had ever been enacted in that Province for the Defence of it, for the Building of Forts, for raising or training any Militia, or in general for providing against any Danger from without, either by Indians, Pirates, or other Enemies, as will more fully appear to your Lordships from the annexed Copy of a Report of this Board to the Lords of the Commite of Council on the 8 July, 1742.

"The same System of inaction and neglect of the Publick Safety

* This particular Mr Paris may not be ours, but a Kinsman.

has ever since prevailed and been pursued by the Assembly, notwithstanding the many frequent exortations made to them from time to time by the Crown by their Governors, and by their fellow subjects to provide for the Security and Defence of the Government.

"The reasons urged by the Assembly in the Year 1742, in justification of their Conduct were, that by a Charter of Privileges granted to them by the first Proprietor, and by their own Laws, they were exempted from Military Service; that they had till then subsisted without Forts or Militia; that being a peaceable People, they had not given Offence to their Neighbours; and as their Neighbours had never till then molested them, they apprehend they might subsist in Security without any Military Force; and that in case of any Emergency, the Proprietor was obliged, and by his Charter impowered to defend them; But upon enquiry and examination it was found that neither that Charter of Privileges, or any Laws then existing gave them such Right of Exemption from Military Service, and that it was observed, that the Proprietor was no more obliged to be at the Expence of defending them in Case of Emergency, than the Governors of any other Colonies who had the like power in their Commissions.

"As the Council, however, for the Assembly have again strenuously insisted upon the Efficacy of the Military Power given to Mr. Penn by his Charter, and the obligation he his hereby under to provide for the defence of the Province, it may be necessary to observe, that this Power, great as it is in words, can have no Effect or Opperation without the Aid and Concurrence of the Legislature by enacting penal and compulsory Militia Laws, and by a proper and Constitutional Appropriation of Money to Military purposes; and this opinion is Confirmed by the practice and usage in all other Colonys, whether the Government be by Charter or by Commission from the Crown; in both which Cases, notwithstanding the Person intrusted with the execution of Government has the same Power as the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, yet no Militia cou'd have been or ever was framed, or Military Service executed without an Act of the Legislature.

"It has been indeed insisted upon by the Counsel for the Assembly, that the Proprietor has in the present Exigency received proper aid and Support in the Exercise of the Military Powers in his Charter from the Assembly, who have lately passed two Laws, the one for granting fifty-five thousand Pounds to the King's use, the other for regulating such Persons as are willing and desirous to be united for Military Purposes. These Laws your Lordships have been pleased to refer to us by a seperate Order, together with several Orders passed there at the same time, and therefore we shall make a seperate Report to your Lordships upon them; but we think it our Duty at present to trouble your Lordships with some

Note; Pages 502-5 used & insert in Pears Family book.

Pears

Pgs 526-7

"The Hon^ble. WILLIAM DENNY, Esq^r."

"LOUDOUN.

Mr. Mifflin acquainted the Governor that the £45,000 was either expended or appropriated, and that Money wou'd be wanted; that he had talked seriously with the other Commissioners on this Subject, and they were of Opinion that the Assembly shou'd be called to meet as soon as the Governor shou'd be able to return to Philadelphia.

The Governor inform'd the Council that he wrote Yesterday a Letter to Colonel Armstrong, giving it as his Opinion, That it wou'd be for the publick Service if he wou'd go and visit the Cherokees, and confer with Captain Pearis, and assist in laying a Plan for those Indians to annoy the Enemy, wherever it co^d. best be done, but nothing, however, to be executed till communicated to Colon^l. Stanwix and me for our Approbation.

Mr. Croghan produced the Draught of the Speech proposed to be made by the Governor in Answer to the Indians, and it was read and agreed to.

A Message from the Cherokees, with a Letter from Capt^n. Pearis to Colonel Armstrong of the 13th Instant, enclosing the Examination of some Prisoners, brought by Capt^n. George Armstrong were read in these Words:

A Letter from Captain Pearis to Colon^l. Armstrong of y^e 13th Ins^t.

"FORT LYTTLETON, May 13th, 1757.

"Sir:

"Having the Opportunity to acquaint You, that on the 1st of this Instant I came into this Province with a Party of Cherokees, in pursuit of some French Indians that had committed some Murders on Potomack, w^ch. Enemies I pursued for several Days, but not having the fortune to come up with that Party, fell in with another Party, as I suppose about 20, out of which we killed 4 and took Two Prisoners, which Prisoners I have here now. I intend tomorrow to march to Fort Fredrick, where I expect to meet Governor Sharp, who is to treat with the Cherokees; I wou'd be very glad to meet you there. It is the desire of the Indians that you wou'd come immediately to consult on some Measures to prevent the cruel Designs of the French and their Indians against our Frontiers; with taking proper Measures you may have the Assistance of a Number of the Cherokees on the Frontiers of this Province this Summer.

"When I see you at Fort Fredrick, will put you on a Method, agreable to the Indians and beneficial to this Province. As I expect to see you soon, will omit many things. Captain Hamilton and I have examined the Prisoners, and taken Copys of their Examinations, with the Speeches of the two Cherokee Warriors; I desire

to be remembered to all Friends, and add no more, but am, with respect,

"Your very humble Servant,

"RICH^D. PEARIS.

"To Colonel JOHN ARMSTRONG, in Carlisle."

—

A Speech from Captain Waughhaughhy, a Chief of the Cherokee Warriors, to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"A Declaration or Speech of Waughhaughhy, a Captain and one of the Chief Warriors of the Cherokee Nations, who says he came in here to serve his Brothers, and that he came further than he intended, and has seen his Brothers w^ch. he did not know or hear of; and says all his Young Warriors agree to take up the Hatchet, as well for these Provinces as Carolina and Virginia, and have taken it up and made use of it; and he expects as he has just found this Province and taken up the Hatchet in this Province, that the Governor will think on them for it; and he Now thinks it long till he sees the Governor or some Person in his Behalf, to make himself acquainted with him. He expects to hold a Council, to consult upon what may be the best Measures to be taken to put a stop to the Enemies Insults on the Inhabitants of this Province. He does not chuse to write or say much at present; But when he meets the Governor or some Agent, then is the Time to speak his Mind, and say further.

his

"WAUGHHAUGHY □ KEOE.

Mark.

"Fort Lyttleton, May y^e 12th, 1757."

—

The Speech of Yaughtanno, a Chief & Warrior of the Cherokee Nation, sent to Governor Denny.

"A Declaration of Yaughtanno, a Chief & Captain of a Tribe of the Cherokees, Who says that last Winter, the Governor of Carolina sent a Letter to their Governor of Chota, Inviting their Warriors to come down to treat with them; On w^ch. he sent for all his Warriors, to hold a Council with them; and appointed this Yaughtanno, with a great Warrior named Hustannecko, to go to Charles Town to treat with the Governor there; but this Yaughtanno determined to go to War, & refused to go to Charles Town; On which he told their Governour that he wou'd set off for Virginia, where he heard the Enemies were destroying his Brothers, the White People; On which their Governor immediately got up and made a Speech to all the Warriors, telling them that they had

many Invitations from Virginia to come and join them in War against the French and their Indians; And that he had a certain Account that they had provided all suitable Necessaries for them to go to War; And it was now his Desire that they shou'd go and strike the French and all their Indians with the Hatchet their Brothers had provided for 'em.

"The Warriors all agreed to his Request, and on the Return of their great Captain, Hustanecko, from Carolina, appointed to sett off in Four Nights for the Northward with this Warrior, to their Brother's Assistance, and all the Chief part of the Warriors of their Nations. And this Warrior further saith, that he expects by this Time they are in Virginia; And that, as he was sent before them, he took up the Hatchet and has made use of it, & struck the Enemy, and is now on his Return to meet his Brother Warriors, and doubts not but they will also make use of the Hatchet as he has done, for he had found the Enemy's Ground, and wou'd bring them there, and find a Way further to assist their Brothers, the English. This Warrior is very desirous to meet his Brothers, the Pennsylvanians, and settle a lasting Friendship, and to know how and when he cou'd best serve them against their Enemies; And that if they want their Service that they wou'd provide for them what is most suitable for Indian Warriors, as he is informed they are not unacquainted with Necessaries suitable to their sort of People; And hopes they will not forget to return 'em thanks for what Services they have already done.

his
"YAUGHTANNO, □ of Tillasay.
Mark.

"Fort Littleton, May y^e^ 12th, 1757."

"And this Yaughtanno further sayd, after hearing by the following Examination of the Prisoners, that the French were poor Dogs, and had nothing to support them but rotten Corn and stinking Meat, which was one chief Reason of the Indians wanting to return to the English and strike the French; and that they had refused to furnish them with Necessaries, as they had formerly done, and promised to do when they first struck their Brothers, the English. And upon this Warrior's hearing these Reasons, he desired that none of the English Governors wou'd make Peace with them untill they had full Satisfaction for the Blood they had spilt of their Brothers the English; & s^d^ While the French furnished their Indians with Cloaths and Victuals they continued their Friends & our Enemies, but now they had stopt furnishing them with y^e^ Necessarys they formerly had supplied them with, they offered us their Friendship; Which Friendship, he says, he does not understand, and desires it may not be depended on.

his
"YAUGHTANNO, ⋈ of Tillaso."
mark.

The Examination of two Indian Prisoners taken and brought to Fort Lyttleton by the Cherokees.

"Fort Lyttleton, May the 12th, 1757.

"A Relation of two Prisoners examined seperately, Taken by Captain Parris from Virginia, and Lieutenant Shelby from Fort Frederick, with about Sixty Cherokee Indian Warriors, at the Head of Denning's Creek, near Ray's Town. One of 'em, named Wauntaupenny, declares and saith, That he left the French Fort about the 22nd of April last; That there was then in the said Fort about One Hundred French and Forty Indians; That there were about Eighty Delawares at the Mouth of Beaver Creek, One Hundred at Kushkushkung, One Hundred at Shenango, and about Ten at Venango.

"After he was enquired of the Reason of their People, the Shawonese & Delawares, striking the English, he answer'd, by Reason of their People's being taken and imprisoned by the white People in Carolina; And said that the Delawares say that all their People wou'd lay down the Hatchet upon a Flag of Truce from the English; and that the Delaware Council is wholly for the Demolishing of the French Fort; And said Prisoner understanding that by his telling the Truth, he shou'd have an Opportunity to inform his People that the English he believed wou'd receive them; And that the Indians were prejudiced against the French, and wou'd not receive any more Goods of them; All of them being enraged that so many of the Indians were killed, and so few of the French; And further says that about 80 Delawares and Shawonese were gone to the Inhabitants in Company with King Shingas to destroy the Inhabitants.

"The other Prisoner, named Succomabe, a Chickasaw, who was taken Prisoner by the Penkesaws when he was about 15 Years of Age, and left them about 3 Years ago, and then went to the Shawonese, who were not then at War; but declares that some time after he came to them, they concluded on a War, & the Reason whereof was, Some of the Shawonese were taken in Carolina and put in Prison. And further declares that he with about 170 Warriors left said French Fort about Twenty days ago; and that then there were about 140 or 150 French at the Fort; and that One Hundred of the said Indians went back by reason of their not agreeing in their Minds, and 70 proceeded on their Journey, and divided, Fifteen for Pennsylvania, and the rest to Fort Cumberland, and Fort Frederick; not to attack the Forts, but to destroy and kill the Inhabitants, and stragling People; and that the Fifteen for Pennsylvania intended to Strike near Connegoguinam, about George Croghan's Seat, but being met as before, were prevented; and that when he left the French Fort there was as before s^d^, 140 or 150 French, but they expected 500 long haired Indians there soon, which are called the Con-

nawago roons. The French made a Speech to the Indians before they came away, and made them a Present of a Cagg of Powder, with a Belt of Wampum, and advised the Indians to fight strong, and kill their Brothers, the English, and that wou'd save their Land for their Children. And further says, the Shawonese intended to kill what English they cou'd this Summer, and then they wou'd fall upon the French, as judging both Partys were joining to take their Land. And that he saw the French Stores, and that their Corn was damaged, and their Meat stunk; and that they were allowed a double handfull a day. That the Fort was very strong; that there were 17 great Guns; that it is situated about 40 Yards from the Ohio, and that they can go under Ground, out of the Fort, for Water to the River; that there is a large Hill opposite the Fort, on the South side of Monongahela. And further sayeth, he understood there wou'd be a great Number of Indians next full Moon, to destroy the Inhabitants and stragling People about the out Forts. But the Indians aforesaid met, with Captain Pearis and Lieutenant Shelby, with the afs[d] Cherokees, who killed Four Warriors, One a great Warrior of the Delawares, named Leosonhammer, another of the Shawonese, named Leonghqua, a Captain of a Company, and brought in the Prisoners, who gave this Account."

The Governor desired Mr. Croghan to give his Sentiments in Writing on the said Intelligence and Messages, which he did in these words, viz[t]:

"MAY the 15th, 1757.

"May it Please your Honour:

"I have perused the Papers put into my Hands by you, which were sent down by the Chiefs of the Cherokee Warriors. As the Speeches have been taken down by some Person unacquainted with Indians and their Customs, I look upon the Substance of them to be this:—That at their first setting [coming] out, they did not intend to come any further Northward than Virginia, but finding the Enemy had attacked these Frontiers, and killed some of the Inhabitants, they then came to the Assistance of this Province, as they looked upon the People of this Province, Carolina & Virginia, as one People, and as Subjects of the same King. That they had taken up the Hatchet, put into their Hands by the Governor of Virginia, in defence of this Province; and that they had struck a party of the Enemy with it, which they met near Ray's Town, killed four and took two Prisoners. As they were unacquainted with the People of this Province, having never before been here, or held any Treaties with 'em, they expected this Government wou'd acknowledge the Services they had done; And as they were but ill fitted out for War, and this Government well acquainted with Indians, and know what is necessary for their Warriors, they have taken this Opportunity to offer their Services to this Government, and hope that your Honour will accept of their offer, and come, or send some

Deputy to meet them and fit them out, in order to proceed against our common Enemy, the French and their Indians, as they imagine they can be of Service in defending the Frontiers of this Government. And it is my Opinion that this Government shou'd accept of their Offer, and fit them out agreable to their own Request.

"I am, your Honour's

"Most obedient humble Servant,

"GEO. CROGHAN.

"To the Hon[ble] WILLIAM DENNY, Esq[r] Governor of Pennsylvania."

At a Conference with the Indians held in the Courthouse att Lancaster, On Monday the 16th of May, 1757.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Colonel John Stanwix.

The Council.

The Committee of Assembly.

The Magistrates of the Borough, with a Number of other Gentlemen.

The same Indians.

William Prentup, Interpreter for the Crown.

Conrad Weiser, Esqr., " for the Province.

Little Abraham, Thomas King, } Speakers for the Indians.

The Governor spoke as follows, viz.:

"Brethren of the united Nations:

"I have duly considered what you were so kind to say to me the other Day in Answer to my Speech to you, and I return you my hearty Thanks for your Information and Advice as to what you judge proper to be done for the *Restoration* of Peace between Us and your Cousens, the Delawares, and Brethren, the Shawanese.

"We look upon your informing Us of that close Connection at present subsisting between your Cousens and the Seneca Nations, of which we were till now ignorant, as the greatest Mark of your Regard and Esteem for Us.

"Brothers:

"Your Advice is good and wholesome, and I shall, in Pursuance of it, send an Invitation to Teedyuscung to come down, and leave it entirely to his Choice to bring with him such and so many of his Uncles and others his Friends as he thinks proper, and will then

cautiously and carefully pursue your Advice in treating with them. In the meantime, if, on your Return, you shou'd meet with Teedyuscung, I desire you will let him know what has been done between us at this Meeting, and advise him of the Continuance of the good Disposition of the People of this Province towards him and his People, and that we are ready to fulfill the Engagements we entered into with him at Easton, and shall be glad to see him & his Friends as soon as they can conveniently come."

Gave a Belt of Wampum.

Little Abraham then stood up, with the Belt delivered him by the Governor in his Hand, and repeated over the Speech made them on it; then addressing himself to the Governor, he spoke as follows:

"Brother Onas:

"We return you Thanks for accepting of our Advice; and we make no Doubt, if you pursue the Measures we have recommended but that your Endeavours will be crowned with Success. We have come a great Journey, in order to see the Differences subsisting between you and our Cousins, amicably settled; and cou'd wish they had met us here at this Time. On our Return, we assure you we will recommend it to our Nephews and Brothers, in the strongest Manner we can, to come down and meet you, in Order to have all Differences subsisting between you finally settled, in an amicable Manner."

Gave a Belt of Wampum.

At a Council held at Lancaster, On Tuesday the 17th of May, 1757.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

James Hamilton, William Logan, } Esquires.
Richard Peters, Lynford Lardner, }

The Hon^ble^ Colonel Stanwix.

George Croghan & } Esquires.
Conrad Weiser, }

Mr. Croghan's Letter to the Governor of the 15th Instant, was considered; and a Letter sent to the Commissioners by his Honour, wherein he told them, "That He thought it Necessary that Presents should be made to the Cherokees, to consist of such Articles as Mr. Croghan might think those Warriors stood most in Need of, particularly Arms, those they were provided with being very bad; And that Captain George Armstrong shou'd be sent forthwith to them, with the Thanks of the Government for their Services and

Tender of Assistance, with Intimations of the Presents now providing for them, and assurances of all the Encouragement in Our Power; And that if they wou'd appoint a Person to go up with the Presents, Mr. Croghan was so good as to say he wou'd attend to distribute them." And on the Commissioners consenting to send the Presents, the following Instructions were given to Captain George Armstrong:

Instructions to Captain George Armstrong.

"LANCASTER, May the 17th, 1757.

"Sir:

"You are with all Expedition possible, to hasten to Fort Frederick, where I expect the Cherokees are waiting for my Answer to their Message. Acquaint them that I have received their kind Proposals from Fort Lyttleton, for which, I return them my hearty Thanks.

"Give a String of Wampum.

"Make them my Acknowledgements for the Services they have done; and for the Tender of their Assistance, which is thankfully accepted.

"Acquaint them that Presents are providing for them, which, On their return from Winchester, where I understand they are going, will be delivered by Mr. Croghan, the Deputy of Sir William Johnson, the King's Agent for Indian Affairs, who will wait upon them at Fort Loudoun, within this Province, at the Time they shall please to appoint, and the sooner the better.

"Assure them of the Friendship and Esteem of this Government and of all the Encouragement in Our Power.

"Give a Belt of Wampum.

"Make my Complements to Captain Paris, to whom I think myself particularly obliged On this Occasion; And I shall be glad to Testify the Sense I have of his Services. He will be pleas'd to assist you in the Delivery of this Message conformable to Indian Usage and Ceremonies.

"WILLIAM DENNY."

It was agreed that the Assembly shou'd be summon'd to meet on the Thirtieth Instant.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Tuesday 31st May, 1757.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell, Richard Peters, Lynford Lardner, and Thomas Cadwallader, John Mifflin, } Esquires.

The Minutes of the Indian Conferences held at Lancas^{r} were read, settled, and approved.

The Assembly being to meet to day, in Virtue of the Governor's Summons, The Minutes of the Conferences held by Lord Loudoun with the Southern Governors were read, and a Message draughted from them, which was approved, and the Secretary was order'd to lay it before the House, together with the Papers refferred to in it.

The Governor laid before the Council several Letters and Papers respecting the Cherokee Indians, which were read in their Order, & are entered as follows, viz^{t}:

A Letter from Colonel John Armstrong, enclosing Minutes of a Conference held with the Cherokees.

"FORT MORRIS, 23d May, 1757.

"May it please your Honour:

"In Obedience to your Honour's Commands, as well as at the Request of Captain Paris, I did, with all convenient Speed, proceed to Maryland, and in the Afternoon of the 17th Instant was introduced by Captain Paris to the Indian Warriors then at Fort Frederick, who kindly receiv'd me and the other Officers in Company, letting me know by Captain Paris that To-morrow Morning They wou'd be glad to hear what their Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, had to say by me.

"The Minutes of the Conference I herewith transmit to your Honour, And am

"Your Honour's most obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN ARMSTRONG.

"P. S.—The Five Rifle Guns, agreed by the Commissioners to be given the Cherokees, I cou'd not conveniently get, but purchased Three, which, with 4 Holland Ruffled Shirts and a little Wampum, was what I delivered them, at the same time taking proper Care that, on the One Hand, no Umbrage shou'd be taken by the Indians at the smallness of the Present, And on the other, That no

Disparagement shou'd thereby arise to the Government who gave it. The sending up of the Belt will be of Use.

"J. A.

"In case Con^{l} Stanwix has not left Lancaster, please to shew him the Conference.

"Governor DENNY."

—

"*Minutes of a Conference held at Fort Frederick, On Wednesday, 18th May, 1757.*

"PRESENT:

"*For Pennsylvania.*

"Lieuten^{t} Colon^{l} John Armstrong.

"Captain Hugh Mercer.

"Lieuten^{t} William Armstrong.

"Lieuten^{t} Thomas Smallman.

"*For the Cherokee Nation.*

"Waughhaughy, Governor of the Cherokees on this Side the Hills.

"Yaughtanno, a Chief & Warrior of the same Nation On the West Side of the Hills.

"Captain Richard Paris, Interpreter.

"Sundry Officers and other Gentlemen belonging to Maryland.

"Colonel Armstrong, addressing himself to the Two Indian Warriors, spoke as follows:

"'Brothers:

"'I joyfully receiv'd your ffriendly Speeches from Fort Lyttleton, and immediately had them conveyed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, who has sent me to bid you welcome, and to testify the great affection he and all his People bear to their Brothers, the Cherokees, and especially to you and the other Warriors, who, at a Time when we have many Enemies, have come a great Way to shew us your Friendship.

"'Your Brothers, the Governor of Pennsylvania and Great Men of that Province, being at a Distance, have not yet Time to provide such necessary Supplies for your young men as they intend to send to you, But as they meet their Brothers with Hearts full of Love, so their Hands are not altogether empty. The small Present they have now sent, I hope will be kindly receiv'd as a Mark of their Esteem, till being made acquainted with your Desires they are enabled to send their Brothers such Things as will be most acceptable.

"'You have heard, Brothers, that the French King, the old Enemy of our Great King George, has invaded his Dominions, and stirred up the Delawares, Shawonese, and other Indians in his Interest to murder our Innocent People. This unjust Treatment has obliged us to take up the Hatchet, both for the Security of our Father's Dominions as well as in our own Defence; and we are determined never to lay down the Hatchet till the French are drove off our Lands and we have full Satisfaction of our Enemies, the Indians, for the Blood of our Brothers & Sisters spilled by them.

"'We thank Almighty God, the Great Governor over all, who put it into the Hearts of our Brothers, the Cherokees, to come so great a Distance to our Assistance against the Enemies of our Common Father, King George, who has brought you safe to our Country, shewn you our Enemies, and made you victorious over them.

"'The Prisoners and Scalps of our Enemies now in your Possession shews you are Warriors and good Brothers, and assures us that your Friendship will continue true, and your Hearts good towards us.

"'We doubt not of having your further Assistance by joining your Warriors with ours at some strong House, to be built as near to the Enemie's Country as possible, where we may join to defend our People by meeting the Indians and French in their Walks towards us, or by seeking them out in their own Ground; And we desire to know how strong you will come to stay with us, that suitable Preparation may be made.'

"Here, by advice of Captain Paris, I gave a String of Wampum to each of the Two Chief Warriors, and deliver'd the Presents in Behalfe of the Governor.

"Then the Interpreter letting them know I had finished, Waughhaughy said:

"'This Afternoon we will consult together of your Talk, and tomorrow Morning speak to you what is in Our Hearts.'

—

"Thursday, 19th May.

"Present as above.

"Waughhaughy, addressing himself to Colonel Armstrong, spoke as follows:

"'I thank the Man above for bring me here, where I have found a Warrior and such friendly Treatment. When I was at Winchester, I heard that some of my Brothers were killed, this Way which hurt my Heart, and obliged me to come to their Relief.

"'Both my People and yours belong to the Man above; depending upon him, I have gone to War along with my Brothers

the English, and have been successful; ffor which I thank the Man above; And now my Heart is good, and my Thoughts straight.

"'My Young Men and Boys have now found out the French and Enemy Indians' walking Ground, And they will pursue and Kill them in their own Ground. I have heard Your Talk, and like it very well, And design, as soon as possible, to acquaint the rest of my People, now in Virginia, of it; And I will endeavour to bring as many as I can this way, because I have found out the Enemy's Walks, which, perhaps, They have not.

"'I remember my Father, King George, said, That the White People and we were equally his Children, And that both had an equal Right to the Land. Our Brothers, the White People, understand making of Cloaths and other Necessaries for us, And we understood ffighting; so if your People will furnish Cloaths and other Necessaries for us, We will assist you in defending the Country. My Thoughts are entirely set upon War, and I long to see the Governor, or some One from him; and if he cannot come, I desire you will appoint a Day to meet me at Winchester, and there bring with you the Belts of Wampum, and other Things which I shall tell you, to make the Path between us.

"'I look upon every Thing you have said to be true, and hope what you have promised will be perform'd exactly. My Young Men are fond of Wampum, and will expect a good Quantity to keep, and to send home.

"'To-morrow, you said, you were to go home; and I hope we shall part with good Thoughts, as Brothers, and keep the same good thoughts till we meet again.'

"Waughhaughy being asked to receive the Presents of Pennsylvania at Fort Loudoun, or Fort Lyttleton, where they cou'd be given more to his Satisfaction than at Winchester, He said, he wou'd consider that Matter; And accordingly, the next Morning, agreed to send the String he had receiv'd to his Nation, from whence he wou'd bring as many Warriors as we wanted, saying, That he had not a few People, being Governor of Thirty Towns, And that, as soon as he had finished his Business at Winchester, and spoke with a part of his People, gone to Fort Cumberland, he wou'd return to Fort Lyttleton, there to receive Presents from his Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania. As he cou'd not exactly appoint a Day, he wou'd write by Mr. Paris, the Interpreter, what Time we might depend on his Coming.

"The same Day, viz' Thursday, 19th Instant, Youghtanno, a Chief of the Over Hill Cherokees, desired a Conference with Colonel Armstrong, and spoke as follows:

"'Brother:

"'I have a Regard for my Brothers, the Pennsylvanians, and a Desire of settling a Friendship and being acquainted with them; I heard your Talk yesterday and am well pleased with it.

"I have considered what you said of having a Strong House built where the Enemy walks, and like it well, ffor there they may be met with; but I have a great Love for You and am afraid you would be killed about the Building, ffor there the Enemy often comes, and if you shou'd be killed I wou'd cry over you, ffor now I have found you and am acquainted and pleased, Or if you shou'd not be killed, some of your young Warriors (pointing to the Officers) might be killed and I shou'd be sorrowful; for I have a great Love for You and all your Warriors, therefore, desire you may not begin to build, untill I send to my Nation for more of my People, and I will go round about you and save you when your People are building.

"I will send from Winchester Two of my running Indians in ten Nights to the [my] Nation, where they shall carry the String you gave me, and Speak good words with it among my People.

"I will readily join you myself to go any where, but what will that signify, unless I have my Young Men also, and when they are encouraged with Wampum, Match Coats, &c^a. I will go with you to find the French and Enemy Indians, And if great Waters come before us my People will make Canoes of the Bark of Trees to carry us all over.

"I cannot appoint the Time when my People will return from the Nation, but Forty or Fifty Days is more Time than enough, if no accident prevents.

"Memorandum of the Goods desired by the Cherokee Indians, viz^t:

"Arms, Wampum, Silver Truck, such as Broaches, Arm Bands, Wrist Shackles, Breast Plates & Hair Plates.

"Strouds, Match Coats, Half thicks, Pipe-Tomyhawks, White ruffled Shirts, Plain White Shirts, Vermillion, Beads, and Scalping-Knives."

A Letter from Captain George Armstrong, enclosing one from Captain Paris, and an Answer from one of the Cherokee Indian Chiefs to Governor Denny, were read in these words:

"CARLISLE, 25th May, 1757.

"May it please your Honour:

"In obedience to your Instructions, I hastened to Fort Frederick, where I found the Cherokees who were engaged receiving the Presents of the Government of Maryland by the Hands of Mr. Rideout, the Governor's Secretary, w^ch Business was ended on Sunday Morning, when I deliver'd your Honour's Message and Wampum (by their own Agreement) to Youghtanno, the youngest of the Two Chiefs, Who receiv'd them with a deep Sense of Gratitude, but wou'd not appoint a Time of Meeting an Agent from Your Honour, least he shou'd be by some Means retarded from coming

according to his Appointment, and desired you might not send a Messenger after him, untill the Presents and Person appointed to distribute them were actually arrived at, or come near the Place of Conference.

"Captain Paris has wrote your Honour with Respect to Mr. Croghan's making the Presents of the Government, and gives his Opinion of the Indian Dislike to him, and doubts it will be attended with ill Consequences.

"One of the Indians fancied a Rifle Gun of Captain Thompson's, w^ch He gave the Savage, and has charged the Commissioners with her, in the Accounts I have sent by Lieuten^t Holleday to your Honour, hoping you will speedily recommend them to the Commissioners.

"I send your Honour Youghtanno's Answer to your Letter, and a List of the Goods given the Indians by Ridout, which may be informing what Goods will be most necessary for the Indians.

"I am Your Honour's most obedient humble Servant,

"GEO. ARMSTRONG.

"The Honble. WILLIAM DENNY, Esqr."

—

Captain Paris' Letter to Governor Denny.

"FORT FREDERICK, 22nd May, 1757.

"May it please your Honour:

"I had the Pleasure of receiving your Complements in the kindest Manner, by Captain George Armstrong, and gratefully return you Thanks for Your Honour's friendly Notice. I hope it will be more in my Power to do the Province of Pennsylvania better Services. I have assisted Captain Armstrong in the delivery of your Messages, which the Indians are highly pleased with. I durst not mention Mr. Croghan as a fit Person to distribute your Presents, as the Thoughts of that Gentleman, to the Cherokees, is very aggravating, knowing him to be a corrupt Peace Maker amongst the Nations who are our Enemies. This can't properly be called a Treaty, as they are Our Friends; It is only a friendly Conference, and I think you are not obliged to send Mr. Croghan. The Chiefs have repeatedly urged that Colonel Armstrong shou'd be the Person chosen to distribute the Presents. I shall come with the Cherokees to Fort Loudoun.

"I am, Honour'd Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

"RICH^D PARIS.

"Governor DENNY."

I understand by this Family that Teedyuscung is gone from Wyomink across the Country with a great Number of Indians in order to go to Easton. The aforesaid Indians likewise inform me that They expect Two Canoes with Indians here this day or To-morrow in Order to get Powder, Lead, and Provision, and as they are in a starving Condition they expect Sustenance from here during this Summer. If it is your Honour's Pleasure that I shou'd remain here I humbly desire the favour of receiving your Honour's Instructions, and a Liberty of distributing amongst the Indians, according as it will suit, such things as are designed for them for sale.

"I remain y^r. Honour's most obed^t. hble. Serv^t.,

"THOM^s. McKEE.

"To The Hon^ble. WM. DENNY, Esqr."

The Governor likewise laid before the Council a Letter from Colonel Stanwix, of the 12th and 13th Instant, relating to the Cherokee Indians, together with one from Colonel Armstrong of the 10th, and another from Mr. Croghan of the 11th, which were enclosed. The Colonel likewise sent Copies of Two long Letters of the 8th Instant, from Mr. Atkins, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, to Mr. Croghan. Mr. Atkins' Letters being extremely long and Tedious, after they were read, were ordered to remain among the Council Papers; the others follow in these Words, viz^t.:

A Letter from the Honble. Colonel Stanwix, dated the 12th Instant.

"CAMP NEAR CARLISLE, June 12th, 1757.

"Dear Sir:

"A few Days ago Colonel Armstrong left this Place, with Fifty of the Provincials, for Fort Loudoun, under which Party the Indian Presents were guarded; And Mr. Croghan set out Two days before him. Colonel Armstrong seemed inclined to meet the Southern Tribe, and to have some Conference with Captain Paris, and to try if these People wou'd Join in a Scout towards Ray's Town; to all which I consented, tho' realy as to Indian Matters, you must know I can be but a Stranger, and I find all those employed as Agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Colonel Armstrong, and by the enclosed you will find Mr. Atkins so of them all, as well as of the Provinces. The enclos^d. is a Copy of one I received Yesterday from Colonel Armstrong, w^ch. wou'd not have been worth an Express, but as one is returning to Philadelphia, give You this Trouble, which may be a Satisfaction to You, as our Accounts, till I got this Letter, gave

out that Lieuten^t. Hollyday, w^th. Fifteen of his Party, were all either killed by the Indians or taken Prisoners.

"Believe me, Dear Sir,

"Your most obed^t. hble. Serv^t.,

"JOHN STANWIX.

"Governor DENNY.

"P. S.—I Send out scouting Partys here Three or Four Times a week, but have yet met with no Indians; find a few of the Provincials joyn'd with me on these Occasions very usefull, as they are realy good Men, and know the Country."

—

Colonel Stanwix' Letter of the 13th Instant.

"Dear Sir:

"I write this, and enclose these Accounts, ready to send You when any Opportunity offers, which is always uncertain, as no Post to Lancaster. Mr. Atkins' Account is long, and as I have no Clerk, send you just as I received it, without keeping a Copy; when you have, you'll please to return it, as I may have further Occasion to peruse it. I send you a Copy of Colonel Armstrong's Letter with his last account of the late Skirmish w^th. and Surprize by the Indians, &c^a. Shall as often as I have anything material and Opportunitys of doing it, give You Trouble of this Sort; who am, Dear Sir,

"Your most obed^t. humble Serv^t.,

"JOHN STANWIX.

"To Governor DENNY."

—

A Letter from Lieut^t. Colonel Armstrong to Colonel Stanwix, dated the 10th Instant, at Fort Morris.

"FORT MORRIS, 10th June, 1757.

"Hond. Sir:

"At one o'clock this Morning I receiv'd an Express from Fort Loudoun, with Intelligence of Lieuten^t. Hollyday's having set out with Twenty-five Men to reconnoitre the Woods; and at the deserted House of one McClelan, in a Place called the great Cove, part of the Men, with the Lieuten^t., went into the said House, whilst the residue were at some Distance drinking Water from the Spring, and were unhappily surprized and surrounded by a Party of Indians, said to be near One Hundred in Number; Ten of our Party were got into Loudoun before the Express set out; their Account is so imperfect that little Dependance can be laid on it; they say they

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the return of this company, and condemned Dinwiddie's attempts to secure help from the Cherokees and Catawbas. Again he refused to offer any assistance to Virginia in men or money at the mere request of the Virginia governor. He contended that Saint-Pierre's replies to Washington at Fort Le Boeuf had been cool and decent, that the attitude of the French was not aggressive, and that concerted action on the part of the English governors might compel the French to agree to a peaceable settlement, even after Washington's Fort Necessity campaign.[14] In the February preceding and also in May the South Carolina assembly, though commonly at odds with Glen, had approved his attitude toward Dinwiddie's policy. When he called it into session early in September to consider Dinwiddie's request for money, the assembly once more heartily endorsed his view of the situation and refused to grant funds to defend Virginia unless a conference of colonial representatives should judge it necessary.[15]

Before Braddock began his march to the Ohio Glen was informed by Sir Thomas Robinson that the course followed by Virginia had received the approval of the home government and that South Carolina was expected to aid her sister colony. The South Carolina assembly now responded by action that enabled Glen to forward £4,000 to Braddock in May, 1755, with a promise of an additional £2,000. Glen was also forced to abandon his attitude of complete opposition toward Virginia efforts to get help from the southern Indians. He now declared himself willing to permit some of the Cherokees and Catawbas to join the English forces on the Virginia frontier, but he continued to argue that the majority of both tribes should remain at home to defend their towns.[16] Moreover, protracted negotiations that he conducted during the spring and early summer of 1755 with the Cherokees, in an effort to complete some portion of his grand plan for control of the Cherokee country, made it quite certain that most of that tribe would not give heed to Dinwiddie's appeals. Without Glen's active assistance Dinwiddie could not enlist many southern warriors, for the Cherokees and Catawbas were loath to leave

[14] Glen to Robinson, Aug. 13, 1754, CO, 5/14; Dinwiddie to Glen, Aug. 15, 1754, IBSC, iv, 96–100.

[15] CHJSC, xxix, 462–77; CJSC, xxii, pt. 2, 52–54.

[16] Glen to Board of Trade, May 29, 1755, CO, 5/375; minute of S. C. council, June 3, 1755. (The minute of the South Carolina council referred to and many others cited herein without indication of specific location are to be found in photostatic copies in the Historical Commission of South Carolina.)

their towns open to attack by trans-Ohio tribes in their absence. Edward Guest, sent out as agent by Dinwiddie early in 1755, had a difficult task, especially since he was hindered by Richard Pearis, a Virginia trader who improperly claimed to be Dinwiddie's representative. Guest finally obtained a halfhearted promise of the services of a number of Overhill warriors, but a band of forty supposedly friendly Shawnees who were visiting the Overhills warned them that the path to Winchester was dangerous and easily persuaded them not to go. Ultimately, eighty Cherokees led by Usteneka actually accompanied Pearis[17] to Virginia, where they participated in an expedition against the Shawnees.[18]

Glen, and Glen only, could have enlisted a body of Cherokees and Catawbas who might have saved Braddock, but a month before Braddock's defeat Glen was still very busy procuring from the Cherokees a formal acknowledgment of English sovereignty. He had opened these negotiations in the summer of 1754 with a message urging them to send such an acknowledgment to the king and suggesting that a Cherokee delegation might go across the water in the spring of 1755 to complete a formal ratification. When this message reached the Overhill country a number of warriors immediately replied as Glen desired. Shortly thereafter these warriors repudiated their own action; and the "Emperor," Old Hop, because he had not initiated it, denied its validity. At Glen's behest, however, most of the South Carolina traders supported the proposal; and in September, 1754, Old Hop himself and other chiefs forwarded a second acknowledgment to Glen.[19] But Glen's design was not approved by his superiors. He then abandoned the idea of sending a Cherokee embassy to London; instead he invited Old Hop and other chiefs to Charleston to make a formal submission.

Old Hop excused himself from the long journey on the ground that he was a cripple. A delegation of Overhills headed by Attakullakulla and Ouconnostotah and another from the Lower towns were secured only after considerable effort by Glen's intermedi-

[17] Pearis was made a Virginia agent by Dinwiddie in September, 1755.

[18] Ludovick Grant to Glen, March 27, 1755, "talk" by the Warrior of Tennessee town to "King" Hagler, March 16, 1755, Ludovick Grant to Glen, April 29, 1755, IBSC, v, 41–47, 50–51, 53–59; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752–1755, 1756–1758* (Richmond, 1909), 379–81.

[19] Glen to Overhill chiefs [summer of 1754], Overhill chiefs to Glen, Sept. 21, 1754, IBSC, iv, 81–82, v, 6; "Historical Relation of Facts delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina," Jan. 12, 1756, *SCHGM*, X (1909), 63–64.

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fore an attempt could be made.[36] Lyttelton was compelled to seek out other fields of endeavor.

Lyttelton was rather successful, however, in his attempts to persuade South Carolina to do its share toward the winning of the war, for he remained a popular figure almost to the end of his term of office. Especially remarkable during his administration was the willingness of the assembly to raise funds for fortifications and Indian affairs. Soon after his arrival the assembly voted, in addition to the sum given for Fort Loudoun, £22,000 (provincial currency) for fortifications and contingent expenses.[37] Lyttelton was therefore able to have Forts Prince George and Moore repaired in 1756.[38] In March, 1757, the asembly voted £10,000 (provincial currency) to erect a fort at Port Royal, considerable sums for other seacoast defenses, and additional outlays to maintain 200 provincial troops in service.[39].

It is true that South Carolina's record in regard to raising troops during most of Lyttelton's administration was not a remarkable one. The province was wealthy rather than populous; her Negroes were potential enemies; and the province was actually the English bulwark on the south. South Carolina therefore could not and did not send a single provincial soldier to the aid of her sister colonies during the Seven Years' War. Moreover, her inhabitants showed disinclination even to serve in levies raised for the defense of the colony. In the summer of 1757, when a considerable number of provincials from other colonies and a substantial body of regulars were sent to South Carolina to ward off a threatened invasion by the French and Creeks,[40] the assembly disbanded the 200 provincials then in service and voted £20,000 (South Carolina currency) to raise 700 men. Since less pay was offered than previously, very few men enlisted.[41] Although Lyttelton strove desperately to fill the seven companies voted, by offering bounties and by forcibly enrolling vagrants, he was able to muster only 500 provincials at the end of 1758.[42] Pitt's request

[36] The British government expected that the army which captured Havana in 1762 would proceed against New Orleans, but that force suffered too heavy losses at Havana. Amherst to Lord Albemarle, Sept. 6, 1762, CO, 5/62.

[37] Lyttelton to Board of Trade, July 19, 1756, CO, 5/375.

[38] "Returns of the Cannon. Stores. Ammunition &C. in the several Forts remote from Charles Town with their State and Condition . . . ." CO, 5/376.

[39] Lyttelton to Board of Trade, May 24, 1757, CO, 5/375.

[40] See Chapter VI.

[41] Henry Bouquet to Loudoun, Aug. 25, 1757, CO, 5/48.

[42] Lyttelton to Pitt, Aug. 7, 1758, CO, 5/18; Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1758, CO, 5/376.

that South Carolina maintain 700 men during 1759 was considered by the assembly in July of that year. Lyttelton supported it by a warning of a possible Cherokee war. In order to obtain favorable consideration he even offered to give up a special grant of £3,500 (provincial currency) that he had received annually from the province. The commons house voted to maintain only three companies of foot (which were mainly occupied in garrison duty) and two of rangers—and that not beyond January 1, 1760.[43] That more were not secured was hardly the fault of Lyttelton.

Lyttelton was anxious to coöperate with officials of other colonies and with British military officers in America. In contrast to his predecessor he heartily supported the efforts of Dinwiddie to procure Cherokee and Catawba auxiliaries and instructed South Carolina officers and traders to help Dinwiddie's emissaries. This policy began to bear fruit early in 1757. In addition to Cherokee parties which went out against the French in the Lower Ohio valley numerous groups proceeded to Virginia. On April 6 Dinwiddie estimated that 300 friendly Indians, of whom somewhat fewer than one half were Cherokees, had been sent out scouting and scalping. In mid-May the number had mounted to 400, including Saponeys, Nottoways, Tuscaroras, Catawbas, and Cherokees.[44] On March 18 one Cherokee party of twenty-five men returned with the scalps of five hostile Indians, and in June a captured French ensign named Belêtre and four more scalps were brought in by Cherokee scouts. In the action that resulted in the capture of Belêtre the Swallow Warrior, a Cherokee chief of some prominence, was slain.[45] Before the end of May most of the other tribesmen returned home, but many of the Cherokees remained in service. Some 200 additional Cherokees appeared in Virginia between June and September.[46]

The presence of the Cherokees in Virginia caused an infinite amount of difficulty, however. One band ravished a girl, and also slew a friendly Chickasaw in order to obtain the Virginia bounty offered for scalps. In April Washington, who as commander of the Virginia regiment was greatly occupied with these savage al-

[43] Message by Lyttelton to the commons house, July 9, 1759, addresses by the house to Lyttelton, July 9, 13, 1759, CO, 5/56.

[44] *Letters to Washington*, II, 54–55, 58; *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 605–6, 620.

[45] *Letters to Washington*, II, 79–81, 89–90; *South-Carolina Gazette*, May 12, 1757.

[46] *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 629, 640, 656; *Letters to Washington*, II, 189–90, 206–7.

lies, wrote: "The Indians are all around teazing and perplexing me for one thing or another so that I scarce know what I write." Regarding one Cherokee party he said a month later: "They are the most insolent, most avaricious, and most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with."[47] Washington must have heaved a great sigh of relief when he learned that Edmund Atkin, long expected, had arrived at Williamsburg about the first of May, and that Atkin would assume at least temporarily the management of the southern Indians in the pay of Virginia. Washington was going to be disappointed if he thought his troubles with his savage allies were ended.

Edmund Atkin was born at Exeter, England, on February 27, 1707. He was one of the numerous children of a certain John Atkin of that place.[48] He migrated to South Carolina in early youth,[49] and established himself in Charleston as a merchant in partnership with another John Atkin, possibly an older brother, sometime before 1732.[50] John and Edmund Atkin prospered, as did many merchants of pre-Revolutionary South Carolina. They eventually owned much land, especially in the northern part of the province. Edmund Atkin acquired sufficient reputation to be appointed a member of the South Carolina council on May 25, 1738.[51] He held various other minor offices in Charleston in the early 1740's, and received considerable publicity in 1745 for capturing Tom Bell, a confidence man whose exploits had rendered him notorious throughout the colonies.[52] Atkin was well educated and was possessed of genuine courage; he was also pompous and slow-moving. Late in life, on May 1, 1760, he married at Charles-

[47] Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series (Philadelphia, 1852–54), III, 175–76; *Writings of Washington*, II, 25, 35–37.

[48] Atkin's will, May 22, 1760, Record of Wills, Charleston County, Vol. IX, 1760–1767 (A), Charleston Co. (S. C.) Courthouse; W. U. Reynell-Upham and H. Tapley-Soper, eds., *The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, & Burials of the City of Exeter* (Exeter, 1910–33), II, 45. Atkin's given name is spelled both "Edmund" and "Edmond." He was apparently christened "Edmund," but he used "Edmond" in his correspondence and in his will. Possibly he adopted the latter form because he had many friends of French descent. He was intimate with the Manigault family of South Carolina. His surname is often incorrectly given in documents as "Atkins," less commonly as "Atkyns" and "Atcyns."

[49] *NYCD*, VII, 211.

[50] There is an advertisement in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1732, signed by Edmund Atkin.

[51] *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January 1734–5 to December 1741* . . . (London, 1930), 284.

[52] Bell was jailed in Charleston, but soon escaped.

ton Lady Anne Mackenzie, daughter of George, third Earl of Cromartie, an impoverished Highland noble who had fought for Bonnie Prince Charlie.[53]

In October, 1750, Atkin sailed for England,[54] where he remained almost six years. In May, 1754, the Board of Trade inquired why he was not at his post as councilor at that critical time. Although Atkin replied that he planned to leave for Charleston in October,[55] he failed to do so. Sometime before the close of 1754 the board requested Atkin, who as a member of the South Carolina council was well acquainted with Indian affairs in the South, to present information on the subject. A lengthy paper which he placed in the hands of Halifax on May 30, 1755, was not without merit, for it contained shrewd analyses of French and British Indian policies in that area. He pointed out that the distribution of Indian presents by the English southern colonies had been inefficiently handled for many years, and that the trade had been virtually unregulated since 1735. To remedy the situation an imperial superintendent should be appointed for the southern Indians. He should disburse all presents, make all treaties, and take the major rôle in trade regulation. Johnson should have similar powers over the Six Nations and their allies. Parliamentary legislation would be necessary to establish this system and to provide the funds necessary to operate it. Atkin was inclined to favor obtaining the requisite funds in large part through enforcement of the Molasses Act of 1733. These proposals were undoubtedly not displeasing to London officials. Atkin's paper also contained a grandiose conception of the dignities and emoluments to be given the superintendents. He even asked that each agent should have the command of a regiment of regulars and a company of rangers.[56]

Atkin desired the southern superintendency for himself. He was supported by influential persons from South Carolina, and later by Lord Loudoun, but Halifax, Henry Fox, Newcastle, and

[53] Lady Anne, after Atkin's death, married Dr. John Murray, a physician of Charleston. She died at that place in January, 1768. See D. E. Huger Smith and Alexander S. Salley, Jr., eds., *Register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, or Charleston, S. C., 1754–1810* (Charleston, S. C. 1927), 158; Lord Dover, ed., *Letters of Horace Walpole . . . to Sir Thomas Mann . . .* (New York, 1833), I, 417–18, 424, 428; *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1768.

[54] *South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 8, 29, 1750.

[55] Board of Trade to Atkin, May 29, 1754, CO, 5/402; Atkin to John Pownall, June 8, 1754, CO, 5/374.

[56] Atkin to Board of Trade, May 30, 1755, Loudoun MSS.

other English officials hesitated before offering him the appointment. When it was finally given, he was empowered merely to make treaties with the southern Indians. Moreover, because Halifax and Fox retained doubts of his zeal and abilities, Fox privately instructed Loudoun to replace Atkin if he thought such action justified. While Johnson's commission under the sign manual constituted him "sole" superintendent in the North, that word was omitted from Atkin's. Attempts by Atkin to secure funds for his expenses from the imperial government failed, as did his efforts to procure instructions from the Board of Trade to the southern governors urging that the southern colonies give the superintendent a measure of control over the trade. The board merely ordered the governors to coöperate with Atkin, and referred him to Loudoun for funds and instructions. Atkin therefore followed Loudoun to New York, at which place he arrived on October 6, 1756.[57]

Early in November Atkin carried on consultations with Loudoun and Sir William Johnson at Albany. He accompanied the latter to Johnson Hall, where the two superintendents held a conference with a delegation of Iroquois. Both agents were eager to bring about a peace between the Iroquois on the one hand and the Cherokees and Catawbas on the other, so that these tribes could devote all their energies against the French Indians; and they secured the approval of the Iroquois delegation to the opening of pourparlers. Negotiations initiated as a result of this conference led to the sending of Cherokee emissaries to the Six Nations in 1757 and to the signature of a treaty of peace between the Iroquois and the Cherokees and Catawbas in 1758.[58] Atkin was not so fortunate in his dealings with Loudoun, for Loudoun was reluctant to equip the superintendent for his work. Atkin followed the commander in chief from Albany to New York, from New

[57] "Observations touching the intended Appointment for Mr. Atkin," n.d., "Proposal made by Mr. Atkin," n.d., Atkin to Loudoun, May 14, 1756, "Instructions humbly proposed to be given to the Agent & Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern District," n.d., Atkin to Loudoun, Oct. 6, 1756, Loudoun MSS; *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January 1754 to December 1758 . . .*, 242–43. See also John R. Alden, "The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies," *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (1940), 210.

[58] *NYCD*, VII, 208–15; James Sullivan, Alexander C. Flick, Almon W. Lauber, and others, eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921–), II, 858–64, 875–76, 878, 886; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1850, quarto ed.), II, 445–46; IBSC, vi, 116–18.

York to Boston, from Boston back to New York, and then from New York to Philadelphia before Loudoun paid his salary for the first half of 1757 and furnished him with a supply of Indian presents. Loudoun was very eager to get help from the southern Indians in operations against Fort Duquesne, and he wished Atkin to assume control of the Indian trade in the South. But, when the superintendent asked him for £2,000 in expense money and for permission to draw upon him for further necessary sums, Loudoun referred him to the southern governments for financial support. Consequently, the superintendent's hope for an Indian department independent of those governments was largely destroyed, for it was not to be expected that they would be consistently generous to him, financially or otherwise. The appointment of Atkin was no doubt a mistake; that mistake was hardly rectified by maintaining him in office without sufficient support. Finally, in the spring of 1757, Atkin traveled southward from Philadelphia to Williamsburg.[59]

Dinwiddie was anxious to secure the services of Atkin, not only to relieve Washington and to deal more effectively with the southern Indians, but also to end confusion resulting from clashes between the Indian agents of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. At Williamsburg Dinwiddie tried vainly to obtain Atkin's services and the use of his Indian presents without cost to Virginia. He finally offered to pay Atkin £100 to £150 in expense money, and to furnish him with presents, if he would undertake to act on behalf of Virginia;[60] and Atkin agreed. After holding a conference with "King" Hagler and a gang of Catawbas at Jamestown in order to end a minor conflict that had arisen between Dinwiddie and the Catawbas,[61] Atkin joined Washington on June 3.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun (Virginia)[62] with the loyal support of Washington. By assuming a haughty demeanor he succeeded—not without difficulty—in abating the insolence of certain Cherokee auxiliaries.[63] In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed that a party

[59] *NYCD*, VII, 208–10; Atkin to Loudoun, Nov. 26, 1756, March 26, 1757, Loudoun MSS; Atkin to John Pownall, March 1, 1757, CO, 323/13.

[60] *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 617; minute of Va. council, May 7, 1757, CO, 5/1429. Dinwiddie hoped that Loudoun would recompense Virginia.

[61] Minutes of the conference, May 18–19, 1757, Loudoun MSS.

[62] Located at Winchester. It has been confused with the Tennessee fort in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, II, 345, note 33.

[63] *Pa. Archives*, First Series, II, 177–79; *Writings of Washington*, II, 52–53.

of ten Indians which appeared at Winchester at that time were French spies. In spite of protests from Washington he imprisoned the whole group. It turned out that two or more of those jailed were friendly Cherokees. They were identified as such by other Cherokees, who promptly sent messengers to inform their compatriots in the field and at home that they were being attacked at Winchester. The situation was saved by Washington, who satisfactorily explained Atkin's mistake. Fortunately, it was found possible to have the messenger sent southward by the Cherokees overtaken before he could deliver his tidings.[64] Atkin likewise had difficulties with the many persons entrusted with the management of Indian affairs by Pennsylvania and Maryland. These included George Croghan, deputy of Johnson acting for the former province, and Richard Pearis, who had secured an appointment as agent for Maryland in the nick of time to escape discharge by Virginia. The southern warriors were receiving presents from three provinces, and felt responsible to none. Atkin, supported by Dinwiddie, took the sensible view that efficiency required the distribution of presents by one authority only. He felt that he should be that authority, even though the Cherokees and Catawbas were serving in northern provinces. He forced Croghan and other agents to agree that presents from Pennsylvania and Maryland, as well as those from Virginia, should go through his hands, but the Pennsylvania and Maryland agents soon broke their pledges.[65]

During his stay in Virginia Atkin also managed to involve himself in a quarrel with several officers in Washington's regiment.[66] Yet his sojourn was not without accomplishment. When he departed from Williamsburg in the fall he left behind an organization to deal with Virginia's Indian problems. At the request of Washington and Dinwiddie he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and placed him in charge of such southern Indians as should come to Virginia after his own departure. Under authorization from Dinwiddie he also set up a system whereby parties of Cherokees and Catawbas coming to Virginia would be

[64] *Writings of Washington*, II, 97–98, 114–15; *Letters to Washington*, II, 156–57, 165, 167.

[65] *Pa. Archives*, First Series, II, 129–31, 179–81, 183–87, 197–201, 268–73; *Writings of Washington*, II, 188–89; *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 639, 645, 671. Cf. A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741–1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 129.

[66] *Letters to Washington*, II, 102–7.

supervised by John Watts,[67] Richard Smith, and Thomas Rutherford, "conductors" and guides.[68]

Both Dinwiddie and Washington considered that the southern Indians had rendered substantial services to Virginia in 1757, although the former thought those services expensive.[69] Moreover, Dinwiddie believed that Atkin, although "very slow in all his Affairs," had performed useful labors.[70] Expense accounts submitted by Atkin amounting to £809 Dinwiddie thought "monstrous" high but he eventually gave Atkin £459 in fulfillment of those accounts. Dinwiddie also undertook to maintain the Indian officials appointed by Atkin in service until October, 1758.[71] Late in the fall Atkin resumed his journey southward by land.

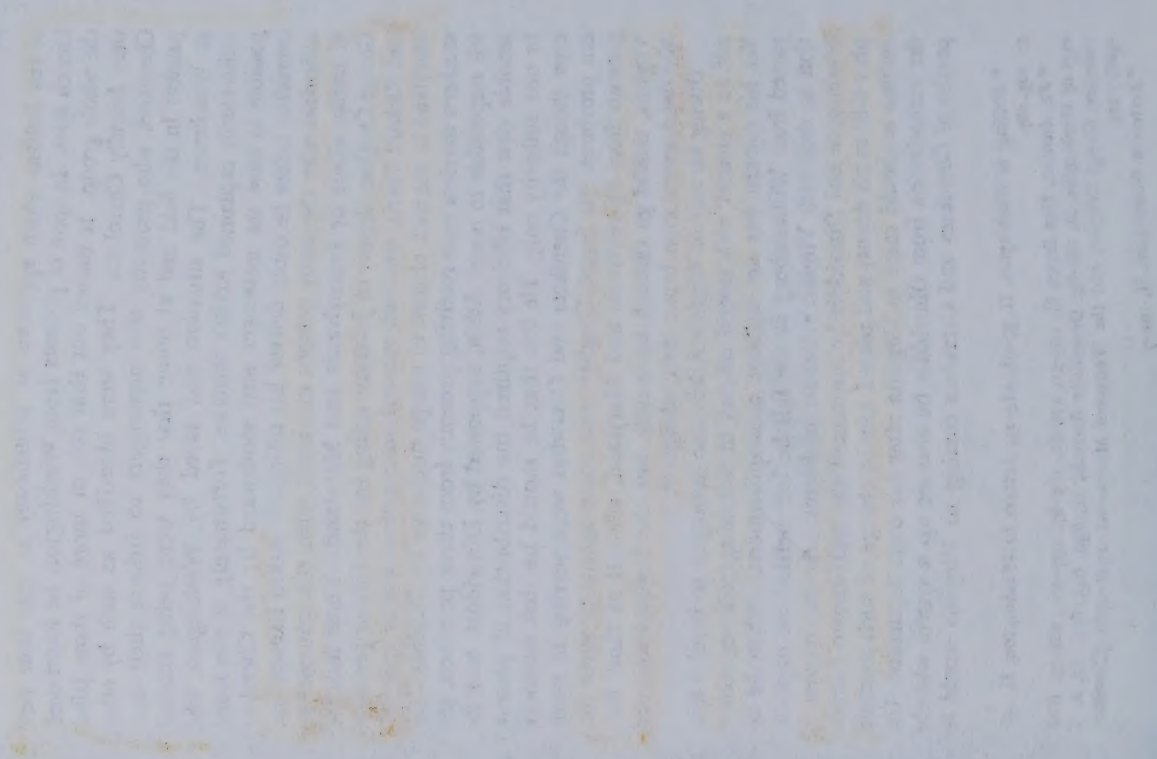
[67] A Cherokee trader used as an interpreter by both Atkin and Stuart. He was the father of a half-breed of the same name who later became prominent in the councils of the Cherokee nation. He died in 1770.

[68] *Writings of Washington*, II, 40–41, 58–59; *Letters to Washington*, II, 86, 214–15; minutes of Va. council, May 24, Oct. 14, 1757, CO, 5/1429.

[69] *Writings of Washington*, II, 156–58; Dinwiddie to Pitt, Sept. 12, 1757, CO, 5/18.

[70] *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 673, 689–90.

[71] *Dinwiddie Records*, II, 707; minutes of Va. council, Oct. 18, 20, 1757, CO, 5/1429. Gist was actually kept in service and paid by Virginia until 1759.



26th of the same month. Then, fearing that he lacked power singly to represent Virginia, he wrote to Blair asking him for further instructions.[44]

On November 4 Stuart's letter of October 17 to Blair was brought by its recipient to Lord Botetourt, who had just taken office as governor of Virginia. A meeting of the Virginia council was quickly arranged for the following day, and it was decided to send an express to inform Lewis that the survey had been postponed once more. Botetourt and his council were aware that Stuart had merely executed his instructions. When writing to Hillsborough and Stuart shortly afterward Botetourt therefore offered no strictures upon Stuart's conduct.[45] But Walker soon reached Virginia with the information that Johnson, in absolute disregard of his orders, had purchased from the Six Nations for the crown the south bank of the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Tennessee.[46] The deep disappointment felt by Walker and Lewis when they learned of the Treaty of Hard Labor may be imagined; they made some very energetic representations when they presented their report to the Virginia council in December.[47] Botetourt suddenly discovered that Stuart should have invited Virginia to express her need for westward expansion at Hard Labor. He urged the superintendent to undertake negotiations for the purpose of changing the line just arranged by Stuart so as to include the settlements made west of the Kanawha before the French and Indian War, which still lay outside the boundary, and also all the territory ceded by the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix. He requested that surveying of the Hard Labor line be delayed until Virginia had had an opportunity to petition the king for the establishment of the Tennessee as the line. To achieve these objects, on December 20 he sent Walker and Lewis to Charleston to consult Stuart.[48] Four days later he wrote to his friend Hillsborough setting

[44] Minute of Va. council, Nov. 1, 1768, CO, 5/1435.

[45] Minute of Va. council, Nov. 5, 1768, CO, 5/1435; Botetourt to Hillsborough, Nov. 10, 1768, CO, 5/1347.

[46] On dealings between Walker and Lewis on the one hand and Johnson on the other regarding the Indian boundary see Alvord, *op. cit.*, II, 69–73; Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 61–64. There is good reason to believe that Walker and Lewis sold out Virginia's interest in the Pittsburgh area in order to help their own cause.

[47] Walker and Lewis to Botetourt, Dec. 14, 1768, also minute of Va. council, Dec. 17, 1768 (Extract), CO, 5/1347.

[48] Botetourt to Walker and Lewis, Dec. 20, 1768, Botetourt to Stuart, Dec. 20, 1768, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766–1769*, xxxi-xxxii, xxxii-xxxiii.

forth Virginia's desires and denying that the Cherokees had any real claim to the region west of the Kanawha.[49]

While on their way to Charleston Walker and Lewis met Governor Tryon, who arranged a conference at Fort Johnston between them and a number of Cherokees who happened to be in North Carolina. The Virginians persuaded Usteneka and Saluy, who were in this group, to accompany them to Charleston by sea. On January 11, 1769, the party landed and immediately sought out Stuart. Stuart pointed out that Johnson had disobeyed his instructions. He was incensed by the charge of unfair dealing levied against him by Botetourt,[50] and he was reluctant to consider any immediate change in the boundary. However, he permitted the Virginians to ask the Cherokees in his presence whether they would agree to a rectification that would bring the settlements between the Kanawha and the Holston within the boundary. The chiefs indicated that they would give their consent. Stuart cautiously refused to continue negotiations unless he received the demands of the Virginian commissioners in writing. They suggested as a boundary the line 36 degrees, 30 minutes! Stuart declared that he was unable to reopen the question with the Cherokee nation except under orders from Hillsborough. He was irritated by what he considered the excessive demands of Virginia, especially after that colony had been so long silent regarding her desires, but he undertook to put the proposal of the commissioners before the ministry. In February Stuart wrote to place the matter before Hillsborough. To Hillsborough he made a counterproposal that the boundary should be made to run from the northern end of the North Carolina Indian boundary directly west to the Holston and thence in a straight course northeast to the mouth of the Kanawha. All Virginia settlements existing in 1768 and legal according to Virginia law would lie within this line. He indicated that a congress would be necessary to secure the consent of the Cherokees.[51]

Hillsborough was completely satisfied with Stuart's conduct at Hard Labor.[52] He did not know, however, until early in 1769 that there were settlements beyond the Kanawha considered lawful in Virginia. In March, 1769, he informed Botetourt that he was re-

[49] Botetourt to Hillsborough, Dec. 24, 1768, CO, 5/1347.

[50] See Stuart to Botetourt, Jan. 19, 1769, CO, 5/1347; Stuart to Johnson, April 14, 1769, *Johnson Papers*, VI, 693–94.

[51] Walker and Lewis to Botetourt, Feb. 2, 1769, CO, 5/1347; Stuart to Hillsborough, Feb. 12, 1769, CO, 5/70.

[52] Hillsborough to Johnson, Jan. 2, 1769, *NYCD*, VIII, 144; Hillsborough to Gage, March 24, 1769, *Gage Corr.*, II, 86.

ferring the whole matter of the Virginia-Cherokee line once more to the Board of Trade and that he personally was willing that Virginia purchase Cherokee claims east of the mouth of the Tennessee. He thereby roused great hopes in Virginia.[53] But Stuart's counterproposal appealed to Hillsborough and the Board of Trade, and on May 13 Hillsborough ordered Stuart to hold the necessary congress. If Virginia refused to bear the expense of the congress Stuart was to have the Hard Labor line surveyed. Because of pressure from other members of the cabinet the minister was forced to announce on the same day that the purchase made from the Six Nations by Johnson was approved, but the cabinet attempted to prevent any difficulties that might arise from that approval by forbidding new settlement beyond the Hard Labor line.[54]

The Cherokees were not unwilling to concur in this additional cession, although they insisted on being well paid for it.[55] At the same time they were highly displeased by new squatter settlements made by Virginians and North Carolinians on the Watauga, the Holston, and the Nolachucky rivers in 1768, and in the valley of the Powell River in 1769; [56] and they became more and more restless as news of the expansionist schemes of Virginia officials seeped into the Cherokee country. They were also dissatisfied because of bands of white hunters who infested their hunting grounds along the Holston.[57]

Although the Cherokees were willing to accept the revised boundary ordered by Hillsborough, Botetourt was not. The Virginia council decided in August to call the burgesses into session to consider the situation. The burgesses responded as Botetourt had hoped. On December 18 in a formal address that body denied the right of the Cherokees to the lands between the Kanawha and the Tennessee; asserted that the Treaty of Fort Stanwix settled the own-

[53] Hillsborough to Botetourt, March 1, 1769, Botetourt to Hillsborough, May 10, 12, 1769, CO, 5/1347. It should be remembered that the colonial secretary was also president of the board.

[54] Report of Board of Trade, April 25, 1769, Hillsborough to Johnson, May 13, 1769, *NYCD*, VIII, 158–63; Hillsborough to Stuart, May 13, 1769, CO, 5/70.

[55] Stuart to Hillsborough, May 13, 1769, C.O., 5/70.

[56] Some of these settlements lay below the line of 36 minutes 30 degrees, and actually were located in North Carolina. They remained illegal in British eyes, while the lands occupied above the line were ceded by the Cherokees in 1770–71. Cameron tried to force the illegal settlers to remove, but the pioneers succeeded in obtaining a deed from the Cherokees by chicanery and defied him. See *NCCR*, X, 768–69; Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 2–8.

[57] "Talk" from Cherokee chiefs to Stuart, July 29, 1769, Gage MSS.

ership of that territory; and called for the extension of the North Carolina–Virginia line to the Ohio as the Cherokee boundary. Other reasons of little weight for this proposed extension of territory open to settlement were offered, and a grant of £2,500 was made for the expense of negotiations with the Cherokees. Botetourt wrote to Hillsborough in support of this address and warned Stuart to take no further action until the minister could consider it. He testily informed Stuart that he saw no reason for opposing a scheme that would increase the Virginia quitrents.[58]

A heated debate between Stuart and the Virginia expansionists followed. Stuart pointed out a fact that some Virginians must have known—that the line proposed by the burgesses was impossible, since by following latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes it would never strike the Ohio. He argued with considerable justice that it would pass too near the Cherokee towns and that it would deprive both the Cherokees and the Chickasaws of their best hunting grounds. He recalled to Botetourt the fact that the Virginia frontiersmen as hunters and Indian haters were peculiarly obnoxious to the Cherokees, and he contended that it was bad policy to bring the backwoodsmen and Cherokees into closer proximity than was necessary. He further averred that the Cherokees would never consent to such a large grant. He warned Botetourt, moreover, that the Indians generally would resent such an extension of Virginia settlements and that a confederacy of the Shawnees, Delawares, Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws against the whites might well result. He also argued that such a huge cession would not benefit the commerce of the mother country.[59] Botetourt retorted that Virginia would fight the matter through. On July 5 the Committee of Correspondence of the burgesses heatedly and incoherently denounced Stuart's attitude to Edward Montagu, agent for Virginia at London, and instructed him to complain about Stuart's conduct.[60] But the

[58] Minute of Va. council, Aug. 8, 1769, CO, 5/1440; memorial by burgesses to Botetourt, Dec. 18, 1769, Botetourt to Stuart, Dec. 18, 1769, CO, 5/71.

[59] Stuart to Botetourt, Jan. 13, 1770, CO, 5/71. Gage heartily supported Stuart's stand at this juncture. He likewise feared that acquiescence in Virginia's demands would lead to a general Indian war. Gage to Stuart, March 26, 27, May 17, 1770, Gage MSS.

[60] The Committee of Correspondence assumed that Indians had no rights whatever to land. While offering no objection to the policy of drawing boundaries, the authors of this document nevertheless criticized Stuart severely because he had informed the Cherokees that settlers beyond them would not be protected by English officials. The attitude of the committee was that settlement was always proper, whether within or without the boundary, and that purchase was merely a sop to remove Indian discontent.

burgesses had actually capitulated before this protest was sent. On June 15 that body requested Botetourt to take the necessary measures to draw and survey the boundary in accordance with Hillsborough's orders, and granted £2,500 for the purpose, saying that it did so because longer delay would endanger the lives of those who were settled beyond the line of 1768. On June 21 the governor asked Stuart to undertake the necessary negotiations. Three weeks later the superintendent responded that he planned to meet the Cherokees once more at Hard Labor on October 5 and that £2,900 was needed to defray expenses. Botetourt was so eager to finish the business that he took the extraordinary step of drawing the sum needed from the Virginia quitrent fund. He sent Colonel John Donelson, surveyor of Pittsylvania County in Virginia after 1769, as his official representative to attend the congress.[61]

It is not entirely clear why the burgesses abandoned their quarrel with Stuart in the middle of June, 1770. Possibly that body was anxious to obtain as solid a grip as possible over Virginia's western lands in order to combat the designs of the Grand Ohio Company. This company had been formed in the previous year by Samuel Wharton, of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan of Philadelphia, and Thomas Walpole, an English banker. Included in its membership were a number of English nobles and officials. The company was striving to obtain a proprietary grant to be bounded on the north by the Ohio, on the west by a line drawn from the mouth of the Scioto River to Cumberland Gap, on the south by the Cumberland range and the Greenbrier River, and on the east by the western boundaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania.[62] Perhaps a letter from Hillsborough to Botetourt of April 14 [63] indicating that the minister still supported Stuart's stand reached Virginia before June 15 and exercised an effect. It seems likely, however, that Botetourt was moved to quit the struggle because of the persuasion of Sir William Draper, the hero of the capture of Manila in 1762. Draper landed at Charleston late in 1769 [64] and attended with many other officials and gentlemen a conference that Stuart held with the Cherokee chiefs at the Congarees in April, 1770. At this meeting the Cherokees declared that they were strongly opposed to settlement

[61] John P. Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770–1772* (Richmond, 1908), xii-xiv, 76–77; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1905), 355–64.

[62] For accounts of the early history of the Grand Ohio Company see Alvord, *op. cit.*, II, Chapters IV and V; Abernethy, *op. cit.*, Chapter III.

[63] In Co, 5/1348.

[64] South-Carolina Gazette, Jan. 4, 1770.

beyond the line suggested by Stuart and urged Draper to present their case to Botetourt, for he was acquainted with the Virginia governor and planned to visit Virginia. Stuart persuaded Draper that he was in the right, and Draper consented.[65] Since he reached Williamsburg at the end of May [66] and since Botetourt had a very high opinion of him,[67] it would appear that Draper's influence led to a change in the governor's attitude. Certain it is that Botetourt was henceforth unwilling to give his support to Walker and Lewis. In the summer of 1770 Jacob Hite,[68] their agent, forged a letter from Ouconnostotah to Botetourt. This forgery urged the governor to ignore Stuart and to arrange a congress with the Cherokees on behalf of Virginia, at which gathering Ouconnostotah would see to it that Virginia obtained all the lands she desired. The Virginia speculators also arranged for the appearance of Saluy before the governor and his council on August 17 to support this forged "talk"; and Lewis urged Botetourt to comply with the supposed request of the Great Warrior. But Botetourt refused to listen.[69]

When Stuart, Cameron, Donelson,[70] and about 1,000 Cherokees headed by Ouconnostotah met at Lochaber,[71] South Carolina, during the period October 18–22, no major difficulties appeared. Because of the fact that the Cherokees objected to giving up the Long Island in the Holston River, since they feared it would be used as

[65] Proceedings of the Congarees conference, April 10–12, 1770, Gage to Stuart, May 17, 1770, Gage MSS; Daniel Claus to Johnson, Sept. 12, 1770, *Johnson Papers*, VII, 897.

[66] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 31, 1770.

[67] Botetourt to Hillsborough, Feb. 25, 1770 (Private), CO, 5/1348. Said Botetourt regarding Draper: "Good use of him may be made for the publick —— Men like him shoud never be neglected, in times like these they are invaluable."

[68] A minor Virginia speculator.

[69] Stuart to Hillsborough, Nov. 28, 1770, Minute of Va. council, Aug. 17, 1770, "talk" by Botetourt to Ouconnostotah, Aug. 18, 1770, Botetourt to Lewis, Aug. 18, 1770, CO, 5/72; proceedings of the Congress of Lochaber, Oct. 18–22, 1770, Gage MSS. Hite and Richard Pearis were agents among the Cherokees for Walker and Lewis.

[70] Professor Archibald Henderson thinks it significant that Walker and Lewis represented Virginia at Lochaber, but they were not at the congress. See "Dr. Thomas Walker and the Loyal Company," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, XLI (1931), 79, and "A Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest," *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.*, XVII (1930), 198.

[71] Lochaber was Alexander Cameron's plantation, located on Penny Creek, a stream flowing into Long Canes Creek from the northwest. It contained about 2,600 acres, 2,000 of which were granted to Cameron in 1765 by virtue of his service in the Seven Years' War. Memorial Book, ix, 131, Historical Commission of South Carolina.

a site for a fort, a change was necessarily made in the line ordered by Hillsborough. Stuart reported to the minister that

> ... The Indians offered, by way of compensation for the land they refused to grant to run the line a more western course to the Ohio, which would have given a good territory upon that river; but I declined accepting it, not being within the limits of my instructions; and if I had been certain that your Lordship would have forgiven it, I should not have done it; as the precedent would possibly have exposed me to future solicitations.

The line was described in the Treaty of Lochaber, dated October 18, as

> ... beginning where the boundary line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee hunting grounds terminates, and running thence in a west course to a point six miles east of Long Island in Holsten's River, and thence to said river six miles above the said Long Island, and thence in a direct course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway and Ohio rivers.

A provision was inserted in the treaty to the effect that no alteration should be made in the line except at a general meeting of the nation with the superintendent or another royally authorized person in attendance.[72]

The treaty was received with mixed sentiments in the Cherokee nation. Ever since the Treaty of Fort Stanwix the Shawnees and Delawares, because their claims to the south bank of the Ohio had not received much consideration, had harbored a grudge against the Six Nations and more particularly against the English. Delegations from these tribes had been constantly among the Cherokees and Creeks urging them to join in a general assault on the English, and their intrigues could hardly fail to cause discontent. Fortunately for the peace of the southern frontier, the treaty negotiated between the Cherokees and the Six Nations proved to be of great value. In 1770 the parties to that peace, with Stuart's blessing, formed an alliance.[73] Aided by this circumstance Stuart and Johnson managed to keep the Cherokees and the Six Nations hostile to the western tribes until the Revolution, but Stuart, Johnson, and Gage suffered many an anxious moment because of the widespread machinations of the Shawnees and Delawares.[74] In the winter of 1770–71 the

[72] Proceedings of the Congress of Lochaber, Oct. 18–22, 1770, Gage MSS; Stuart to Hillsborough, Nov. 28, 1770, CO, 5/72.

[73] Proceedings of the Congarees conference, April 10–12, Gage MSS; *NYCD*, VIII, 227–44.

[74] Many references might be cited on the activities of the Shawnees and Delawares and on efforts to combat them. Johnson's part in dealing with this problem is rather clearly shown in *NYCD*, VIII, *passim*. Informative documents on Stuart's part are: Gage to Stuart, March 27, 1770, Feb. 5, 1771, proceedings of the

Cherokee traders were so frightened at the prospect of an alliance between the western tribes and the Cherokees that they prepared to flee the nation. Through Cameron, Stuart maintained a careful watch on the Cherokees. They, of course, denied that they were listening with approval to the messages of the Shawnees and Delawares.[75] More confusion arose from the action of the Overhill tribes in negotiating a deal with the Cherokee traders whereby the latter were to receive an extensive cession of land belonging to the Lower Cherokees and the Creeks in exchange for canceling the trading debts of the Cherokees.[76] Intrigues of Richard Pearis and others for further private cessions did not pour oil on the troubled waters. The Cherokees actually refused at first to ratify the Lochaber cession and Ouconnostotah was sharply criticized because he had taken the leading rôle at Lochaber, but at Cameron's insistence they finally agreed to join in surveying the line.[77]

Congarees conference, April 10–12, 1770, Gage MSS; Stuart to Cameron, Feb. 23, 1771, CO, 5/72; Stuart to Germain, Aug. 23, 1776, CO, 5/77.

[75] "At a Convention of the over Hill Cherokee Chiefs & Beloved Men &ca. at Toqueh on the 3 March 1771," Gage MSS.

[76] This problem will be discussed in Chapter XVII.

[77] Cameron to Stuart, March 9, 1771 (Abstract), Stuart to Gage, April 23, 1771, Gage MSS. For agreeing to make the survey the Cherokees asked 1,000 pounds of powder, but Stuart and Virginia officials refused their request.

of his province. Grant acted with military promptness when a colonist slew a Creek on St. John's River in 1769. The aggressor was seized, tried, and executed within three weeks of the crime, although careful precautions were necessary even in East Florida to ward off attempts at rescue on the part of other "crackers." Grant was equally opposed to breaches of the peace by the Creeks,[23] and they tried to coöperate. In response to insistent demands from Grant and Stuart for the punishment of those who had committed the two murders on St. Mary's River in 1767, the Creeks finally made a pathetic reply. An uncle of one of the slayers had attempted to execute him, but had lost his own life instead. Would not Grant consider his death adequate satisfaction?[24]

No doubt it was in part the relatively satisfactory state of relations between the Creeks and the colonies bordering upon the Atlantic that led Hillsborough to congratulate Stuart in June, 1772, because Indian affairs in the southern district seemed to go more smoothly than in past years.[25] But another Creek crisis was in the offing, caused in large part by a too-clever attempt on the part of the Cherokees to rid themselves of their trading debts at the expense of the Creeks.

As early as the summer of 1768 certain Cherokee chiefs had evinced willingness to make cessions of land to private individuals, in spite of the Proclamation of 1763. At that time Ouconnostotah and Saluy attempted to persuade Stuart to permit the Cherokees to give a piece of land twelve miles square in the valley of the Saluda River beyond the South Carolina Indian line to a son of Cameron by a Cherokee woman. When Stuart pointed out that their proposal was contrary to the proclamation, the chiefs adroitly argued that the proclamation did not apply, since Cameron's son was an Indian. At the Congress of Hard Labor the Cherokees importuned the superintendent so forcefully that he placed the matter before Hillsborough. The Cherokees actually measured off the land they desired to give, although Stuart prevented the completion of the cession, before Hillsborough could reply.[26]

[23] See Grant to Gage, March 5, 1769, Gage MSS.

[24] Grant to Hillsborough, July 10, 1770, CO, 5/551. The uncle was suspected of instigating the slayings.

[25] Hillsborough to Stuart, June 6, 1772, CO, 5/73.

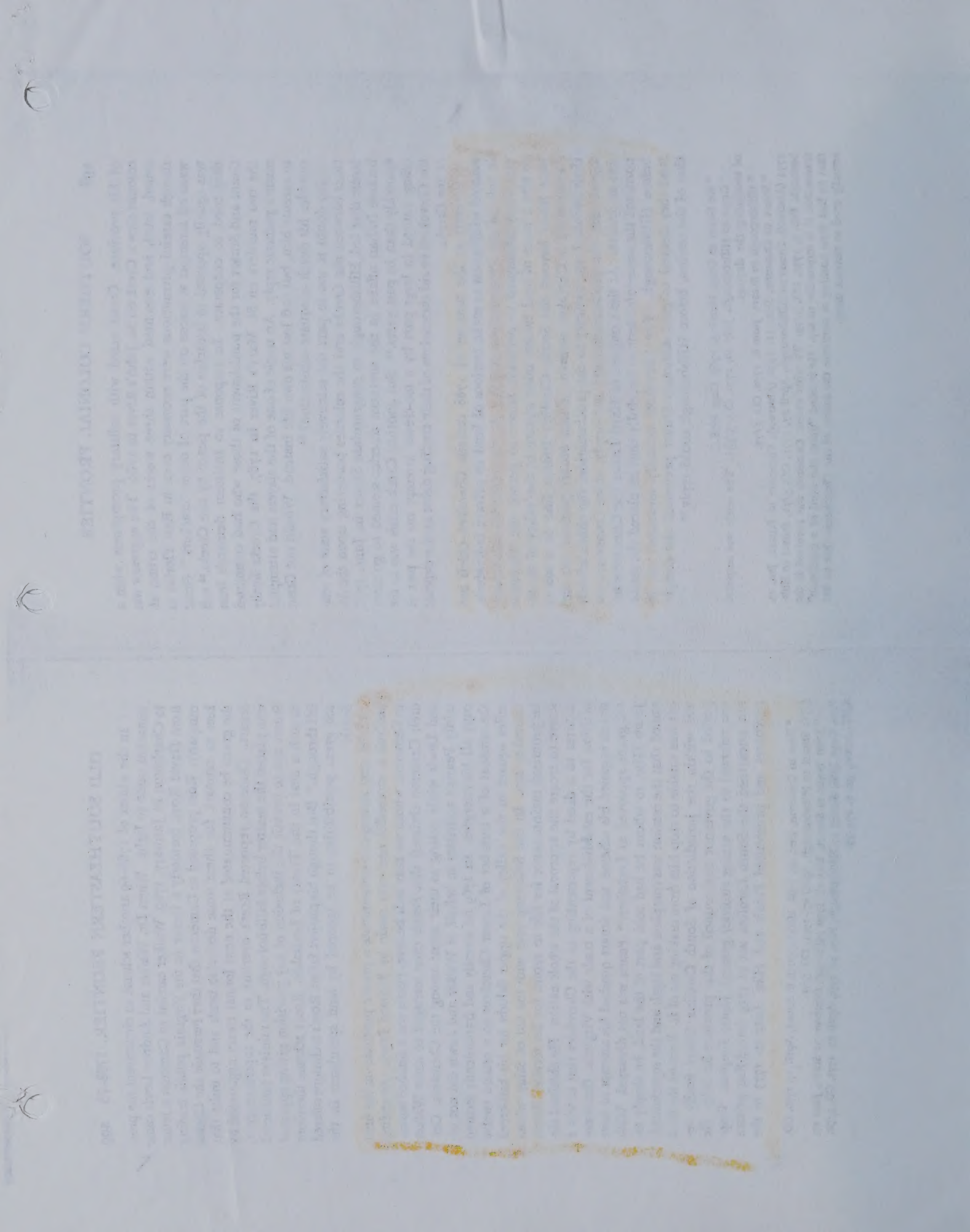
[26] Stuart to Cameron, Dec. 11, 1770 (Abstract), Cameron to Stuart, Jan. 23, 1771 (Abstract), Stuart to Hillsborough, April 27, 1771, CO, 5/72; Stuart to Hillsborough, Feb. 9, 1772, CO, 5/73. To what extent Cameron was involved in the transaction it is impossible to say. He insisted "upon the word of a gentleman" that he had done nothing to motivate the action of the Cherokees—that he had actually tried to restrain them.

In the winter of 1768–69 another scheme to circumvent the proclamation came to light. When Dr. Walker and Andrew Lewis came to Charleston in January, 1769, Walker carried to Cameron a letter from David Ross, formerly a factor in the Virginia public trading company. Ross proposed to Cameron that they persuade the Cherokees to earmark for them some desirable lands and to insist that the grant be consummated at the next formal treaty negotiated by Stuart. Cameron reported Ross's overture to the superintendent, who placed the matter before Hillsborough. The minister instructed Stuart not to permit the inclusion of any provision giving approval to such a deal in the Treaty of Lochaber. Ross's scheme therefore fell through.[27] But though his project failed, Ross's technique offered too great possibilities to be ignored by land speculators in the South.

The next attempt to consummate a private purchase—in the final analysis a successful one—was made by Richard Pearis. According to Cameron, whom we may well believe, Pearis was a finished scoundrel; Cameron claimed that Pearis even managed to cheat Walker and Lewis while acting as their agent among the Cherokees. Certainly Pearis's activities in behalf of Walker and Lewis did not occupy all his energies. In 1769 he secretly and fraudulently secured the consent of a number of Lower Cherokees to a cession twelve miles square in the valley of the upper Saluda for his half-breed Cherokee son. In the following year with the aid of Saluy, whom he promised maintenance for life in return for his services, Pearis strove to secure the approval of the whole nation. He obtained signatures to a deed by representing to the Cherokees that it was a petition for the establishment of a trade with Virginia. Ouconnostotah opposed his scheme, and Stuart quashed his attempt to have the grant approved at Lochaber.[28] Pearis was not dismayed. With Jacob Hite, to whom he had sold part of the land, he simply assumed that the cession was complete and legal; and the superintendent was unable to stop him from making use of it. Because the land was within the jurisdiction of South Carolina Stuart finally appealed to the governor and council of that province for help. He was referred to the acting attorney general, James Simpson. Simpson unearthed the South Carolina act of 1739 forbidding private purchases and prosecuted Pearis and Hite. Late in 1773 in the

[27] Ross to Cameron, Dec. 20, 1768, Hillsborough to Stuart, April 14, 1770, CO, 5/71; Stuart to Hillsborough, April 27, 1771, CO, 5/72.

[28] John Watts to Stuart, May 17, 1770 (Abstract), Cameron to Stuart, June 27, 1770, Gage MSS; Stuart to Hillsborough, Nov. 28, 1770, April 27, 1771, CO, 5/72; CJSC, xxxvi, pt. 2, 174–77.



newly established circuit court at Ninety-Six, both were found guilty of violating the act. They were forced to renounce their titles, and were also fined. But Pearis placed the grant in his son's name in the winter of 1774–75, had it surveyed, and persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out titles for the son in the same court.[29] Pearis settled upon the land, was driven from it by the patriots at the onset of the Revolution, and was later compensated for its loss by the British Loyalist Commission![30]

Another attempt to carry through a private purchase was engineered by Edward Wilkinson, who had established himself as a Cherokee trader after the collapse of the South Carolina public trade. In 1770 Wilkinson made an agreement with the Cherokees providing for the cession to him of a large strip of land contiguous to those reserved for the sons of Cameron and Pearis, in exchange for the cancellation of their debts to him of over £8,000, but Stuart objected to the deal. He thereby placed Wilkinson in a very awkward position, for the Cherokees considered the debts already paid. Wilkinson then asked Stuart to arrange for a sale of the land by the Cherokees to the crown, Wilkinson to be repaid from the proceeds of the sale or to have the use of the land for ten years free of taxes and quitrents. Early in 1773 Stuart placed the Wilkinson problem before Dartmouth, indicating his disfavor and pointing out that Wilkinson would share in the proceeds of the "New Purchase," a project then just coming to fruition whereby all the Cherokee traders would secure cash in return for canceling trading debts. Although Wilkinson went to England in the spring of 1773 to attempt to gain the approval of Dartmouth, the minister merely ordered that he be given an appropriate sum from the money received by the sale of the "New Purchase."[31]

[29] Stuart to Haldimand, Aug. 20, 1773, B. M. Add. MSS., 21,672, pt. 3; Stuart to Gage, Dec. 25, 1773, Stuart to Haldimand, April 23, 1774, Gage MSS; Cameron to Stuart, Feb. 23, 1775, CO, 5/76.

[30] American Loyalist Transcripts, ii, 256, xxvi, 362–85. Pearis sold 30,000 acres to Hite for £2,500 (Virginia currency), but Hite failed to pay, and Pearis therefore claimed title to the whole tract. After a number of adventures at the beginning of the Revolution Pearis made his way to Pensacola late in 1776. There Stuart appointed him captain of one of four companies of Loyalists raised by the superintendent. At the close of the Revolution Pearis emigrated to the Bahamas. He asked over £15,000 in compensation from the Loyalist Commission. The Saluda tract constituted almost two thirds of his claim. He was actually given £5,624.

[31] Stuart to Dartmouth, Jan. 8, 1773, and enclosures, Dartmouth to Stuart, April 10, 1773, Stuart to Dartmouth, June 30, 1773, CO, 5/74; Dartmouth to Wright, April 10, 1773, *GCR*, XXXVIII, pt. I, 50–51.

Stuart's endeavors by legal action to enforce the South Carolina Indian line[32] were accorded full approval by Dartmouth and Gage, although both these officials had little hope that the courts could or would protect the Indian reserves.[33] But in his attempts to prevent the "New Purchase" Stuart was deserted by the home government.

For some years before 1770 Governor Wright had been eager to open up to settlement all the territory east of the Oconee and Broad rivers. On learning of the Wilkinson deal he conceived the idea of purchasing the south bank of the Savannah above Little River from the Cherokees in return for the cancellation of their trading debts.[34] Because of the reduction in prices resulting from the South Carolina public trading act of 1762, increased and vicious competition, and rather scanty returns of skins the Cherokee traders had suffered heavy losses since the peace of 1763. Poor yields had led the traders to give much more liberal credit than before, and by 1770 the Cherokees were heavily in debt. The traders therefore welcomed Wright's proposal. They offered to cancel the debts and to give the Cherokees all their stock on hand in return for such a cession, and the Indians, including even Ouconnostotah, happily

[32] Another land deal in which Stuart was involved concerned the Catawba reservation. After the reservation was definitely determined to lie entirely within South Carolina, in 1772, William Henry Drayton tried to obtain a twenty-one-year lease upon it from the government of South Carolina. By the terms of the proposed lease Drayton was to pay each Catawba warrior goods to the value of one guinea per annum, and the Indians were to retain full use of their towns and fields and the privilege of hunting as they wished. It was claimed that Drayton's purpose was to protect the reservation from speculators and squatters, and one modern authority has expressed an opinion that Drayton's intentions were unselfish. One may doubt, however, as Stuart did, that Drayton proposed to expend fifty to seventy guineas per annum without hope of reimbursement. Stuart protested to the governor and council on the ground that the proposed lease was in violation of the Treaty of Augusta of 1763, and it was denied. Stuart to Dartmouth, Dec. 27, 1772, CO, 5/74; St. George L. Sioussat, "The Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773–1775," *Agricultural History*, III (1929), 86, note 34.

[33] Dartmouth to Stuart, March 3, 1773, CO, 5/74; Gage to Stuart, March 27, 1773, Gage MSS.

[34] Wright later offered in justification of his project an argument that Stuart had given his "approbation and assistance" to Wilkinson. A recent writer has also indicated that Stuart favored Wilkinson. Sioussat, *op. cit.*, III, 84. Evidence other than Wright's charge is lacking to support this assertion. Stuart did inform Dartmouth that Wilkinson had not used the unscrupulous methods employed by Pearis, but he made it clear that Wilkinson's grant was legally in the same category as that of Pearis. See Stuart's reports to Dartmouth on the Wilkinson affair, cited above.

approved the bargain. A deed was signed on February 22, 1771, the accounts of the traders were destroyed, and their goods were distributed. When Cameron, who was absent from the nation at the time of this transaction, protested, the Cherokees refused to listen to him.

Although all seemed well for the traders, difficulties soon developed. The Cherokees had ceded a district about sixty miles square north of Little River and west of the Savannah. Part of this district, the area between Little River and Broad River, the Creeks claimed by virtue of conquest in the first half of the century. Moreover, the cession was, of course, in contravention of the Proclamation of 1763. Immediately before Stuart's departure for West Florida, in the spring of 1771, representatives of the traders approached the superintendent in an attempt to remove the latter difficulty. He condemned the cession as illegal, and insisted that the traders cease their intrigues with the Indians, but placed before Hillsborough the problem created by them.[35]

Meanwhile Wright was also trying to remove objections to the sale. He inspired the Cherokees to ask the crown for permission to grant the lands in question to the king for the benefit of the traders. At the same time he deceitfully informed the Creeks that he had had no share in the deal between the Cherokees and their traders, and suggested that the Creeks join in the cession; in fact, Wright also urged the Creeks to cede all their claims east of the Oconee River. In July, 1771, he sailed for England on leave of absence. In England he labored energetically to secure permission to purchase officially both the Cherokee cession and the left bank of the Oconee.[36]

As Stuart had foreseen, the Creeks were greatly angered by the attempt of the wily Cherokees to sell Creek lands. When the Cherokee traders arranged a meeting between delegations from the two nations in an effort to placate the Creeks, the Cherokees asserted their ownership of the disputed territory in such haughty language that the Creek emissaries indignantly left the conference. The Cherokee traders, probably at the urging of Wright, then changed their tactics. They approached the Creek traders with a proposal to divide the grant and to secure the consent of the Creeks by cancelling their trading debts. The Creek traders agreed. In the fall of 1771 they began to bring heavy pressure upon their clients.[37]

[35] Cameron to Stuart, Jan. 23, 1771 (Abstract), Stuart to Gage, April 29, 1771, Gage MSS; Stuart to Hillsborough, April 27, 1771, CO, 5/72.

[36] In regard to Wright's part in the early development of the "New Purchase" see his "List of Papers Relative to My Memorial about Indian affairs &c With Some Notes and Remarks thereon," *GCR*, XXVIII, pt. 2, 786–90.

Stuart was opposed to the transactions of the Cherokee traders, not only because of their seeming illegality, but also because the deal, if completed, would lessen his own prestige, since he had had no share in it. If the Cherokee traders were permitted to execute their agreement, private negotiations between Indians and traders regarding lands would seem to meet the approval of government. Moreover, he feared trouble would result because of the fact that the Cherokees were trying to sell Creek lands. He therefore urged Hillsborough that the deed obtained by the Cherokee traders be rendered invalid.[38] Hillsborough approved of Stuart's attitude and ordered him to oppose the Cherokee traders. However, Wright, with the support of merchants trading to Georgia, including Stuart's son-in-law, James Graham,[39] persuaded the minister of the desirability of expansion in Georgia. In January, 1772, Hillsborough instructed James Habersham, president of the Georgia council and acting governor in Wright's absence, to aid in preventing the execution of the private cession made by the Cherokees. At the same time he informed Stuart that he could see no objection to a large cession south of the Savannah, provided it was made to the crown by both the Cherokees and Creeks, with part of the proceeds of the sale of the land going to the traders.[40] Hillsborough resigned his office before a decision was reached concerning the proposal advanced by Wright, but he recommended it to his successor.[41]

By the spring of 1772 the Creek traders had succeeded in winning over most of their clients, although they were opposed by The Mortar and Emistisiguo. In the following fall the traders held a general conference with the Creeks, who offered, in exchange for the cancellation of their debts, to cede all the lands to which the Cherokees had abandoned their rights, and even more.[42] But David

[37] Stuart to Hillsborough, Feb. 9, June 12, 1772 (Private), memorial by Creek and Cherokee traders to Stuart, Sept. 10, 1771, memorial by George Galphin, Robert Mackay, James Jackson, and Andrew McLean to Stuart, Nov. 13, 1771, CO, 5/73.

[38] Stuart to Hillsborough, Sept. 23, 1771, CO, 5/72.

[39] Memorial by Wright to Hillsborough, read Dec. 12, 1771, memorial by merchants trading to Georgia to Hillsborough, read March 25, 1772, *GCR*, XXVIII, pt. 2, 765–84, 851–53.

[40] This fact is an indication that Hillsborough was not an implacable enemy to westward expansion in America in 1772.

[41] Stuart to Gage, Sept. 7, Nov. 24, 1772, Gage MSS.

[42] Stuart to Hillsborough, June 13, 1772, CO, 5/73; David Taitt to Stuart, Oct. 19, 1772, Gage MSS.

Taitt arrived at the conference in time to prevent ratification of this agreement. He then opened negotiations with the Creeks as a royal official and intermediary. They reconsidered the matter. Finally, they offered to sell a strip of territory about thirty miles wide south of the Savannah between Little River and Tugaloo Old Town, a strip that included Cherokee territory above Little River which had not been sold to the Cherokee traders! Interested Georgians desired Stuart to accept this offer.[43] Since he foresaw trouble ahead unless the Cherokees agreed, he reserved the matter for future consideration.

At length, on December 9, 1772, Lord Dartmouth, in accordance with a report of the Board of Trade of November 9, sent Stuart instructions to make a purchase from the Cherokees and Creeks at a general congress. But the minister refused to authorize the purchase of all the territory desired by Wright; he ordered Stuart to negotiate only for the lands already privately ceded to the traders. The customary presents were to be furnished by the traders, who were to be paid for these and for canceling the trade debts from the proceeds of the sale of the ceded lands.[44] Stuart invited the Creeks and Cherokees to a general congress to be held at Augusta on May 25, 1773. Then new difficulties arose. Wright returned to Georgia early in 1773. Soon afterward, no doubt with his blessing, the Georgia assembly formally urged that all Creek claims east of the Oconee should also be bought. Stuart, however, feared that the Creeks, already extremely uneasy at the prospect of losing lands, might go to war rather than agree; and he refused to act upon this request without specific instructions from home.[45] Furthermore, although the traders had put in claims for three times as much money as Wright had expected, they failed to furnish the requisite presents, which Stuart was forced to supply.[46]

The congress actually opened in June, with representatives of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Catawbas present.[47] Ouconnostotah,

[43] "Talk" from Lower Creeks to Stuart, Sept. 19, 1772, Stuart to Gage, Nov. 24, 1772, Gage MSS.

[44] *GCR*, XXXVIII, pt. 1, 15–26; Dartmouth to Stuart, Dec. 9, 1772 (Separate), CO, 5/73.

[45] *GCR*, XV, 425–26; Stuart to Dartmouth, April 8, 1773, CO, 5/74; Stuart to Gage, April 22, 1773, Gage MSS.

[46] Stuart to Haldimand, Feb. 10, April 23, 1774, Gage MSS.

[47] The object of the Catawbas was to obtain the services of a missionary. Stuart referred their request to Dartmouth, who declared that the question was one to be decided by the governments of the Carolinas. Dartmouth to Stuart, Oct. 28, 1773, CO, 5/74. On missionary activities among the southern Indians from 1754 to 1775 see Appendix C.

however, remained at home to confer with The Mortar, a suspicious circumstance, especially since emissaries from the Shawnees were expected to join in their discussions. The Creeks had only consented to any sort of a cession because of the influence of George Galphin and Lachlan McGillivray.[48] Although the Cherokee delegation offered to cede all the territory desired by Georgia, the Creeks refused to abandon more than the left bank of the upper Ogeechee, and Wright was forced to accept their offer. The Cherokees, however, ceded part of their lands lying north and east of the Broad River. In all, over 2,100,000 acres were thrown open to settlement. This boundary problem was at length decided, though not without misgivings on the part of Stuart and Wright, who received private information during the congress that the Creeks were preparing to attack Georgia. When presents were distributed, Stuart and Wright prudently gave out no ammunition.[49] (Regarding the "New Purchase," see Map 3, p. 178.)

As Stuart had foreseen, the "New Purchase" promptly brought on a new crisis. The surveying of the line was quickly completed, but immediately afterward two Cherokees who had aided in this task were slain by backsettler Hezekiah Collins[50] near Broad River; and a white man was murdered by the Cherokees about the same time. Nevertheless, Ouconnostotah was still peace-minded. He had refused to join The Mortar and the Shawnees in an attack on the English, and at the close of 1773 he came in person to Charleston to assure Stuart of his pacific intentions.[51] There Stuart entertained him royally, even securing his election to membership in the St.

[48] David Taitt to Stuart, March 16, 1772, CO, 5/73; *GCR*, XII, 439.

[49] Stuart to Dartmouth, June 21, 30, 1773, CO, 5/74; Stuart to Gage, July 5, 1773, Gage MSS. It is an interesting fact that the "New Purchase," characterized by chicanery from its inception, had repercussions as late as 1850, and that suspicions (though not proof) of corruption accompanied negotiations regarding George Galphin's claims arising from it until these were finally settled. The British government in 1790 compensated all the traders who had remained loyal to the crown, but Galphin served as Indian agent for the Continental Congress, and therefore was not included among these. He and his heirs sought redress of Georgia and failed; and then his heirs approached the federal government. Robert Toombs, the advocate of the Galphin heirs, succeeded in persuading Congress to pass an act permitting Zachary Taylor's secretary of the treasury to hear the claim. The claim, of almost £10,000, was paid; and in 1850 the heirs were also given $191,000 in interest. Oddly enough, George W. Crawford, then secretary of war, was attorney for the Galphin heirs at the time the interest was awarded, and he received one half of the sum granted.

[50] Collins was apprehended in South Carolina, but escaped.

[51] Stuart to Dartmouth, Aug. 5, 24, 1773, CO, 5/74; Stuart to Haldimand, Jan. 5, 1774, B. M. Add. MSS, 21,672, pt. 4.

built Hopewell Meeting House in 1734, perhaps the oldest congregation in the Valley.[1]

In 1731 John Fishback of Germanna, and nine German Protestants, probably of the Robinson River Settlement were granted leave to take up 30,000 acres of land on the east side of the second fork of the River Sherando and running up that fork and crossing the neck of said fork below the land of Jacob Stover and his partners, on condition that fifty families be brought within two years to inhabit the land.[2]

MORE PENNSYLVANIANS IN THE VALLEY

Jost Hite with Robert McKay began acquiring land in the Shenandoah Valley in 1731. They with one hundred families were desirous of seating themselves on the back of the Great Mountains on land lying between the land of John Van Meter, Jacob Stover, John Fishback and others, the remainder to lie above these grants. Hite acquired the Van Meter grants in 1734 and patents began to issue to his settlers, one thousand acres to each family.[3]

John Lewis came to the upper Shenandoah Valley in 1732, but had no title for land until 1738, when he took a deed for 2071 acres from William Beverley. It is said that Lewis came with Jost Hite's Party.[4]

William Russell, Sr. was granted 20,000 acres (1732) lying on both sides of the Sherando River above Happy Creek, joining the land of "Jost Heyd" and others interested in the original entry of John Van Meter.[5]

The inhabitants of the Shenandoah River, in behalf of themselves and others who intend to settle there petitioned the King through the Council for a remission of quit-rents on their lands for a term not exceeding twelve years, as an encouragement for the more speedy peopling that remote place of this dominion.[6]

John Lewis and Francis Willis, of Gloucester County and Francis Kirkly, of Spotsylvania, were granted 10,000 acres on Sherando in Spotsylvania County (1732).[7]

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY AT THE TIME OF ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT

At the time of its first settling the Valley was like one vast prairie affording the finest possible pasturage for wild animals. The country abounded in the larger kinds of game. The buffalo, elk, deer, bear, panther, wild-cat, fox, wolf,

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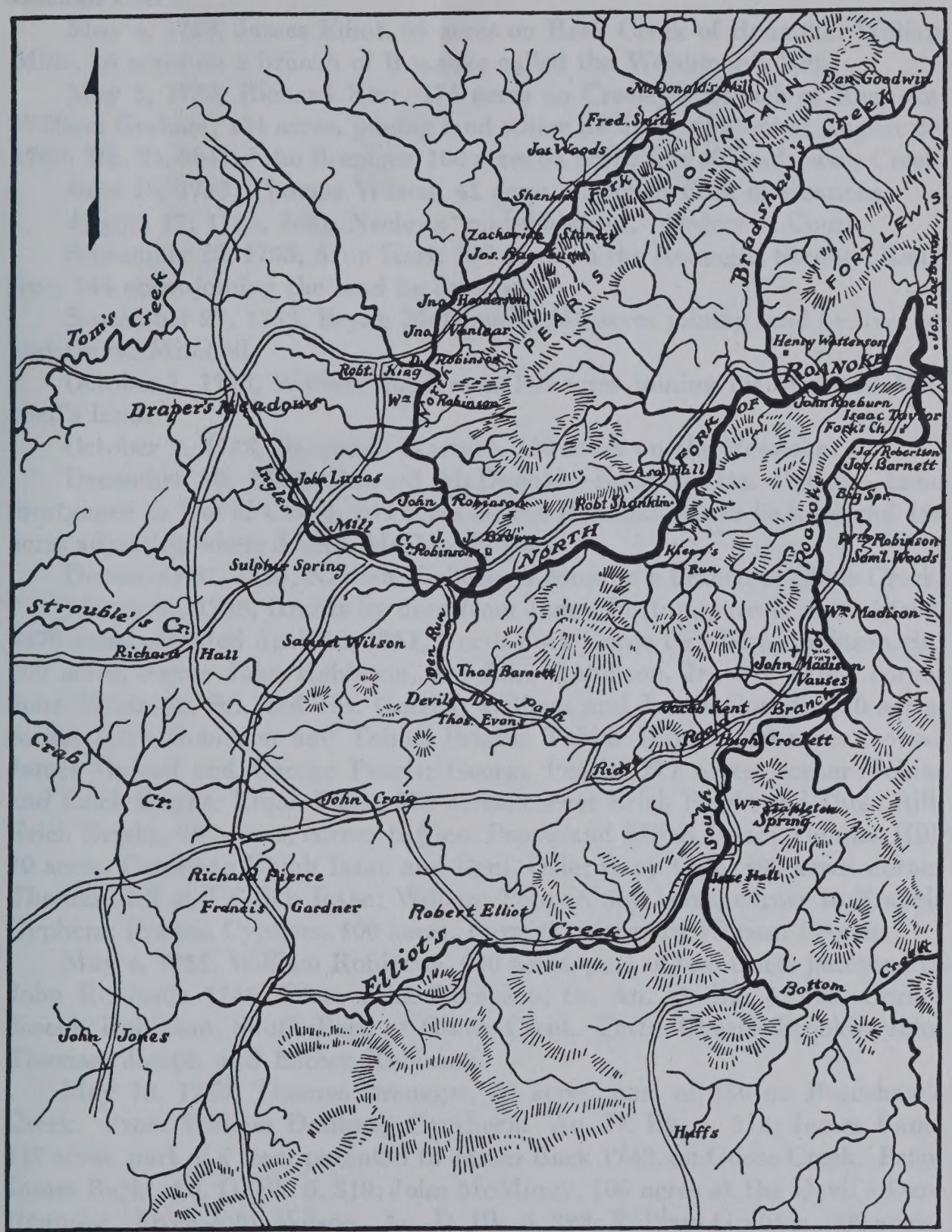
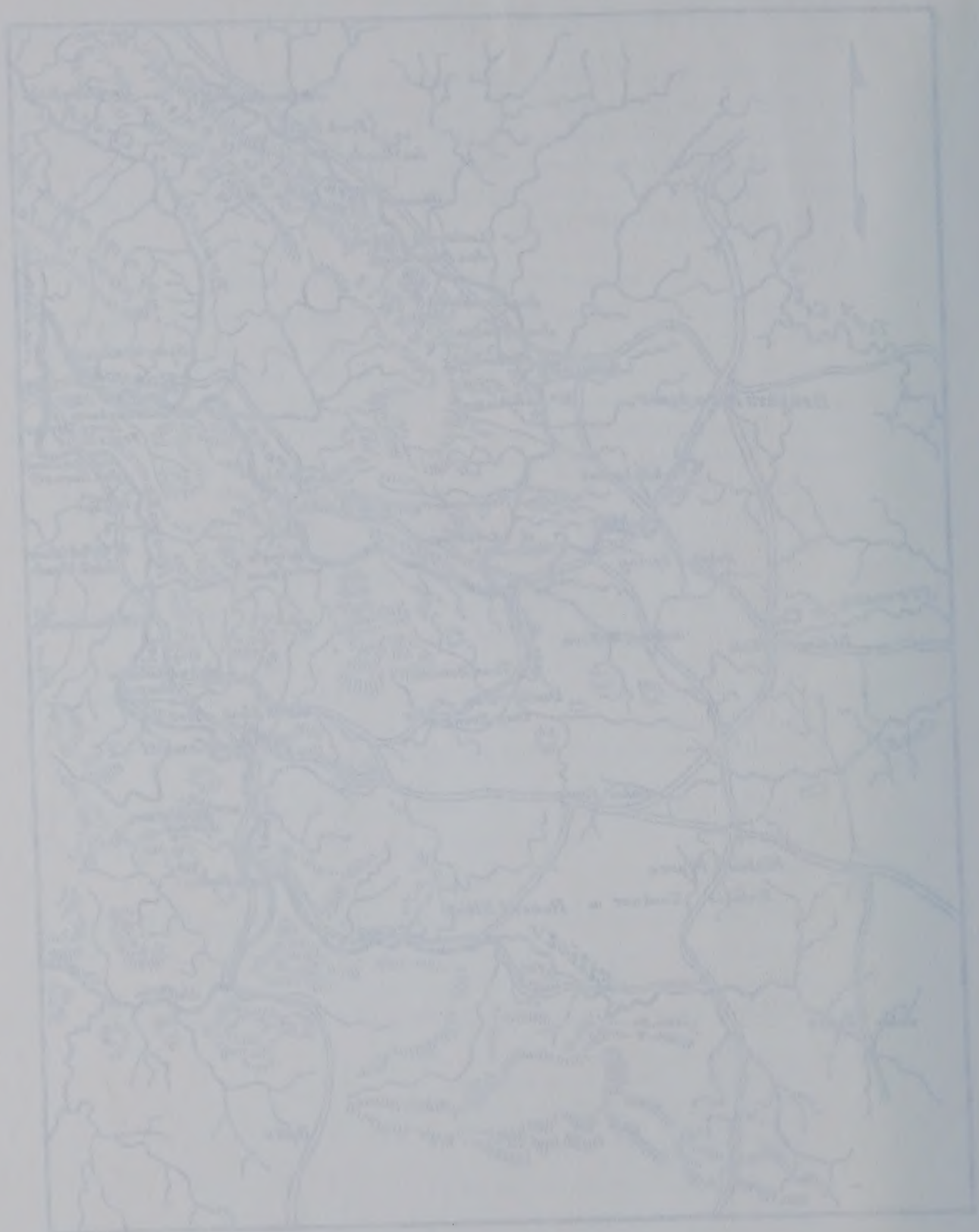
[1]Kemper—Early Westward Movement.
Smith—History of Delaware County Pensylvania.
[2]Kemper—Proceedings of the Council, June 10.
[3]Cartmill—Frederick County
Kemper—Early Westward Movement.
[4]Deed Recorded in Orange—
His coming stated by Waddell, Peyton and others.
[5]Kemper.
[6]Kemper.
[7]Kemper, Va. Mag. 13, 138.



Elizabeth Waller Wilkins

South Branch and North Fork in Early Botetourt County



Carvin and Mark Evans; John Mills, 325 acres on Bent Mountain, Little Bottom Creek.

May 4, 1753, James Elliot, 88 acres on Back Creek of Roanoke; William Mills, 18 acres on a branch of Roanoke called the Welshman's Run.

May 5, 1753, Richard Kerr, 175 acres on Creeley's Branch of Roanoke; William Graham, 134 acres, joining land where he lives. (Patented August 20, 1760. Bk. 34, 684); John Breniger, 100 acres on north side of Bradshaw's Creek.

June 13, 1753, Thomas Wilson, 41 acres on South Fork of Roanoke.

August 17, 1753, John Neeley. "no inhabitant," Orders of Court.

September 23, 1753, Aron Hart, 197 acres on the Roanoke; Stephen Rentfroe, 144 acres joining the land he lives on.

September 27, 1753, Bryan McDonald, 150 acres joining land he lives on and David Mitchell.

October 1, 1753, William Snodgrass, 140 acres joining his own and Mitchell's land.

October 2, 1753, Benjamin Starrett, 130 acres on the Roanoke.

December 20, 1753, Edward McDonald—Bond to Jas. Patton—Land mortgaged to David Cloyd, 200 acres on the Roanoke where he lives and 140 acres adjoining where Joseph McDonald lives.

December 31, 1753, Nathan Nichols, 54 acres on a branch of Glade Creek.

March 21, 1753, Grants by deed from James Patton, parcels of land from 4470 acres patented April 10, 1751, North Fork Goose Cr.[1] John Robinson, Sr., 300 acres, corner John Robinson, Jr.; John Robinson, Jr., 872 acres, corner John Robinson, Sr., and Jas. Gorrell; William and James Gorrell, 620 acres, corner John Robinson and Tobias Bright; Tobias Bright, 590 acres, corner James Gorrell and George Pearis; George Pearis, 271 acres, corner Tobias and Erich Bright; Elijah Isaac, 378 acres, corner Erich Bright and Thos. Hill; Erich Bright, 207 acres, corner to Geo. Pearis and Elijah Isaac; Thomas Hill, 70 acres, Corner to Elijah Isaac and Benj. Ogle; Benj. Ogle, 290 acres, corner Thomas Hill and Elijah Isaac; William Pepper, 580 acres, corner to Francis Cyphers; Francis Cyphers, 400 acres, Barrens, corner to William Pepper.

May 4, 1753, William Robinson, 200 acres, part of two tracts patented to John Robinson 1746. From John Robinson, Sr. Au. D. Bk. 5, 429. Corner Joseph Robinson, South Fork of Goose Creek. Teste: Charles Brookin, John Thomas, Joseph and Esther Robinson.

May 18, 1753, Thomas Brenegar, 50 acres, part of 180 on Bradshaw's Creek. From William Daubney Cauthorn. Au. D. Bk. 5, 316; James Bane, 117 acres, part of a tract patented to James Burk 1748, on Goose Creek. From James Burk. Au. D. Bk. 5, 319; John McMurry, 100 acres at the Devil's Den, Roanoke. From John Wilson. Au. D. Bk. 5, 323; William Graham, 600 acres, The Barrens on Buffalo Creek and Carvin's Creek. From John Mills and Ann, of Lunenburg. Au. D. Bk. 5, 333.

[1]Reference: Au. D. Bk. 5, 64–114. Chalkley, Vol. III, 309.

September 20, 1754, David Cloyd—Survey, 113 acres on the Roanoke joining land he lives on.

October 10, John Mason—Surveys, 200 acres on Meadow Run, a branch of Back Creek of Roanoke; 150 acres on a branch of the Roanoke called Back Creek in the South Mountains. Signed Thos. Lewis, S. A. C.

October 30, 1754, Tobias Smith—Surveys, 254 acres on a small branch of Roanoke joining William Snodgrass and his own land.

November 22, 1754, John McCurry, lately drowned—Orders of Court Chalkly 1, 66.

December 23, 1754, John McClenachan—Survey, 100 acres on Buffalo Creek of Roanoke, joining Tobias Smith, Reeves, and Snodgrass.

December 30, 1754, Joseph Robinson—Survey, 54 acres on Buffalo Creek, joining his own land.

December 31, 1754, William Armstrong—Survey, 50 acres on the Roanoke joining his own land.

October 9, 1754, Joseph McDonald, 207 acres on North Fork of Goose Creek. £45. From Erick Bright. Au. D. Bk. 6, 483. Corner, George Pearis.

November 18, 1754, Alexander Wright, merchant in Staunton, 35 acres on the west side of Roanoke; corner Peter Kinder Lower side, £5. From James Patton. Au. Bk. 6, 465.

January 1, 1755, Stephen Rentfroe—Survey, 226 acres on the waters of Roanoke by his own land.

January 3, 1755, Bryan McDonald, Sr.—Survey, 95 acres on Roanoke adjoining his own and Snodgrass.

January 4, 1755, John Mills—Survey, 192 acres on a branch of Roanoke joining James Gatlive.

January 6, 1755, George Robinson—Survey, 84 acres by Joseph Robinson and Snodgrass; 138 acres on a branch of Roanoke.

January 9, 1755, Daniel McCormick—Survey, 54 acres and 66 acres adjoining his own and Wm. Graham.

January 24, 1755, Benjamin Starrett—Deed, 160 acres on Glade Creek of Roanoke, from Robert Ewing and Mary, of Lunenburg.

January 29, 1755, George Pearis—Survey, 35 acres on Roanoke Joining his patent land.

January 31, 1755, William Beard—Survey, 200 acres on the waters of Roanoke.

February 3, 1755, James Campbell—Survey, 98 acres on the Roanoke.

February 5, 1755, Thomas Akers—Survey, 82 acres on a branch of Roanoke.

February 12, 1755, Erwin Patterson—Survey, 78 acres on a branch of Roanoke called Buffalo Creek adjoining land John Mills lives on; William English—Survey, 158 acres on both sides of the wagon road.

February 23, 1755, William Preston—Survey, 200 acres joining the land of David Mitchell.

WILLIAM INGLES' MILL, ON NORTH FORK MENTIONED

In November, 1746, William Ingles with his neighbors on the North Fork helped to make a road from the Ridge above Tobias Bright's to the North Fork and on through the Catawba Valley to the lower ford.

In 1747 an additional survey was made for William Ingles on Ingles Mill Creek.[1]

March, 1750. In his Journal when on his trip to the Southwest in 1750, Dr. Thomas Walker wrote that he came to the Great Lick on March 15. In the afternoon they got to the Staunton where the Houses of the Inhabitants had been carried off with their grain and fences by the Fresh last Summer, and lodged at James Robinson's, the only place where they had corn to spare.

March 16. "We kept up the Staunton to William Englishe's. He lives on a small branch, and was not much hurt by the Fresh. He has a *Mill*, which is the furthest back except one lately built by the Sect of people, who call themselves of the Brotherhood of the Euphrates, and are commonly called the Duncards, who are the upper inhabitants of New River."

In the spring of 1753, the inhabitants of the North Branch of Roanoke petitioned that they be relieved of road work on the road down Cottage Creek. Among these petitioners were Thomas Ingles, William Ingles, Tobias Bright, George Pearis, William Pepper and Jacob Brown.[2]

Again in 1755, as noted above, William Preston surveyed for William English 158 acres "on both sides of the wagon road."

Some years later (July 10, 1784) John Lucas received a grant for 101 acres on Ingles' Mill Creek, a branch of Roanoke River, including Ingles Mill and Still places.[3]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the way of local officials the constables came next to the road overseers. Usually men of some prominence and influence were appointed. The court at Orange named James Cole for the Roanoke in 1742. The next one was Simon Akers appointed 1746 as constable in Capt. George Robinson's Company. William Kervine soon succeeded him. Later in that same year the community was divided and Erwin Patterson was named for the Roanoke near the Great Lick and John Robinson at the Forks of Roanoke. Thomas Calhoun and David Miller are the next ones mentioned and they were succeeded by William Terry, Malcolm Campbell and William Ingles, Terry and Ingles in 1750 and Campbell in 1755.

Captain Robinson, Erwin Patterson, John Mills and Thomas Ingles were justices in this first period, and William Preston was candidate for the House of Burgesses in 1756, and was Sheriff, coroner and escheator in 1759. Preston was also clerk of the vestry from 1750. The processioners appointed by the

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[1] Augusta County Surveyor's Book, Vol. I.
[2] Chalkley's Abstracts, Vol. I, 441.
[3] Patent Book L. 334.

under patent or occupied, and, by the royal proclamation at the Peace, no settlements were allowed to extend beyond the sources of the rivers which empty themselves in the Atlantic. In Carolina the case was different, for there large tracts of the best land as yet lay waste, which proved a great temptation to the northern colonists to migrate to the South. Accordingly, about this time above a thousand families, with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horses overland before them."—Hewatt—History of South Carolina.

Withdrawals here, 1758–1768. From County court Proceedings—

March 19, 1758, Ephraim Vause, removed out of the Colony; Wm. Hutchison, removed out of the Colony.

August 19, 1758, Ann, Widow and admx. of James Montgomery removed out of the county.

August 20, 1760, Henry Brown's wife, Alice, in Bedford—land sold to Dr. Walker.

August 20, 1762, Robert Graham no inhabitant; Thomas Lloyd no inhabitant.

August 23, 1762, James Milligan no inhabitant.

August 24, 1762, Henry Chapman, no inhabitant; Joseph Donaldson no inhabitant; John Luney, no inhabitant.

August 25, 1762, Robert Campbell and James Taylor, no inhabitants.

November 20, 1762, John Carpenter, no inhabitant; Cornelius Borgard, no inhabitant; Frederick Goils, no inhabitant; James Littlepage, no inhabitant.

February 21, 1763, Archibald Cunningham, no inhabitant; George Wilson, not an inhabitant of the county.

April 22, 1763, Oliver Wallace, no inhabitant.

April 25, 1763, John Crank, no inhabitant.

June 25, 1763, Joseph Kennaday, no inhabitant.

September 24, 1763, Andrew Johnston, no inhabitant.

May 26, 1764, Samuel McCord, no inhabitant; Conrad Yocoun, no inhabitant.

June 22, 1764, George Pearis, no inhabitant; Martha Gatlive, widow of James, no inhabitant; Philspun Askins, Robert Eastham, Jacob Cassall, Frederick Shiver, John Melly, John Greedy.

August 25, 1764, John Sallard, Henry Harmon, James Johnston, Mathew Lindsey, no inhabitants—Math. Lyon not found—Thomas Headley and Mary, Cumberland Co., N.C. (deed to Geo. Poage, John Rutherford and Robert Neeley), no inhabitant.

March 22, 1765, Geo. Wilson, Frederick Co.—David Wilson and Robert Campbell, no inhabitant.

May 25, 1765, James Emacks, no inhabitant; John Sevear or Arthur Trader, no inhabitant (Defendants); Peter Shamie, no inhabitant; Philip Phegan, no inhabitant,

August 24, 1765, John Reese, no inhabitant; Thomas Brawham, no inhabitant. Robert Sayers, eldest son of Alex Sayers; Robert Lusk, runaway.

October 21, 1765, Moses Hurt, no inhabitant; Moses Evans, no inhabitant; Henry Hendrix, no inhabitant; John Hays not found; Richard Doggett—lives in Bedford; Mathew Emacks—lives in Bedford; George Anderson, not found; Andrew Cowan, Jr. out of the county; John Nash, not found.

May 21, 1766, Samuel Caldwell, no inhabitant.

August 26, 1766, William Wilson, no inhabitant; Uriah Akers, not found; Nathaniel Dunlap, no inhabitant; John Leake, not found; George Buff, no inhabitant.

November 25, 1766, James Clark, no inhabitant; John Baskins, no inhabitant; Alexander Kyle, no inhabitant; John Long, not found.

March 25, 1767, David Long, not found; Mathew Robottom, no inhabitant; Wm. Brown, not found.

May 25, 1767, James Harris, no inhabitant; George Malcolm, no inhabitant; James Shaw, no inhabitant; Jacob Hite, Gent, no

300.

P. June 9, 1761. George Pearis, 220 acres on Flat Creek of Roanoke, Pat. 1756 by John Boen's land £ 39. From John McFall - Au. Bk 9, 497.

(This was a cross-roads community - see map)

James Trimble and John Maxwell were from the Forks of James; George Skillern and Benjamin Estill from the main branch of James River, and Benjamin Hawkins, from Catawba.

The first meeting of the Commission was held on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of February, 1770, at the house of Robert Brackenridge, on Buffalo Creek, of Roanoke. Those present at this meeting were Andrew Lewis, Richard Woods, Robert Brackenridge, William Preston, Israel Christian and James Trimble. Andrew Lewis took the oath first and then administered it to the others.

February 13, 1770, *The Sheriffs*—Richard Woods, Gent., produced a commission from his Excellency the Governor appointing him Sheriff of Botetourt County during pleasure. James McDowell and James McGavock were under-sheriffs.

Through May and June Thomas Madison was Deputy Sheriff. Arthur Woods, Israel Christian, James Trimble and Benjamin Hawkins were recommended to the Governor as fit persons to execute the office of Sheriff, from which order William Preston, John Bowyer, John Howard, Robert Breckenridge and William McKee entered their dissent.

October 11, 1770, Arthur Woods was discharged from acting as Deputy Sheriff.

November 15, 1770, Thomas Madison was discharged as Deputy.

November 15, 1770, Robert Alexander was appointed Under-Sheriff.

August 14, 1771, The court composed of James Trimble, Benjamin Hawkins, David Robinson, William Fleming, Benjamin Estill, William Inglish, Philip Love, James Robinson, William Christian, William Herbert, Stephen Trigg, Robert Doak, Walter Crockett, James McGavock and William McKee, recommended as fit persons to execute the office of Sheriff, Israel Christian, John Maxwell and James Trimble, Christian and Maxwell having an equal number of votes.

November 12, 1771, Israel Christian, Gentleman, proved his commission from the Governor appointing him Sheriff. William Christian and Stephen Trigg were his securities—William McClenachan and Daniel Trigg were Deputies.

February 10, 1773, Francis Smith became Deputy Sheriff in place of Daniel Trigg.

August 11, 1773, The court recommended John Maxwell, James Trimble and Benjamin Hawkins as proper persons for Sheriff.

November 11, 1773, John Maxwell received a commission appointing him Sheriff. Francis Smith and James McGavock took the oath as Deputies under Maxwell.

February 8, 1774, Samuel Walker took the oath of a Deputy Sheriff.

1776. George Skillern was Sheriff, 1778 Andrew Woods, 1779 Wm. Madison—Wm. McClenachan and James Barnett, Deputies under Wm. Madison—Wm. McClenachan Sheriff March, 1782.

and Wolf Creek and passing through the Blue Ridge in the Roanoke River gap, and the main trail from the lower lands of James River came through the low gap of the Ridge to the head waters of Glade Creek and followed down the creek to the Great Lick, the Glade Creek lands became the seat of a frontier cross-roads settlement. In the early selections of choice tracts of land for the "Company" several of them were located on Glade Creek, and as soon as they were surveyed they were purchased by homesteaders. And we have seen that Daniel Monahan lived and died on land for which he never received a title. On his way to the West in 1750 Dr. Walker stopped at William Beard's which was on upper Glade Creek and at William Armstrong's near the Great Lick. Robert Ewing was then at the "Big Spring" on a grant for 160 acres of land and John Bowen had already staked off 238 acres in the forks of the creek. John McFall, Hugh Mills, Richard Kerr, John Askins, Nathan Nichols, Robert Orr and John McAdoo had all come to the neighborhood in the 1750's, and the Ewings had left, selling their Spring to Benjamin Starrett. John Mills, the veteran landseeker located 1370 acres on Wolf Creek and Falling Creek in 1760, and the next year John Thompson, "late of Pennsylvania" succeeded Robert Orr. Henry Ferguson followed Thompson who proceeded to New London to become the chief tavern keeper, and George Pearis succeeded John McFall. Thomas Akers went to Wolf Creek in 1763 and Reese Bowen took charge of the Bowen tract at the forks of Glade Creek.

Mathew Emacks (German, now Amyx) came to Welshman's Run in 1764 and in the same year William Beard, presumably William, Jr., the son-in-law of John Mills, appears in the records as a landowner. Even George Skillern invested in Glade Creek lands to the amount of 100 and 350 acres. In 1767 Richard Reed and John Bradley appear on Creely's Branch and Israel Christian buys out Richard Kerr and David Miller. Perhaps the most interesting early addition to the community was the coming of John Howard from Rock Fish River in Albemarle and his wife Mary Preston from the Calfpasture in Augusta. They had been married since 1764 and appear here in connection with two tracts of land, 325 and 335 acres near the mouth of Welch's Run on one of which they dwelt. Their son Benjamin Howard was old enough to become a land holder here before the family moved to Kentucky. The family history gives Benjamin Howard as the first Territorial Governor of Missouri.

Though yet in the 1760's the "Big Spring" again changed ownership, this time from Benj. Starrett to Blany Mills. Mills soon sold to James Stewart who in turn sold to Anthony Gohlson, who consolidated (1785) four adjoining tracts into one large plantation and sold to Daniel Stoner. It was about this development that Rev. Caleb Wallace said that the rich men were buying up all the land getting it into their own hands. David Bryan had 166 acres near the Spring which he sold to William Cox who sold to John Bowman, who married David Bryan's widow. Henry Pauling appears on upper Glade

308 acres on Glade Creek. Pat. Bk. 41, 136; John Rutherford—Grant, 100 acres on Glade Creek.

January 5, 1799. William Watts—Grant, 340 acres in the fork of Roanoke River and Tinker Creek, Akers land. Bot. D. Bk.

July 12, 1799. Benjamin Denton—Grant, 100 acres on Carvin's Creek between Wm. Carvin and Samuel Harshbarger; Benjamin Denton—Grant Tract from Thomas Madison; Benjamin Denton died leaving children: John, Dalton, Benjamin, William, Margaret, Matilda, Rebacca and Elizabeth.—Surveyor's Bk. 1821–1833; Family of Benj. Denton, Tombstone Graveyard—Benjamin married Peggy Anderson, daughter of Robert Anderson.

November 4, 1799. William Campbell—Inclusive Grant, 390 acres on Tinker Creek including the Great Lick.

1800. John and Robert Preston—Grant, 968½ acres on the waters of Tinker Creek and Glade Creek; Andrew Borndrager—Grant, 385 acres on Carvin's Creek.

January 1, 1800. James Mason—Grant, 3800 acres on the Roanoke and Back Creek. Pat. Bk. 43, 219. As executor for James Mason, Elijah McClenachan sold to William McClenachan 2650 acres of this tract.

May, 1800. Daniel McNeal—Grant, 46 acres, part of a military warrant for 200 acres, on south side of Roanoke, adjoining Samuel Seagreaves; Daniel Dilman—Surveys, 110 and 280 acres in Carvin's Cove.

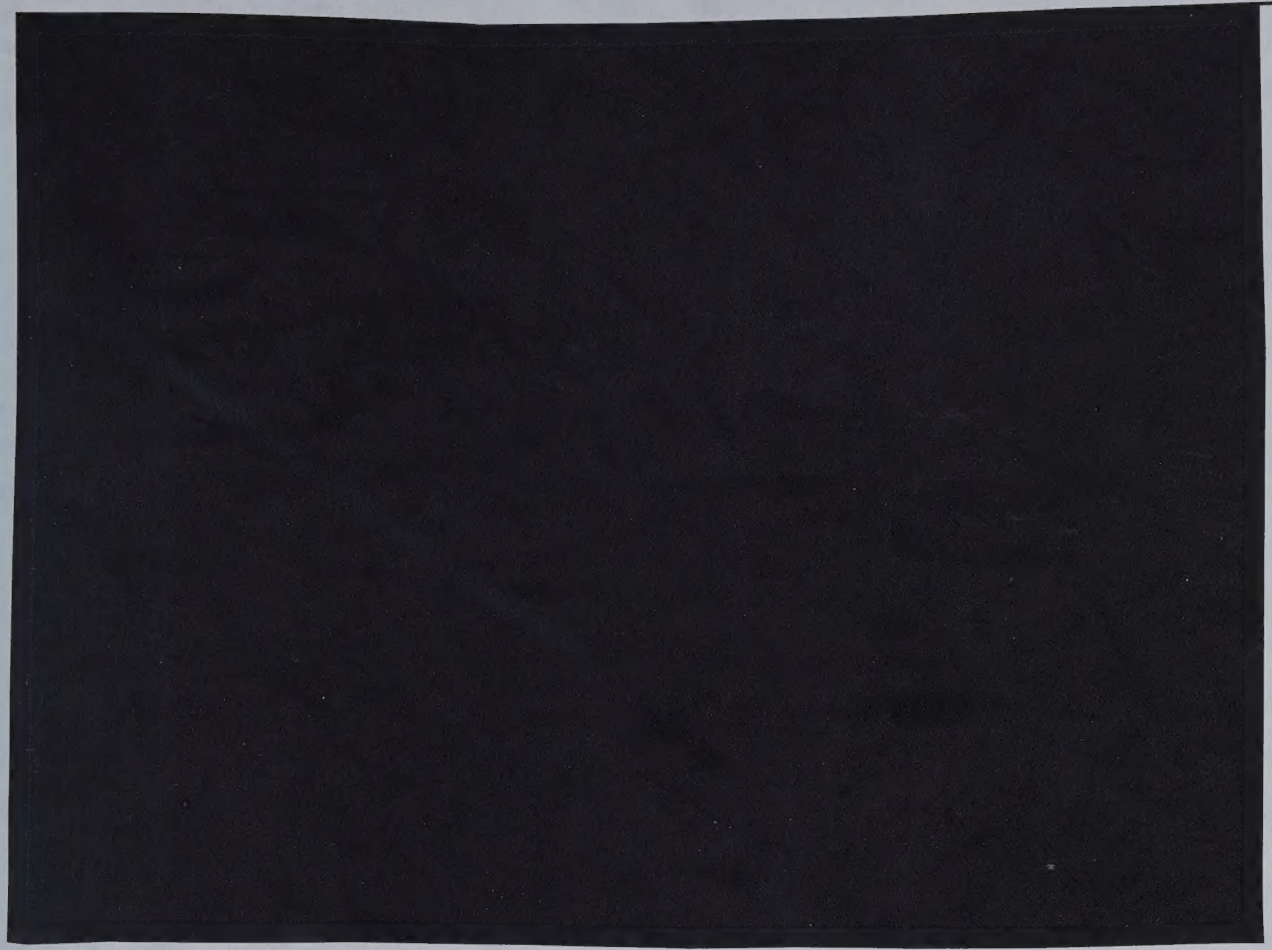
May 27, 1800. James McCreary, 620 acres, inclusive survey on Glade Creek; 220 acres patented to John McFall, 1756, sold to George Pearis, 1761, and to John Howard, 1787, by Robert Pearis, son of George; 290 acres, part of 335 granted to John Howard, 1770; 70 acres added by Benjamin Howard; 18 acres from David Moore and Susan; 20 acres from James Breckenridge, part of 1300; 2 acres, part of 750, patented to Tolliver Craig, assignee of William Anderson. Bot S. Bk.

June, 1800. John and Cornelius Pate & Co., Deed, 390 acres from Wm. Campbell and Susanna.

1801. Anthony Gohlson, Inclusive Survey: 160 acres granted to Robt. Ewing, 1749; 200 and 33 acres from Thomas Lewis, 400 through Henry Buford and John Depew; 150 acres granted to William Campbell, 1791; 140 acres to John and Cornelius Pate & Co. Anthony Gohlson's Big Spring Estate conveyed to Daniel Stoner of Maryland, Plot——.Bot. Sur. Bk. 1799–1822, 483.

April 25, 1801. Town of New Antwerp laid off by Samuel A. Adams on Barnes Land. John H. Madison—Deed, 600 acres on the north side of Roanoke from James Mason to whom it was granted, 1798; John H. Madison—Deeds, 150 and 100 acres on south side of Roanoke purchased by Peter Seacat from Joseph Pryor, he from Nat. Evans, 100, and from heirs of Charles Hungate, 150. Bot. D. Bk. 8, 10.

November 24, 1801. Samuel G. Adams—Deeds, 600 acres on the north side of Roanoke, whereon John H. Madison now lives; Susanna Madison,



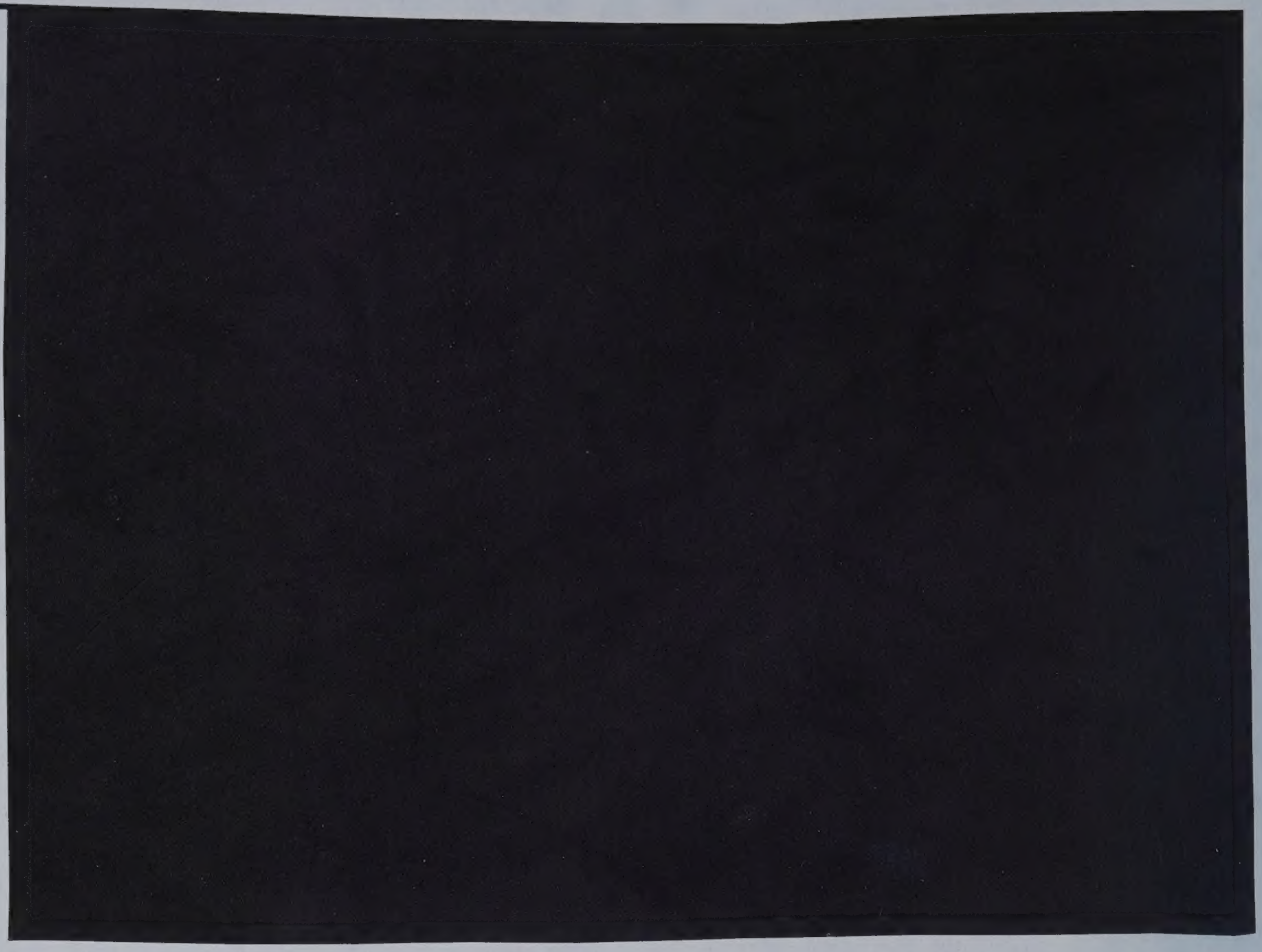
he served regularly on the jury and was fined (1783) for not serving. In 1780 James Wood succeeded him as captain, and 1781 Thomas Rowland succeeded him as Lieutenant Colonel. He sold land (399 acres) to Edward Rutledge in 1798.

TOBIAS BRIGHT

Tobias Bright owned the land next to Robinson at the forks of the road where the western branch goes over the dividing ridge to Draper's Meadows. He sold to Robert King (1774) who migrated to Washington County in the later years of his life and in his will gave to his son, Robert King, Jr., "two pattons now in my possession lying on a branch of the North fork of Roandoake," Montgomery County, and everything else that he possessed or was due him. His other children, Joseph, Margaret, Elizabeth, James and Agnes had gotten their allowance. In 1793 Robert King was granted a license to keep an ordinary at his house in Christiansburg.

JOHN HENDERSON

John Henderson said (1767) that in 1766 he purchased through Robert McGee from George Pearis a tract of land on the north Fork of Roanoke, alias Goose Creek. In 1774 John Henderson, Sr., received a deed for 271 acres of land on North Fork of Roanoke from Geo. Pearis, Jr. Attorney for Geo. Pearis, Sr. In 1775 Robert Henderson purchased Robert McGee's tract of 200



He expected to use goods from Ray.

Col. John Smith and company debtor to John Hamilton for provisions at Dunkard Bottom, September, 1760. While at Dunkard Bottom Col. Smith assumed the obligations of his soldiers for goods and provisions. Chalkley I, 341, 349.

SCARCITY OF GRAIN IN THE SOUTHWEST

1759. By reason of the shortness of the previous years crops of corn and other grain, occasioned by extraordinary drought, people in the southwestern part of the colony were in great distress. Transportation of grain was difficult and impracticable.

To prevent suffering and encourage the people to stay at their settlements the Assembly appropriated an amount of money not to exceed £1,000 to be paid out and expended in the purchase of bread, corn or other grain for the relief of the inhabitants. The trustees were to hire vessels, carts, wagons, etc. to take the grain to the most suitable place for distribution and sell it at a price that would pay for the cost, except to such persons as were really poor and indigent. Bonds with security would be taken, when money could not be given in payment. Hening, Statute at Large, 7, 312.

Col. Byrd had great difficulty in securing provisions for his troops. He said that he was left to the necessity of scouring this and the next county to secure grain from the farmers.

In January, 1761, General Amherst wrote to Gov. Fauquier that he could not send further aid for the Cherokee campaign. The forces of Virginia and South Carolina with Col. Grant's Regulars should be sufficient without North Carolina.

Col. Byrd had reported good roads from the back settlements to the upper towns.

In one of his letters Col. Byrd said that he knew nothing more about the Cherokees than was contained in the New York papers.

Joseph Ray, of Bedford, merchant with the army,—1760, Mr. Joseph Ray to William Ingles.

January 14, To money lent you at Fort Lewis
To your account from the Bedford Book,
July 24, To pr. gloves, rum and bumbo. Sworn to 1765.

Capt. John Blagg deposes that Joseph Ray applied to him for permission to furnish his company with goods and necessaries, which was granted. However, he was disappointed and had to look to another. Ray could have sold £150 of goods.

1760, September.—Col. John Smith, debtor to John Hamilton for goods for his soldiers at Dunkard Bottom and himself, while garrisoning Fort Frederick.

For Lieut. Hanley, John Smith, bowman, John Lukis, John Hamilton, Stamp Evins, Richard Dodd, Richard New Port, Thomas Deigs, John Cotrel.

John Smith assumed to pay for said accounts in the presence of Lieut. Richard Hickman, in Albemarle, Chalkley 1, 490. James Huston, Armorer.

Captain John Blagg made oath that in the year 1761, after Col. Byrd had discharged James Huston, Armorer, there came up instructions from the commanding officer to proceed to the Great Island. Blagg sent orders for Huston to remain until further orders, and his wagon and tools were detained eight days, for which he was not paid.—Paid for his other time in Pennsylvania money. Chalkley 1, 449.

Ingles' Ferry, Established 1762

Thomas Rutherford was agent for Messrs. Hoops and Walker, Contractors.

In July, 1761, while the troops were encamped at Stalnaker's, William Cabeen was employed as assistant distributor of provisions on instructions from Dr. Walker, as an act of kindness. Chalkley 1, 450.

Thomas Brown, Merchant.—Thomas Brown came into camp at Stalnakers with a quantity of shirts, which after some days in camp, he desired James Leister to take into his store and sell them, if he had an opportunity. Because his store was broken into a few nights before and robbed, he would take them only at Mr. Brown's own risk.—1761.

Deposition of Joseph Ray before Robert Breckenridge.

Officers Mess Club.—

Philip Love, debtor to Henry Heth.
For Club in the mess on ye campaign with Col. Andrew Lewis, Capt. William Fleming and others, £3/11/3.

Samuel Cowden & Company, merchants.—
1761 Samuel Cowden & Company to Thomas Davis,
For ferrying 12 wagons twice at New River, at 5. 9 pertime, £ 6/11/0.
For ferrying 1 man and three horses twice, £ 0/5/0.
For ferrying James Leister, 1 horse four times, £ 0/3/4.
For ferrying Samuel Cowden, six times, £ 0/5/0. Chalkley I, 477.

1762, November. A ferry is allowed to be kept from the land of William Ingles in the county of Augusta, over New River to the opposite shore, the price of a man threepence and for a horse the same. And for the transportation of wheel-carriages, tobacco, cattle and other beasts,—for a coach and driver the same as six horses, for a cart or four wheel chaise and driver the same as

And it was further enacted that the officers of the Virginia Regiment should be and were indemnified for all actions brought or to be brought against them, for any martial punishment inflicted on the soldiers of the said regiment at any time after the preceding 24th of May.

The Regiment was paid off and disbanded at Fort Lewis on the Roanoke in February, 1762. Here the Cherokee Expedition had its beginning and its end.

The references for an account of this expedition are found in the appendix of the Journals of the House of Burgesses 1758–1761 where there are printed the several papers from the Draper Manuscript Collection dealing with the campaign, and the Bancroft Transcripts from the English Record Office. Some additional items are found in extracts from the newspapers of the time preserved in the Draper Collection, and in Dr. Draper's notes on Virginia's part in this campaign. A full account of the activities of the troops belongs to the history of the farther southwest in Virginia, Tennessee and Carolina. Only an outline is given here.

Pay for Service in the War
Under the Proclamation of 1763
By the King

"And whereas we are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of our armies, and to reward the same, we do hereby command and empower our governors of the said three new colonies, and all other our governors of our said provinces on the continent of North America, to grant without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as have served in North America, and to such private soldiers, as have been, or shall be disbanded in America and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of lands, subject to the expiration of ten years, to the same quit-rents as other lands are subject to in the provinces within which they are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.:

To every person having the rank of a field officer, five thousand acres; to every captain, three thousand acres; to every subaltern or staff officer, two thousand acres; to every non-commissioned officer, two hundred acres; to every private man, fifty acres."[1]

SIDE LIGHTS ON THE CHEROKEE EXPEDITION

Some Statements about Major Lewis and the Place of Rendezvous.—

March 27, 1761. Received by the House of Burgesses a petition of James Walker, setting forth that he was captain of the new levies raised last year; that he enlisted 56 men, two of whom deserted, and another was rejected by the *Commanding Officer* at the General Rendezvous; that he had paid the

[1] Hening, Vol. 7.

bounty money to these recruits and was at the further expense of conveying them to the appointed rendezvous; and that he had not the least prospect of being reimbursed by them, as they are all absconded.

He was allowed £ 11/10/0 for the man who was refused by the officer appointed to receive them at the place of general rendezvous. Journals H. of B. 1758–61, Pages 234, 237.

Also a petition of John Posey, praying to be reimbursed the bounty money by him paid to 11 recruits which he had enlisted into the service last year, 1760, three of whom deserted, and four were rejected by the Commanding Officer at the rendezvous.

On consideration of the petition of John Posey, to be paid bounty money, etc., for recruits enlisted for the Cherokee Expedition, four of which were taken sick on their march to the place of rendezvous, where 11 others were rejected by *Major Lewis*, the *Commanding Officer*, three of which last deserted, and the other eight were received by Colonel Byrd, and served on the Expedition.

Resolved, That he ought to be paid the sum of £ 137/8/8 for the bounty money and subsistence of the said recruits.—Bounty money £ 10. 30 shillings commission. 8d. a day subsistence.

This petition being recommitted, the committee reported that John Posey had recruited 61 men for the Expedition, four of which were taken sick and four others deserted and 11 more were rejected by *Major Andrew Lewis*, at that time the *Commanding Officer*, and discharged, 8 of which were afterwards received by Col. Byrd. Journals 1758–61, 236, 239, 242.

Samuel Meredith was reimbursed for enlisting and maintaining two recruits for the Cherokee Expedition, one of which was taken sick on the march and afterwards joined the forces; the other rejected by *Major Andrew Lewis, the commanding officer appointed to receive the recruits at the place of Rendezvous*; and for blankets and fire-locks furnished several of the soldiers by him enlisted.

Robert Wade was also reimbursed for bounty money and expense of enlisting a recruit. Journals H. of B. 1758–61, Page 244.

Alexander Waugh raised 40 able-bodied men, 8 of whom deserted.

Deposition of Col. John Smith in case of Joseph Ray vs. William Chandler, both of Bedford County:—

In August being at *Fort Lewis* he (Col. Smith) heard Chandler sell to the plaintiff Ray £100 worth of goods to be delivered to Ray at certain places.—— The goods were not delivered at any time during the campaign.

According to the articles of agreement signed August 6th, 1760, Chandler was to deliver to Ray at Dunkard Bottom on New River £ 100 worth of such goods as Ray thought proper as soon as he conveniently could, which Ray was to sell at 6 per cent. out of what he sold for his trouble. The unsold goods were to be returned to Chandler. County Court Judgments Chalkley I, 493.

Captain John Blagg was with Col. John Smith at Fort Lewis in August, 1760, during the campaign under Col. Byrd vs. the Cherokees. Chalk. 1, 343.

four horses, for a two wheeled cart the same as two horses, every head of neat cattle the same as one horse, and for a goat or a sheep a fifth part of a horse, and for a hog the fourth part. Hening 7, 588.

SERVICE RECORDS, FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Botetourt Orders of Court.—William Ward served as a sergeant in the years 1756 and 1757 in Dickinson's Company of Rangers. He was an inhabitant of South Carolina at the time that warrants for their services were obtained by the officers—certified to the register of the land office.

William Wilson allowed a warrant for land, having been a sergeant in the Cherokee Expedition under Col. William Byrd.

Zopher Carpenter was a drummer in John Dickenson's company of rangers.

James Ralston, sergeant in same company.

Humphrey Madison was ensign in 1756 on the frontier in Dickenson's company of rangers.

Francis Riley, deceased, soldier in Capt. William Preston's rangers in 1759.

James McGuire in Capt. Christian's company of Col. Byrd's regiment of regulars, Second Virginia, 1760.

Laird Fream of Byrd's regiment, claim allowed, Solomon Simpson, Edward Gill, Sr., Christopher Finnie, William Cross.

Christopher Best, soldiers under George Washington in Old Virginia Regiment.

John Gauley under Captain Christian, 1760.

John Lunly, and John Collier in the Cherokee expedition, 1760.

George Teeter under Capt. Gist, of First Virginia, 1760.

John Raeburn, Hay's rangers, 1760.

Jacob Persinger, Dickenson's rangers, 1757.

Robert Gillaspies, Sr., Dickenson's rangers, 1754.

John McMullin, Dickenson's rangers, 1758–59.

Joseph Swoap, Sr., Dickenson's rangers, 1756.

Thomas Kelly, Corporal, Dickenson's rangers, 1757–59.

Ezekiel Johnson, Dickenson's rangers, 1757–59.

Solomon Carpenter, Dickenson's rangers, 1757–59.

Thomas Carpenter, William Preston's, 1759.

Edward McMullin, Dickenson's Rangers, 1756 and 1759.

John Edwards, under Capt. Mercer.

Samuel Conner, Old Virginia Regiment, under Col. Washington.

John Tygert, Old Virginia Regiment, under Col. Washington.

Thomas Cassaty, Old Virginia Regiment, under Col. Washington.

William Simpson, Old Virginia Regiment, under Col. Washington.

William Gill, Old Virginia Regiment, under Col. Washington.

Thomas Carpenter, Jr., Dickenson's Rangers, 1757–58.

William Mann, sergeant in Col. Peachy's Battalion, Moses Mann, eldest son and heir.

Thomas Mann, Dickenson's Rangers, heir John's son, Moses.

William Ward, under Col. Byrd, Cherokee Expedition 1760.

Henry Pauling, under Col. Byrd, Cherokee Expedition 1760.

John Drapper, under Col. Byrd, Cherokee Expedition 1760.

James Barnett, under Col. Byrd, Cherokee Expedition 1760 in Christian's Company.

Peter Wright, in Dickenson's Company 1759.

Joseph Carpenter, in Dickenson's Company heir, John, son of Thomas.

David Galloway, sergeant in Capt. Dunlap's rangers, 1757.

William Galloway, in Dickenson's Rangers, 1758.

David Calloway, Sr., in Dickenson's Rangers, 1758.

John Boller, sergeant under Dickenson 1756–1757.

John Keene, under Dickenson 1756–1757.

George Glancy, corporal in Capt. Stuart's company under Col. Byrd.

William Leatherdale, Bullits' company, under Col. Byrd.

Peter Wiley, under Dickenson, 1759.

John Wiley, under Dickenson, 1759.

William Dimpsey, Capt. Smith's regulars.

William Holly, Gist light infantry.

James Cooper, Gist light infantry.

William Ruthum, Preston 1757.

Robert Hutchison, sergeant in Penn. regiment Fort Pitt.

John Burnbry, Christians regulars.

John Pryor Preston, 1756–58.

Abraham Morris, Bullits' regulars.

Uriah Humphreys, Capt. Posey.

Augustine Broomley, Capt. Blagg.

Edward Young, Capt. Posey.

Thomas Miller, Christian's rangers, 1756.

Alexander Walker, Christian's rangers, 1756.

Peter Branner, Capt. Hewitt.

Peter Looney, Capt. Smith, 1755–56—Taken prisoner and kept two years.

Hugh McNeel, drummer in Capt. Throgmorton's regulars.

Julius Webb, drummer in Capt. Throgmorton's regulars.

John Haynes, drummer in Capt. Throgmorton's regulars.

Joseph Smith, John Smith's rangers, 1755–56, taken prisoner, died June 24, 1756.

James Milligan, Posey's regulars.

Abraham Ellis, Capt. Stuart's regulars.

Charles Ellison, Corporal under Capt. Root, 1st and 2nd Va.

Augusta Co. Wills

Page 340.—9th January, 1811. David Byers' will—To son, John; wife, Rosannah; daughter, Mary Coiner; to daughter, Betsey Daugherty. Executors, wife and son John. Teste: Wm. Sproul, David and Hugh Fulton Proved, 24th March, 1814. Executor qualified. 14th March, 1805. John Erwin's will—To wife, Mary; son, Edward, and daughter, Margaret Herrin, and daughter, Mary Bell; son, Thos. Ervin; to daughter, Jean; son, James. Executors, sons Edward and Thomas. Teste: Wm. Erwin, Francis Erwin, Benj. Curry. 28th March, 1814, Edward qualifies.

Page 357.—28th March, 1814. Colonel James Allen's bond (with Jno. Poage) as guardian to Thomas Frame, orphan of Samuel Frame, under age and out of this State; estate devised to him by his grandmother, and which was in possession of his father as guardian at the time of his death.

Page 368.—19th June, 1810. James Frazer's will—To wife, Ann; to Archibald Guy and wife, Rebecca, and their son, James F. Guy, infant; Nathan Pugh is to be supported as long as he lives; to Archibald and Rebecca's son, John Guy (land in possession of Ezekiel Cooper); said James F. Guy's brother, Thomas Guy; said John Guy's brother, Robert Guy; to brother, Samuel Frazer's children, viz: John W., James, Samuel C., Bella Frazer. Executor, Ezekiel Cooper. Teste: Richard Holt, Ezekiel Cooper, Andrew Russell. Proved, 23d May, 1814. Executor refuses.

who was this?

1814

1814

John Parris

Unknown if this man was relative

Page 395.—21st August, 1814. John Parris' will, in advanced age—To wife, Hannah; to sons, Thomas and George (has heretofore given military lands in Ohio); daughter, Jane Hudson; daughter, Margaret Henderson; daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth Parris; other daughters have been provided for at marriage; daughters, Mary Hudson, Martha Dennison, Jane Hudson, Margaret Henderson, Hannah and Elizabeth Parris; testator's land in Stokes County, N. C., to be sold; to son, John; son, Alexander; to each grandchild named after testator, i. e., John, son of Thomas; John, son of George; John, son of Charles Hudson. Executors, son John and wife Hannah. Teste: Vincent Tapp, Robt. Henderson. Proved, 26th September, 1814. Executors qualify.

Page 398.—15th March, 1814. Jane Black's will, of South River—To son, Samuel; daughter, Jane Alexander; daughter, Martha Black; daughters, Margaret Price and Mary Black; daughter, Nancy Gillespee; son, James; sons, John and William. Executors, sons James and Samuel. Teste: Joseph Bell, Moses Hughes, Elizabeth Hughes, Elizabeth Long. Proved, 24th October, 1814. Samuel qualifies.

Page 415.—22d November, 1814. Patrick Hall's will—To son, Robert; daughter, Patsey; daughter, Joanna; daughter, Polly McCormack. Executors, James Alexander and Jno. McChesney. Teste: Adam Weaver, Jeorah Davis, George Palmer. Proved, 28th November, 1814. Executors qualify.

Page 420.—10th August, 1814. Peter Cail's will—To wife, Mary Cale; to brother William Cale's children; to brother John Cale's children; brother David Cale's children; to brother, Wm. Cale; brother, Jacob; brother, John Cail's son. Isaac Cail. Executor, Mathias Link, Jr. Teste: W. Clarke, Barbara Palmer. Proved, 26th December, 1814, and 27th February, 1815, executor qualifies.

Page 430.—3d October, 1812. Mathias Link, Sr.'s, will (signed in German), of advanced age—To wife, Mary, to be paid by son, John; to sons, Peter, Mathias, Christian; son, David; son, Adam; to daughters, Catherine Hanger, Elizabeth Wayland, Mary Grisham; to granddaughter, Sarah Link, daughter to John Link; to son, John. Executors, sons John and Peter. Teste: Wm. Wilson, Daniel Stover, Jr.; James Crawford. Proved, 27th February, 1815. John qualifies.

Page 432.—16th February, 1815. James Patterson's will—To wife, Deborah; sons, James, William, John, Samuel; to granddaughters, Deborah and Jane; granddaughter, Deborah Wynes; to grandsons, James Craige, Patterson Craige, James Wynes (Wymes); daughter, Jane, deceased, to her children; division to "Deborah Patterson any my nine children, or their lawful heirs, Martha Beard, Wm. Patterson, James Patterson, Sarah Craige, Deborah Wilson, the children of Jane Wyms (?) (Wynn?), John Patterson, Samuel Patterson, Nancy McCullough. Executors, sons James, John, Samuel. Teste: Jo. Williams, James and Samuel Patterson, John Craig. Proved, 27th February, 1815. James and John qualify.

Page 436.—29th November, 1814. William White's estate appraised.

Page 443.—20th January, 1815. Edward Burke's will—To sister, Elizabeth Bailey; brother, Joseph Burke's children; to Robert and William, infants, sons of Frederick Grass; to John Grass. Executors, Erasmus Stribling and Robert Grass. Teste: Joseph Wright, Elizabeth Argabright. Proved, 27th February, 1815. Executors qualify.

Page 456.—20th December, 1807. Michael Ocheltree's will, Sr.—To wife, Mary Eliot, otherwise Ocheltree; to son-in-law, Wm. Young; son-in-law, Joseph Lowery. Executors, Wm. Young and wife, Mary Eliot, alias Ocheltree. Teste: James Allison, John Dickey, Francis Brown. Proved, 27th February, 1815, by Francis Brown, and 27th March, 1815, by Allison. Wm. Young qualifies.

Page 458.—22d December, 1801. George Glenn's will—To son, Hugh; son, James; son, William; son-in-law, Wert Miller, and daughter, Nancy; son-in-law, Robert Young and daughter, Sarah; son-in-law, Samuel Curry, and daughter, Mary; son-in-law, John Mead. Executor, son Hugh. Teste: John Anderson, James and Geo. Anderson. 11th March, 1815, commission to Justices of Augusta County to take deposition of George Anderson, an aged and infirm witness, returned executed 14th March, 1815. Proved, 27th March, 1815 (George Anderson is dead since above deposition; James (and John?) Anderson are also dead). Executor qualifies.

Page 461.—25th May, 1813. Gasper Clemant's will—To wife, Mary; division to, viz: Christopher Clemens, John Clements, Nancy, wife to George Crawford; Catren Clements, Polly Clements, grandson [illegible] Clements; to son, James. Executors, Chas. Patrick, Jam[illegible] Teste: John Conner, Sr. and Jr.; Thos. Ellet Conner. [illegible] ruary, 1815. Craig qualifies, and 27th March, 1815, [illegible]

WILL BOOK No. XI[illegible]

Page 23.—26th May, 1814. Mary Woods' will—To son, John; son, William; daughter, Elizabeth Donovan; daughter, Mary Brown; son, Joseph; granddaughter, Jemima Woods, daughter to son Joseph; grandson, Jacob, son to son Joseph. Executors, Isaac Jones and Wm. Sillings.

Teeter - Pearis

Pages from "Kegley's Virginia Frontier"

34 Tells of Jost Hite group acquiring land in the Valley. (Georg Dietrich (Teeter) 'lived there at first - On the Opequon - Capt Richard Pearis sold S. Carolina land to the Hite family - these things not told on the pages.)

102 + 105 Tells where some of George Pearis's land on forks of the Roanoke was located - (also see Pearis mountain on illustrated map at the beginning.) (This one evidently Richard's brother rather than his father.) No. Goose Creek meant a north fork of the Roanoke. The creek land not reflected here, as well.

123 George + others, including operators of the famous Ingles Ferry, request relief from some road work.

208 Gov. Dinwiddie directs Capt Richard Pearis to enlist Cherokees against Shawnee + French at Fort Duquesne (Fort Pitt). See map for the colonists' idea of geography in 1755.

220 Richard Pearis was recompensed for some of his losses/expenses in said expedition (which was mostly aborted disasterous because of lack of weapons + provisions, partly because they took an ill-advised route - not reflected here but other sources say the generals, or whoever, were poorly informed of the terrain. Some of the Cherokees - and white soldiers - deserted when they saw the plan would not work.) ~~But not~~

246 Capt Richard Pearis served under Major (Colonel) Andrew Lewis and General George Washington. Met him at Winchester in Nov. 1756.

255 Shows some of the pay for Capt Richard Pearis (then of Frederick Co) and others.

278 Sgt George Teeter (served French war under Col Byrd) awarded 200 acres bounty land in Kentucky. (Evidently this award was made shortly before Rev War + is the reason they went to Kentucky.)

286 Some people went to S. Carolina due to Indians + also because of "proclamation line of 1763" by English Parliament forbidding settlers to settle farther west across the mountains. Includes George Pearis, at least temporarily. (P 520) shows more land to purchase from Mc Fall. (P 557) They come back + his son Robert bought still more land - in 1787? (P 616) More land deals.

PEARIS FAMILY

During to the strain over all those years, Stuart's health was failing and, to make it worse, the Whigs held his wife in captivity. Still, he struggled on as long as he had breath to do so. This little excerpt recounts some of his last activities.

. Divided authority had led to economic and social chaos in the southern Indian nations, which in turn had enabled unscrupulous private individuals to harm imperial interests. The British war effort against those who wished to fragment political authority reflected Stuart's own aims; he therefore proceeded to convert his departmental administration into a virtual war machine with no sense that the context had changed.

Stuart received active, enthusiastic support not only from Howe and other military commanders but also from a wide range of officials and private individuals. Lord George Germain, secretary of state for the colonies, recognized the military importance of Indian alliances and generously supplied Stuart with presents to help maintain the Indians' loyalty. Governor Tonyn of East Florida, Thomas Brown, and David Taitt also worked together closely to thwart the machinations of American agents among the Indians. Even more fervently than Stuart, they tried to exclude disloyal elements from intercourse with the Indians and to mobilize the Indians for military campaigns.

Therefore, although his health was failing and he was based in Pensacola far from his family, the superintendent hoped that Loyalist forces in the Floridas and the Indian nations could save the southern colonies from anarchy and ruin. From 1776 until his death in March, 1779, Stuart continued to pay attention to the minutest details of trade regulation, as well as to grand military strategies, both being parts of a single effort against disorder and lawlessness that in his mind dated from the early 1760s. In February, 1778, he wrote to General Howe that he had used a company of Loyalist volunteers recruited by his agents to enforce the prohibition of the rum trade with the Indians:

> In Consequence of your Excellency's Orders to me Contained in your Letter of 3d. May last, I have the Honor to acquaint you, that I have been able to form two Companies of Refugees of whom I now enclose Returns made by their respective Captains. I have appointed my Deputy Mr. Cameron to the senior Company. . . . As I have a Number of Horses belonging to His Majesty for whom I have no immediate Occasion I have furnished Capt Pearis's Company with them & employ them in Suppressing the Rum Trade round Mobille Bay until an Opportunity of sending them upon more essential Service presents itself.[5]

After Stuart's death, his successors continued this same singleminded focus on the importance of frontier regulation in Britain's overall strategy. The southern district was divided into two sections: Thomas Brown was given responsibility for Indian affairs in the eastern half and Alexander Cameron was appointed to manage the Chickasaws and Choctaws to the west. After Cameron's death in 1781, John Graham, the brother of Stuart's son-in-law, was appointed superintendent for the western area in 1782. These men had all suffered great losses at the hands of Revolutionaries and were determined to do everything in their power to exclude all but the most conspicuously loyal men from interaction with Indians.

*John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier
J. Russell Snap (1996) pp 192-3

F232 N5 J6
(1988 Ref)

DAVID E. JOHNSTON. at 60.

A HISTORY OF

MIDDLE NEW RIVER

SETTLEMENTS

AND CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY

By
DAVID E. JOHNSTON
AUTHOR OF
"FOUR YEARS A SOLDIER"

1906
STANDARD PTG. & PUB. CO.
HUNTINGTON, W. VA.

proposals were accepted, and the next morning the treaty was concluded, and the Virginians took up their line of march for their homes. The French and Indians numbered 1,000 men. (*Peyton's Augusta.*)

It seems that Washington on his march to the Great Meadows was joined by a Company of soldiers from South Carolina, who were with him at the surrender of Fort Necessity.

Being now fully satisfied that war was inevitable, the British cabinet encouraged the Colonies to unite for defense or aggression, as might be necessary, and a plan to this effect was duly signed in 1754.

In the Spring of 1755 the colonial forces attacked the French at four different points, Nova Scotia, Crown Point, Niagara, and on the Ohio River. Against the French on the Ohio, operations were conducted by General Braddock, who arrived from England in February of that year with two regiments. Virginia raised eight hundred men to join Braddock, who arrived at Alexandria, then called Bellhaven, and appointed Washington his aide-de-camp. Braddock dispatched one company of colonial troops under Captain Thomas Lewis of Augusta, to the Greenbrier country to build a stockade fort and prevent Indian raids on the white settlements in that region.

The captains commanding companies in the Virginia troops, which served under Braddock in his march to the Monongahela were Waggener, Cock, Hogg, Stephens, Poulson, Pemronny, Mercer and Stuart.

Braddock with his command of about twenty-two hundred men, left Alexandria on the 20th day of April, and crossed the Monongahela River on the 9th day of July, 1755, where he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians. He was mortally wounded, and his army after sustaining fearful loss was routed and put to flight. But for the courage and bravery of Washington and his Virginians, Braddock's whole force would have been annihilated. The Colonial and British loss in this engagement was seven hundred and seventy-seven (777) killed and wounded.

This defeat spread wide alarm throughout Virginia, and aroused the people to renewed energies for the defense of the border.

It may here be noted that among the Virginians who survived this battle, and were afterwards distinguished in our annals, were Washington, Andrew and William Lewis, Matthews, Field, and Grant.

Following this disaster of Braddock and his army, devastations and inhuman murders were perpetrated by the French and Indians during the summer on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

As a result of Braddock's defeat, the whole frontier of Western Virginia was thrown open to the ravages of the Indians, who crossed the Alleghanies and pushed into Augusta, the lower Valley and New River settlements, torturing and murdering men, women and children. Such was the distress occasioned by these butcheries that Washington in one of his letters to Governor Dinwiddie says, "The supplicating tears of the women and the moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare that if I know my own mind I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that it would contribute to the people's ease."

During all the years, beginning with the year 1753 to 1763 the Indians continued their barbarities along the Virginia border. We must now turn to events transpiring in the New River valley.

Notwithstanding that Drapers Meadows settlement was far from the Ohio, and apparently safe from any probability of attack from any quarter, and although these settlers must have been aware that war was then being waged by the Indians against the whites, they took no reasonable precaution for their safety, but on Sunday, the 8th day of July, 1755, the day before Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, they permitted themselves to be surprised by a band of marauding Shawnees from North of the Ohio, who killed, wounded and

(See Johnston's book)

According to So. Car. Hist. & Gen. Mag. Vol XXVI #3 pp 137-145
(July 1925) (esp pp 144-5)

Col. Alexander Parris (1661-1736) m 1[6]__ Mary (perhaps dau of James Collins who d bef 1698 & wife Jane)

they had:

1. John Parris (16__ - 1738) m_____ Their son John Alexander Parris died as a minor.
2. Alexander Parris, Jr — See below.
3. Ann Parris ( ) m. John Davis
4. ____ Parris ( ) m. Peter Bagnton
5. Jane Pearis ( ) m. before 1724 John Dela Bere, had issue

---

2. Alexander Parris, Jr (16__ - 19 Feb 1754) m① ca 1720 Elizabeth Stangarne (1704-1738)
had I. James Parris bp 1724 m. 29 June 1742, Christ Ch. — Sarah Benison
II. John Alexander Pearis (bp 1727 - 1752) m. 25 Jan 1750 Elizabeth Collins
(They had one son, John Alexander Pearis, Jr, born after 1750.) → see JP below
III Elizabeth Parris (1727-1729) died young
Alexander had
m② Mary Cahill (m. ca 1739?)
III Mary Parris (1738 -) illegitimate (St Helen's Reg)
IV Jane Parris (June 1741 -)

Much other information on Col. Alexander Parris was gathered before the above was discovered. Col Pearis was one of the most influential of the very earliest settlers of South Carolina. Apparently he came there via Barbadoes & Bahamas was of Huguenot descent, though he settled in what became Charleston rather than in a Huguenot settlement. Parris Island was named for him.

Anyone would be proud to be descended from Col Pearis, but, from the data here, one can readily determine that he could not have been an ancestor of the Frederick Co & SW. VA Pearis family. This contradicts the Pepper Genealogy by Mrs Raya. It was not her fault - she was relying on A History of Middle New River Settlements by David E Robinson (1906) which claims in a Pearis family sketch (pages 444-448) that John Alexander Pearis, Jr (b. after 1750) (see above) had a son Robert Pearis who d. about 1781 & had dau Melinda (m. Pepper) & bro. George b. 16 Feb 1746 according to Bible record. I Xeroxed many pages of Robinson's book, valuable in parts, but his conclusions about the Pearis ancestry is impossible!

Thomas Hansen Zaiser, Jr, June 1977.

Robinson claimed that John Alexander Pearis (Col Alexander's alexander's) heir was Col. ~~Pearis~~ whose dau Melinda m. Samuel Pepper. John Alexander (2) Pearis was born after 1750 (the year his parents married. But this Robert Pearis was ~~a~~ one of the two sons of the supposed fifth John Alexander Pearis, Jr!

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324-9 Hx Scan
488 pm
495-5 1897 (1969 reprint)
535- F 272 M48
589-9 (1968)
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654-5

SC Hx Gen Reg.

1767 a great flood in the Ohio overran their towns and they moved up to Chillicothe.

Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Major Andrew Lewis, dated February 6th, 1756, and which seems to have been written but a few days before the starting of the Sandy expedition, says: "The distance by Evans' map is not two hundred miles to the upper towns of the Shawnees, however, at once begin your march." This map was made by Lewis Evans, a copy of which can be found in the Library of Congress, and the distance estimated by Governor Dinwiddie from the farther settlements to the Shawnee towns on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Scioto, was not far from correct.

Richard Pearis was a captain of militia of Augusta County and further had charge of a company of friendly Cherokee Indians. He is often referred to in the letters of Governor Dinwiddie. On page 266 of "The Dinwiddie Papers," note 161, Richard Pearis is described as an Indian trader, located on Holstein River, who acted as interpreter, and was afterwards commissioned a captain to command a company of Indians. The name is spelled in other instances, "Paris", and has respected representatives in Augusta County today. In a letter of Governor Dinwiddie's to Major Andrew Lewis, dated February 16th, 1756, he says: "I am glad the Cherokees are in so high spirits. I desire that you show proper regard and respect to the High Warrior and take care that Mr. Pearis behaves well and keeps sober."

It is undoubtedly true that Mrs. Ingles on her return from captivity in November, 1755, made known to her husband and others, the position of the Indian towns on the Ohio and of the expressed determination of the savages to destroy the white settlements along the New River valley. This led to Captain Ingles' visit to the Governor at Williamsburg to forestall the Indian plans by sending a force of troops to destroy them before they could strike a blow at the settlements.

Mrs. Ingles was not willing to remain on the New River nor even at Vaux's fort, on the Roanoke, nearby where

Shawesville now stands, but insisted that her husband should carry her to a place of greater safety for she was well aware that the Indians would repeat their visits to the settlements and that she and her friends would again be exposed to danger of death or capture.

The fears of Mrs. Ingles were well grounded, for on the very next day after the departure of herself and family from Vaux's fort, in the summer of 1756, it was attacked by the Indians, and the inmates were destroyed or captured and carried away, but two or three afterwards escaped.

The incursions made by the Indians into the frontier settlements and their depredations immediately after Braddock's defeat, led to the organization of the Sandy expedition, under the order of Governor Dinwiddie, and suggested and planned by Captain William Ingles, who accompanied the expedition. Colonel Washington sent Major Andrew Lewis from Winchester to take charge of the forces, which were to attack the Indian towns on the Ohio. Major Lewis' forces rendezvoused at Fort Prince George on the Roanoke, near where Salem, Virginia, now stands. The force consisted of about 340 men. Among the officers were Captains Peter Hogg, John Smith, William Preston, Archibald Alexander, Robert Breckinridge, Obediah Woodson, John Montgomery and ——— Dunlap, together with a company of friendly Indians under Captain Richard Pearis. The company commanded by Captain Hogg failed to attend at the appointed time, and Major Lewis after delaying a week for its arrival, marched forward, expecting to be overtaken by it.

It was important to the success of the expedition that it should not be discovered by the Indians until it was too late for them to take measures to thwart it; therefore, instead of taking the more public route by way of the Great Kanawha, Major Lewis selected the route most likely to keep his movements concealed from the enemy. While it would seem important, yet Major Lewis made no report of the expedition; if so it has not been published. Yet we are not without fairly

and to that end toward the close of the year 1779, he embarked from New York with 7,500 men, leaving Knyphausen in command of the city with a small force, for Washington had sent the bulk of his troops south, and consequently gave the enemy little trouble in the northern department. The British expedition reached Charleston near the close of January, 1780. General Benjamin Lincoln was in command of the Continental troops at Charleston and in the vicinity thereof. On May 5th, 1780, Fort Moultrie was surrendered to the British, and on the 12th of May, General Lincoln surrendered the city of Charleston and his army numbering 5,000. to be made prisoners of war. This capitulation on the part of Lincoln left the entire south virtually at the mercy of the British.

General Horatio Gates had been placed in command of the American army in the southern department and marched rapidly southward until he reached Camden, South Carolina, where on the 16th of August he met the British army under Lords Rawdon and Cornwallis, and a fierce conflict ensued, in which the American army was decisively defeated. Immediately following organized resistance in the south, American rule ended. General Gates made his way to Charlotte, North Carolina, where he was superseded by General Nathaniel Greene, one of the best officers and fighters in the American service. The march of the British army northward into North Carolina not only encouraged the loyalists in the southern part of the state but they became very much emboldened in the northern and western part of the state as well as in the upper New River region in Virginia.

In the latter part of the summer or in the early part of the autumn of 1780 there was a general tory uprising in Surry County, North Carolina, which was so formidable in its character as to alarm the friends of the American cause; who not only appealed to the American patriots in North Carolina, but in Virginia as well, for help. This was truly the crucial period in this great conflict, the American cause seeming to be at its lowest ebb. The western borders were harrassed by the Indians. The country north and east of New Jersey was practically in the hands of the British. General Arnold had betrayed the American cause and agreed to surrender West Point to the enemies of America. The great body of the American army had been decisively defeated at Camden. The tories, the friends of the King, were in high glee and everything looked as if the American cause was lost. But a brighter day was near at hand, and the tide of affairs was to turn in favor of the Americans.

Colonel Martin Armstrong, who was in command of the military district in and around Salem, North Carolina, sent his small son, Thomas T. Armstrong, then but little above twelve years of age, with an appeal for help to Major Joseph Cloyd, whose residence was on Back Creek, now in Pulaski County. To avoid suspicion, and to prevent his son from being intercepted, knowing that he had to pass the tory settlements to reach Major Cloyd, he dressed him in a full tory suit, and the manly and brave little fellow carried the message safely to Major Cloyd (this incident was related to the author by Mrs. Colonel Napoleon D. French, the grand-daughter of Colonel Martin Armstrong, and the daughter of Colonel Thomas T. Armstrong, the lad who carried the message.)

Joseph Cloyd was the Major of the Montgomery County militia of which William Preston was the Colonel and Commandant. Cloyd was directed to raise three companies of horsemen forthwith and to proceed to Surry County, North Carolina, and to aid in suppressing the tories.

Among the companies detailed for this service, was one commanded by Captain George Pearis, another by Captain Bryant, but the author has been unable to ascertain the name of the captain who commanded the remaining company. General Jethro Sumner in a letter to General Gates, dated Camp McGoon's Creek, October 4, 1780, says, "That he encloses a copy of letter of Colonel William Preston, of Botetourt, Virginia, dated the 18th day of September, 1780, stating that a body of horsemen is in that section moving against the tories on the

Yadkin." General Sumner seemed not to have been aware of the presence of the Virginia troops in that neighborhood, except through the letter of Colonel Preston, and a conversation had by him with Colonel Armstrong. In his letter General Sumner refers to the forks of the Yadkin, and to the Shallow ford thereof, and states that he suspects the latter point to be the object of the enemy. This letter also refers to a conversation in which Colonel Armstrong informs him of the approach of three troops of horsemen from Virginia. General William Smallwood, writes to General Gates, (Colonial records in Library of Congress,) from Moravian town, now Salem, under date of October 16, 1780, and states, "But upon return of my scouts last evening they informed me that the enemy had attempted to cross the Shallow ford the day before, 14th day of October, 1780, but they were attacked by Major Cloyd with one hundred and sixty of the Virginia and Carolina militia, and that fifteen of the tories were found dead and four wounded.(1) Our loss one captain killed, and four privates wounded. (Evidently the captain was Pearis, and he only wounded.)

Captain Pearis received in this battle a very severe wound in the shoulder, which disabled him for further military duty. In this battle he killed with his own sword, a man by the name of Burke, his own cousin, from whom he took his sword and this with his own sword together with his uniform with the bullet hole in the shoulder thereof, were preserved in the family until the burning of Princeton, when the same were destroyed together with the house of Mrs. Louisa A. Pearis, where they had been left for preservation. These men under Major Cloyd, were minute or emergency men, and were called out for only three months service, and returned to their homes about the first of January, 1781. Thomas Farley, who was a member of Captain Pearis' company, in his sworn application made before the County Court of Giles County in 1832, for a pension, states his enlistment was with Captain Pearis on the first of October,

(1) The tory army numbered 310 and was commanded by Colonel Gideon and Captain Hezakiah Wright.—"Draper's Heroes of King's Mountain, page 483."

1780, and gives the details of the march under Major Cloyd to the Shallow ford of the Yadkin, and of the battle there, and that his captain, Pearis, was wounded in the battle and that he nursed him after he was wounded.

Captain Henry Patton seems to have succeeded Pearis in command of the company which he led to the battle of the Shallow ford of the Yadkin.

General Cornwallis with the British was advancing into the very center of North Carolina, and he had pushed out Major Patrick Ferguson, one of his lieutenants, toward the western mountains of North Carolina, where he could rally and get together the tories of that section. Ferguson had heard of the "Over-Mountain or Backwater men" who occupied the territory on the head waters of the Holstein, Clinch and the Watauga, and he determined to bring them to terms if possible. If they would not go to him and surrender, he would march across the mountain and destroy them. Ferguson then had in his custody a prisoner by the name of Samuel Philips with whom he agreed if he would carry a message from him to Generals Seviers and Shelby, two of the leaders of the Over-Mountain men, he would release him. This message was, "that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, that he would hang their leaders, and lay their county waste with fire and sword." Philips true to his word crossed the mountains, and delivered the message entrusted to him to Shelby at King's Meadows, now Bristol, Virginia. Shelby was not a man to be alarmed by such threats, conscious that the Over-mountain or Back-water men were an equal match for Ferguson's corps. Shelby mounted his horse, and rode rapidly some forty miles to the Nollichucky in search of John Sevier, who was not at home but at Jonesboro, attending the horse races. Shelby pushed on until he found him, and it is said that they went aside, and sat down upon a log and talked over the situation fully, and determined that the better plan was to rally the Over-mountain men both in Virginia and North Carolina, cross the mountains, and destroy Ferguson and his army.

neighborhood of Captain Pearis 30 men, Sugar Run 20, Captain Moore's head of Bluestone 25, head of Clinch 25. In Washington, at Richlands 20, Castle woods 30, Rye Cove 20, Powell's Valley 30 men. The distances from Captain Pearis' to Sugar Run 10 miles, to Captain Moore's, head of Bluestone 30, to Captain Maxwell's, head of Clinch 16, which is nearest the Washington line, to Richlands 24, to Castlewood's 30, to Rye Cove 28, to Powell's Valley Fort 26 miles, in all 164 miles."

Upon the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781, the war was regarded at an end. Many of the militia men of Virginia and swarms of other people soon thereafter, came over the Alleghanies, seeking homes, and with them for the same purpose, came some of the French- and British soldiers. Vast throngs went to Kentucky. Among those who came in the years of 1782-3-4 and 5, and located in the New River Valley, and who had been soldiers in the American army, were John Peters, Christian Peters, Charles Walker, Isaac Smith and Larkin Stowers, and a little later came Josiah Meadows, Jacob Meadows, James Emmons, Charles Duncan, John Kirk, Peter Dingess and Tollison Shuemate. The Peters, Stowers, Walker, Jacob Meadows and Smith came from Rockingham County, Virginia, Peter Dingess, from Botetourt County, Josiah Meadows from Bedford, James Emmons and Charles Duncan from Stokes County, North Carolina, John and Thos. Kirk, and Tollison Shuemate from Fauquier County, Virginia. Duncan and Emmons had first removed from Fauquier County to Stokes County, North Carolina. John Peters and his brother Christian came in 1783, the former located on the New River on the farm on which Mr. Charles D. French now resides, and the latter settled on Rich Creek, where the village of Petersburg is now situated, and he gave name to that village. Chas Walker settled on New River, opposite the mouth of Wolf Creek.

Conner, Link and Lugar, who were Hessians—Germans—and who had belonged to the British army, came during one of the years referred to. John Conner was a courier or dispatch bearer for Colonel Tarleton, the British commander on the battlefield of the Cowpens, and had been sent with a message, became intoxicated on the way, failed to deliver the message, was court martialed and sentenced to receive, and did receive one hundred lashes, save one, on his bare back, lived, but fainted under the operation, though he had been heavily dosed with liquor and powder mixed. This whipping caused him to let the hated British do their own fighting thereafter, and thereupon he deserted to the Americans.

Three or four Hessian regiments were surrendered as prisoners of war by Cornwallis at Yorktown, and for safe keeping were sent into the valley of Virginia. Finding there a people who had come from their own country, spoke their own tongue and living in a goodly land, they settled down and became citizens of the country.

The influx of population of the New River Valley, came principally from four directions, viz: the Virginia valley, Piedmont, Virginia, the upper waters of the James and Roanoke Rivers or their tributaries, and from North Carolina. From the valley came the Peters, Walkers, Stowers, Smiths; from the Piedmont, Virginia, the Chapmans, Johnstons, McKensey, Lyttles, Garrisons, Kirks, Emmons, Duncans and Shuemates; from the waters of the James and Roanoke Rivers, the Clays, Baileys, Belchers, Shannons and Whites; from North Carolina, the Harmans, Wilburns, Hughes and Hagers.

It has already been stated that Captain George Pearis settled on the New River, where Pearisburg station on the line of the Norfolk & Western Railway is now situated, in the Spring of 1782. (1) He purchased a tract of land (204 acres) of Captain William Ingles for seventy pounds sterling. It is altogether probable that Mrs. Ingels had observed these lands on her way up New River in November, 1755, after her escape from the Indians, and had given information thereof to her husband, who in 1780 entered and surveyed this 204 acre tract, as well, also,

(1) George Pearis opened the first store in what is now Giles County.

Its population is steady,industrious, and as little crime is committed in the county of Monroe as any county in the state.

Adam Mann, Jacob Mann, and others as early as the year 1770, built a fort on Indian Creek, some ten miles west from the present town of Union. The Cooks, also built a fort on Indian Creek some three miles from its mouth.

This Mann family was of English origin—from Kent. They came at an early day to America, and that branch of the family, the ancestor of the present New River Valley families of that name was William, who settled in Augusta in 1778. It is a numerous family, some of them attained to prominence in the revolutionary, border and civil wars. From Mann MS. it appears, that two of this family, Thomas and William, were soldiers on the Ohio at fort Randolph shortly after the battle of Point Pleasant, and while there, on the south side of the Kanawha, appeared one Simon Girty, who gave to Thomas and William Mann the sign of distress, and urged them to cross for him as he was pursued by the Indians; yielding to his entreaties, they with others crossed the river in a canoe, and as they approached the shore a party of Indians in hiding fired upon them, killing Thomas Mann, and badly wounding William, who escaped but died in what is now Fayette County, while trying to make his way to Donnally's Fort, in Greenbrier (Mann MS.). Of this family are Isaac T. and Edwin Mann, prominent and successful business men of Mercer County. Mr. James E. Mann of this same family, a most useful, intelligent citizen, and successful financier lived for a number of years in the city of Bluefield, where his widow and children still reside. Mr. Mann died a few years ago, a highly respected and esteemed citizen.

The territory of Tazewell County as it formerly and now exists, has a history much in common with that of the Counties of Monroe, Giles and Mercer. It is not intended in this work to do more than give a general outline history of this county, for to write it in full and that of its people would within itself fill a volume. So far as can be ascertained, with anything like

accuracy, the first white man that put his foot on the soil of this county, was the man Castle hunting with the Indians in what is now known as the Castle's wood section, now in Russell County; and the second white man in the territory referred to was the hunter Clinche. These two men traversed the Clinch Valley section prior to 1749 and from the latter the river Clinch took its name, as hereinbefore related.

The next in order was Doctor Thomas Walker of Albemarle, and his companions Ambrose Powell and others, who in 1750, traversed the ridge country, a few miles north of the present town of Tazewell, passing the site of the present town of Pocahontas, and following the Water Shed dividing the waters of Bluestone, Sandy, Guyandotte, and Piney, to the New River near where the town of Hinton, in Summers County, is located.

According to Summers' History So. W. Va., Christopher Gist, agent for the Ohio Company, on his return from the Kentucky section and the Ohio River, in 1751, came through what is now the county of Wise, giving name to a river, Gist's, and a station where he camped, called Gist's Station. (1) He also passed along the Water Shed above referred to.

In the year of 1753, James Burke and stepson, Morris Griffith were in what is now known as Burke's Garden, situated in the south-eastern part of this county. Burke was one of the Draper's Meadow Settlers, who crossed the Alleghanies in 1748 and made settlement near the present town of Blacksburg in Montgomery County. His adventurous disposition and love of the forest led him to the vicinity of the spot called Burke's Garden, into which, through the gap since known as Hanshue's, he followed the Elk which he had wounded.

The evidence is not only persuasive, but may be regarded as conclusive, that Burke removed with his family from Draper's Meadows into this beautiful land in the year of 1754. He had cleared out some land, and in the spring of 1755 had planted a crop of potatoes which were found in the ground unharvested

(1). Now, Coburn, in Wise County, Virginia.

brier and Montgomery County Line to the upper end of Pine's Plantation; thence, a straight line to the mouth of Rich Creek, thence with the Montgomery and Monroe line to the intersection of Botetourt County line, and with the line of Mongomery and Botetourt to the top of Gap mountain, thence along the top of said mountain to New River, crossing the same to the end of Walker's Creek Mountain, thence along the top of said mountain to the intersection of Wythe County line, thence northwestward with said line to the intersection of Tazewell County line, and with Tazewell and Montgomery County line to the top of Wolf Creek Mountain to a path leading from Round Bottom to Harman's Mill about three miles below the mouth of the Clear fork of Wolf Creek, thence a straight line to the mouth of Militon's Fork, thence a direct line to the head of Crane Creek to the top of Flat Top Mountain, thence a direct line to the three forks of the Guyandotte, thence down said river until it intersects the Kanawha County line, thence with said line to the beginning."

There have been since the creation of the county of Giles four changes in the boundary lines thereof. The line between Giles and Monroe was altered in 1830, by running from a point on Peter's Mountain, opposite the Grey Sulpher Springs, down Rich Creek near Peterstown and to Wiley's Falls, taking from Monroe and adding to Giles this strip of territory. In 1841, by adding a small strip from the county of Mercer by running from Toney's Mill dam to Wiley's Falls. Again in 1851, on the formation of the county of Craig, by cutting off to that county a strip of the territory of Giles and, later in 1858, another strip to Craig; and likewise in 1861, by the formation of Bland County, Giles lost a very considerable strip of her territory.

The territory embraced in the now county of Giles is very mountainous, and of the most rugged character, covering at the period of its formation the New River Valley for a distance of over one hundred miles in length with a mean width of about thirty miles, embracing not only waters which flow into the New River proper, but also the head waters of the Guyandotte, which flows into the Ohio, and the headwaters of the Coal River, which flows into the Kanawha. The names of the streams in the then territory of the county and flowing into New River are as follows: Spruce Run, Sinking Creek, Doe Creek, Big Stony Creek, Little Stony Creek, and Rich Creek on the northeast side of the river, and Walker's Creek, Wolf Creek, East River, Brush Creek, Bluestone, Piney, Big and Little Coal Rivers, and some of the branches of the Guyandotte on the west and northwest side of the river. The mountain ranges—Walker's Mountain, Angel's Rest, Great Flat Top, Guyandotte, Peter's Mountain, East River Mountain, Wolf Creek Mountain, Butt Mountain, Brush Mountain, and Salt Pond Mountain.

Pursuant to the act creating the County of Giles, the first court was held on the 13th day of May, 1806, in a house adjacent to the dwelling house of Captain George Pearis (1) on New River, near where Pearisburg station is now situated. The building in which the first court was held remained standing until two or three years ago, when it was destroyed by fire.

The Governor of the Commonwealth, William H. Cabell, had issued commissions to the following named gentlemen as Justices of the Peace of the new County, viz: George Pearis, Thomas Shannon, Christian Snidow, David French, David Johnston, (2) Edward McDonald, Isaac Chapman, John Kirk, John Peck, Christopher Champ, John Burke, and James Bane. Thomas Shannon and Christian Snidow, the second and third named persons in the commission, administered the oath to George Pearis the first named, and he then administered it to the others. David Johnston produced a commission from the Governor of the Commonwealth as Sheriff of the new county, and qualified as such with Christian Snidow and Isaac Chap-

(1) The first settler where Pearisburg station is now situated and the first merchant in what is now Giles County.

(2). David and Andrew Johnston were the first merchants and opened the first tannery; Dr. John H. Rutter, the first resident physician; W. C. Charlton, first tailor.

man as his sureties, giving bond in the penalty of $7,000, and James Hoge qualified as his Deputy. David French was elected clerk, and at his request the court apointed John McTaylor as his deputy. Captain George Pearis was elected presiding Justice, and also commissioner of the revenue. Philip Lybrook was appointed county surveyor, and afterwards gave bond in the penalty of $3,000 with John Lybrook and David French as his sureties.

Henley Chapman produced a license authorizing him to practice law in the courts of the Commonwealth, and on his motion was admitted to practice in the courts of the County. The second term of the court convened on the 10th day of June, 1806, at which term the first Grand Jury for the county was impaneled and was composed of the following named gentlemen: William Smith, foreman, Matthew French, John Peters, Charles Walker, Joseph Hare, Thomas Clyburn, Adam Johnston, William Wilburn, William Brown, John Chapman, William Tracy, David Summers, William Law, John Sartin, Edward Hale and Robert Clendenin.

Two indictments were found by the jury at this term, to wit: one against Peter Dingess for retailing spiritual liquors, and one against William Stowers, for entering the whiskey house of John Toney without leave and making use of his liquors. George Pearis and John Toney were each granted a license to keep an Ordinary at their respective houses, they having given the required bonds. Thomas Lewis, an attorney-at-law, and who was afterwards, in 1816, near Christianburg, Va., killed in a duel with McHenry, was admitted to practice in the courts of the County. The following named persons were appointed constables for said County, viz: John Hale, Charles Stuart, Henry Clay, Jacob McPherson, Edward Lewis, Reuben Johnston, Noah Mullet and Delaney Sweeney, and Christian Snidow and Isaac Chapman were recommended to the governor as being qualified to discharge the duties of the office of Coroner.

It was ordered that the next term of the court be held in the house to be erected by James Aldridge on one of the public lots.

Captain George Pearis donated fifty three acres of land to the County on which to erect its public buildings, and a town was established on this land, called Pearisburg in honor of Captain Pearis. Andrew Johnston agreeing to survey and lay off the town lots and public square for the consideration of $31.00, was appointed to do so. The first petit jury impaneled in the County consisted of Patrick Napier, John Peters, Joseph Jackson, Isaac Jackson, William Clay, Colby Stowers, William Pepper, Nimrod Smith, Henry Dillion, Charles Clay, Philip Peters, and Larkin Stowers. The second Grand Jury consisted of the following named persons, viz: Thomas Burke, foreman, John Peters Theodore Hilvey, Charles Walker, James French, John Martin, William Caldwell, William Wilburn, Thomas Clyburn, John French, John Sartin, John Lybrook, Thomas Farley, Reuben Johnston, James Johnston, Adam Taylor, and Michael Williams.

On these early records of Giles County appear the names of Chapman, Johnston, Oney, Givens, Price, Farley, Straley, (1.) Hare, Lybrook, Burke, Copley, McKensey, Garrison, Gore, Solesbury, Roberts, Harman, Mustard, McDonald, Fry, French, Miller, Clay, Cooke, Eaton, Munsey, Canterbury, Mullens, Burgess, Maupin, Jones, Hall, Emmons, Little, Spangler, Clyburn, Blankenship, Snodgrass, Atkins, Bogle, Conley, Rowe, Epling, Cecil, Tracy, Sarver, Marrs, King, Smith, Bowling, Hager, Lester, Meadows, Albert, Scott, Ford, White, Bane, Shannon, McClaugherty, Watts, Pearis, Sweeny, Snidow, Toney, Napier, McComas, Burton, and Rowland, the latter named family from Philadelphia, Pa.

Before giving further history of the County notice will be be taken of some interesting matters appearing on the old court record of Fincastle and Montgomery Counties. Among the numerous orders of the County Court ordering parties sus-

(1) David Straley and John Fillinger first blacksmiths.

THE HOGES.

In addition to other sources of information, we gather from "Foot's Sketches of Virginia," and from a pamphlet entitled "Historical and Genealogical of the Cumberland Valley, Pa.," by William H. Egle, M. D., M. A., the following particulars in regard to the early history of the Hoge family.

William Hoge, the first representative of this family, distinguished in church and state, came to America in 1682; was the son of James Hoge, of Scotland, who lived in Musselburg, near Glasgow. On board the Caladonia, the vessel that brought him over, there was a family named Hume, consisting of father, mother, and daughter; they were Presbyterians, leaving Scotland to avoid persecution. The Humes were from Paisley, Scotland, and the father was a Knight and a Baron; both father and mother died during the voyage to America, leaving their daughter, Barbara, in charge of young William Hoge, who placed her with her relations, the Johnstons, in the city of New York, whilst he decided to make his home at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, on land owned by a Scotch company, at the head of which was Governor Berkeley, and of which he was a member. Subsequently William Hoge returned to New York, married the girl Barbara Hume, who had been his protege, and from this rather romantic marriage a long line of distinguished men and women have written their names on history's page. After the birth of their first son, John, William and his young wife made their home for some time in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and John, when grown, married Miss ..... Bowen, a Welch woman, and settled about nine miles west of Harrisburg and laid out the little village of Hogestown. From this marriage sprang a long line of descendants who have fitly adorned the history of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other western states, many of our country's most distinguished men being numbered among them, but the line is too long to trace these descendants, but rather of the father and remainder of the children, all of whom came to Virginia about the time John was establishing the little village of Hogestown.

The children that came with William Hoge to Virginia, in 1735, were as follows: Solomon, James, William, Alexander, George, Zebulon, and Nancy, making their home about three miles from Winchester, in Frederick County. In the old graveyard of old Opequon Church—the deed for the land on which the church stands was made by William Hoge on February 14th, 1745—is buried William Hoge and Barbara, his wife, and many of their descendants. The first Pastor of this church was Rev. John Hoge, grandson of William, and son of John, his eldest son, who had remained in Pennsylvania. Solomon married a Quakeress and was the progenitor of that vast family of Hoges in Loudon and other lower Valley and Piedmont counties. Alexander was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia that adopted the Federal Constitution, and was a member of the first Congress.

James, the third son, of the descendants of whom this narrative will especially treat, and who has been said by one in writing of him, to be a "man eminent for his clear understanding, devout fear of God, and the love of the Gospel of Christ," was married twice; the name of the first wife was Agnes, the second Mary, their maiden names unknown; the records of Frederick County show that he and his wife Agnes join in a deed in 1748, and that he and his wife Mary in a deed in 1758. He and his wives are buried in old Opequon graveyard, he having died June 2nd, 1795. His first wife, Agnes, gave him two sons, John and James, and a daughter, who was the mother of General Robert Evans, founder of Evansville, Indiana, and of Mattie Evans, one of the captives of Abb's Valley. John, the eldest son, becoming dissatisfied with his father's marriage, left home and was never definitely heard from afterward, though he was supposed to have been killed in Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela.

The younger brother, James, left home a few years afterwards to search for his brother John, but after reaching what is now Pulaski County, Virginia, gave up the search, and stopped with a new found friend, Major Joseph Howe, a gentleman of English descent, who had several years previous found a home in the then mountain wilds. After staying with him a short while young James Hoge married his daughter, Elizabeth, in 1763, and they made their home near the father-in-law, and this is the old southwestern Virginia Hoge homestead, now owned by the late Governor James Hoge Tyler, a great-grandson of the founder. James Hoge was born January 12th, 1742, and died April 5th, 1812, seventeen years after the death of his father, and is buried in the old Hoge burying ground. James Hoge and Elizabeth Howe Hoge, his wife, had five sons and six daughters: Joseph, John, Agnes, Martha, General James, Sarah, Elizabeth, Mary, Daniel, and William; of the sons General James was a man of most marked characteristics, and attained very eminent distinction. He was a distinguished officer in the war of 1812; served his county and district in the Senate and House of Delegates several terms; was five times Presidential Elector for his district on the Democratic ticket. He was born July 23rd, 1783, and died July 28th, 1861; is buried by the side of his wife, Eleanor Howe Hoge, in the old Howe burying ground. His wife was his first cousin.

Joseph Hoge, the eldest brother, removed to Tennessee, and left a large number of descendants in that and other states. John and William both lived and died in Pulaski, Virginia, and are numerously represented in that and adjoining counties. Daniel lived and died in Wise County, Virginia; he has descendants in southwest Virginia and some in the South; his sons were James, Stafford and Dr. John H.

To briefly revert to the elder James Hoge, grandfather of General James and son of William Hoge and Barbara Hume, will state that by his second marriage there was several sons and perhaps daughters; the names of three of the sons were, Solomon, Edward and Moses, the latter a distinguished minister, was president of Hampden Sidney College and professor in Union Theological Seminary. He died in 1820, July 5th; is buried in the church yard of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. He was the grandfather of the eminent Divine,

Rev. Moses D. Hoge, of Richmond, Virginia, whose reputation is worldwide, and of the late William J. Hoge, D. D. Their father was Rev. Samuel Davies Hoge, who was brother to Rev. James Hoge, D. D,. late of Columbus, Ohio, and Rev. John Blair Hoge, father of Judge John Blair Hoge, of West Virginia.

THE HOWES.

There are difficulties in the way of tracing back this family to its English origin. Tradition has to be largely relied upon, and this, as presented by different branches of the family, differs as to the first of the family that crossed the Atlantic, and as to the place of first settlement. One statement is that a Joseph How, belonging to a family of that name long domiciled in the state of Massachusetts, enlisted and served as a soldier in the French and Indian war, in which he was supposed to have been lost, but was afterwards found in the New River Valley, where later he added the letter "e" to the name, the original spelling of the name being How, afterwards Howe. How much of this statement is correct cannot be determined. The author has chosen to follow copies of the "Howe MSS.," furnished him by Honorable J. Hoge Tyler, late Governor of Virginia, who is a direct descendant of the Joseph Howe, a sketch of whose family here follows:

The Howe family, not unlike the Hoge family, with which it is so nearly related, also commences with a little romantic episode in the lives of the first American representatives. Joseph Howe, an English gentleman, first cousin of Lord Howe and General Wayne of Revolutionary fame, came to America in 1737. On board the vessel that brought him over was a beautiful and captivating girl by the name of Eleanor Dunbar; the two young people fell in love with each other on the voyage and married soon after landing and settled near Boston, Mass., from which point they drifted southward and finally settled in the rugged regions of southwestern Virginia when the country was quite a trackless wilderness. They made their home

on Back Creek, as nearly as can be established, in 1757 or 1758, and this old homestead, the scene of many pleasant revelries and charming reunions, is still in possession of one of the representatives of the family, Mrs. Agnes Howe DeJarnette, a great-granddaughter of its founder. Joseph Howe had three sons, Joseph, John and Daniel; of Joseph there is nothing known, he having left home in early life; John seems to have left no family.

Daniel was an officer in the Revolutionary war, was a man of strong mind and high character. He married Nancy Haven and had three sons, Joseph H., John Dunbar, and William H.; and seven daughters, Ruth, Julia, Eleanor, Elizabeth, Lucretia, Nancy and Luemma. Joseph married Margaret Feely; John D. married Sarah Sheppard; William married Mary Fisher; Ruth married Thomas Kirk, and removed to Missouri; Julia married Zecharia Cecil; Eleanor married General James Hoge; Elizabeth married Colonel George Neeley Pearis; Lucretia married Colonel William Thomas; Nancy married Honorable Harvey Deskins, and Luemma married Dr. Jackson.

The children of Joseph Howe and Margaret Feely were Eleanor, who married Reuben Sawers; Lucretia, who married Colonel William J. Jordan; Eliza, who married ..... Wassam; Brown, who married William G. Farris; Ollie, who married D. P. Watson; Sue, who never married.

The children of John Dunbar Howe and Sarah, his wife, are as follows: Margaret, who married George Shannon; Susan, who married J. M. Thomas; Eliza Jane, who married Charles J. Matthews; Ellen Mary, who married J. G. Kent; John T., who married Sallie DeJarnette; Samuel S., who died a prisoner of war at Point Lookout; Haven B., who married Kate Cloyd; Willie, who died in infancy, and Agnes, who married Captain E. G. DeJarnette and lived at the old place.

The children of William H. Howe and Mary Fisher Howe are: Belle, who married Dr. Charles Pepper; Lizzie, who married W. W. Minor; William G., who married Alice Brown, Augusta, who married Dr. Hufford; Sallie, who married Mr.

Harmon; Alice, who married Charles Bumgardner; Ellie, who is unmarried. A daughter of Thomas Kirk and Ruth, his wife, married a Mr. Peery.

The children of Julia Howe, who married Zecharia Cecil, are: Russell, Giles, Daniel R., Zecharia and Nancy. The children of Eleanor, who married General James Hoge, are: Daniel, James, Joseph H., William; and Eliza, who married George Tyler, of Caroline, the father of Governor J. Hoge Tyler. The names of the children of Elizabeth, who married Colonel George N. Pearis, are as follows: George W. Pearis, Daniel H. Pearis, Nancy, who married Archer Edgar; Rebecca, who married George D. Hoge; Ardelia, who married Daniel R. Cecil; and Elizabeth, who married Benjamine White. The children of Lucretia, who married William Thomas, were Giles, William, Mary Anne and Julia. Nancy, who married Harvey Deskins, had no children. The children of Luemma, who married Dr. Jackson, are: Mollie, Sue, and Luemma.

John Howe, son of the first Joseph and his wife Eleanor Dunbar Howe, was an active business man, engaged largely in the acquisition of wild land by survey and grant in the early years of the settlements along the tributaries of New River, in what is now Giles County, Virginia, and Mercer County, West Virginia. He made a survey and obtained a grant for a tract of four hundred acres of land on Brush Creek, near where the village of Princeton is now located.

Major Daniel Howe, an officer in our war for independence, was often on detached service in search of Tories. The story is told that one John Haven, of Plum Creek, was suspected of being a Tory, and that Major Howe was sent on more than one occasion to arrest Haven, but was unable to do so, and that finally a pretty, blackeyed daughter of Haven, whose name was Nancy, caught the Major and she became his wife, as already stated.

CAPT. GEO. W. PEARIS

Grandson of Col. Geo. Pearis, the Settler.

THE PEARIS FAMILY.

The ancestors of this family were Huguenots, who fled from France, stopping temporarily in Barbadoes, thence about 1710, to South Carolina, locating on an island about five miles from Port Royal, to which they gave the name "Paris Island." This name is sometimes spelled "Pearris," again "Paris," and "Pearis"; the modern spelling being Pearis. The settler was Alexander Pearis (Parris), who became quite a distinguished man in the early days of the history of South Carolina. Opposite this page is the photograph of the late Captain George W.

Pearis, a grandson of the New River settler, Colonel George Pearis.

Judge McCrady, in his History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719, gives considerable prominence to Colonel Alexander Pearis, whom he shows to have been Commissioner of Free Schools, Commissioner for Building Churches, Member of House of Commons, of which Colonel Wm. Rhett was Speaker; as a military officer and one of the judges to try pirates, and as commander of militia in the Revolution of 1719. Colonel Alexander Pearis had a son, Alexander, who made some conveyance of property in 1722-26. Alexander Pearis, Jr., had a son, John Alexander, who likewise had a son, John Alexander, as shown by his will probated August, 1752. The last mentioned John Alexander had a son, Robert, who spelled his name as did his father, John Alexander "Pearis." This Robert Pearis died about 1781; he had a daughter, Malinda, who married Samuel Pepper, who removed to the New River Valley prior to 1770, and located at the place where, about 1780, he established a ferry, and which place has since been known as Peppers. His two brothers-in-law, George and Robert Alexander Pearis, sons of the preceding Robert, came, with him, or about the same time. At the date of the coming of Pepper and the Pearises, in fact, before that date, there lived in the neighborhood where Pepper located, a gentleman by the name of Joseph Howe, who had some pretty daughters, and it did not take long for these young Huguenots to fall in love with these girls, at least with two of them. An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born February 16th, 1746, and was married to Eleanor Howe February 26th, 1771. Robert Alexander Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe, and about 1790 removed with his family to Kentucky and settled in what is now Bourbon County, and from whom it is said the town of Paris, in that county, is named. He had a son who in the early history of that state was a member of its Legislature. George Pearis remained in

the vicinity of Pepper's Ferry until the spring of 1782; prior to this time he had been made a Captain of one of the militia companies of the County of Montgomery.

On the advance of the British army into the Carolinas, in the fall of 1780, there was a Tory uprising in Surry County, North Carolina, of such formidable proportion as to impel General Martin Armstrong, comanding that military district, to call on Major Joseph Cloyd, of the Montgomery County militia, to aid in its suppression. About the 1st day of October, 1780, Major Cloyd with three companies of mounted men, one of which was commanded by Captain George Pearis, marched to the State of North Carolina, where he was joined by some of the militia of that state, augmenting his force to about 160 men, with which he, on the 14th day of the month, attacked the Tories at Shallow Ford of the Yadkin, defeating them with a loss of fifteen killed and a number wounded; Major Cloyd had one killed and a few wounded, among them Captain Pearis, severely, through the shoulder. This fight cleared the way for the crossing of General Green's army at this ford, which the Tories were seeking to obstruct. Captain Pearis returned home wounded, and in addition to his suffering from his wound had the misfortune to lose his wife by death in a few days after his return, she dying on November 14th. Captain Pearis' wound disabled him from performing further military service, and having purchased from Captain William Ingles, about the year of 1779, for seventy pounds sterling (about $350.00), the tract of 204 acres of land on New River—whereon is now situated Pearisburg station on the line of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and which land was known for years as the Hale and Charleton tracts—he, in the spring of 1782, removed thereto, erecting his dwelling house at a point nearly due south of the residence of Mr. Edward C. Hale, and a little to the southeast of where the road from Mr. Hale's house unites with the turnpike. Two or three years after Captain Pearis made his location, he had a ferry established across the New River, and kept a small stock of goods, and later kept public entertainment.

On October 5th, 1784, he married Rebecca Clay, daughter of Mitchell Clay. The children of Colonel George Pearis and his wife, Rebecca Clay Pearis, were: George N., Robert Alexander, Samuel Pepper, Charles Lewis; their daughters, Rebecca, Julia, Rhoda, Sallie and Eleanor.

Colonel George N. Pearis married Elizabeth Howe, daughter of Major Daniel Howe; Robert Alexander Pearis married Miss Arbuckle, of Greenbrier County; Samuel Pepper Pearis married Rebecca Chapman, daughter of Isaac and Elian Johnston Chapman; Charles Lewis Pearis married Margaret Peck, daughter of John and Elizabeth Snidow Peck; Rebecca married John Brown, they went to Texas about 1836, leaving a son, George Pearis Brown, who lived for a number of years in Mercer County; Julia married Colonel Garland Gerald; Rhoda married Colonel John B. George; Sallie married Baldwin L. Sisson, and Eleanor married Captain Thomas J. George.

The children of Colonel George N. Pearis and his wife, Elizabeth Howe Pearis, were: Captain George W., who never married, died in 1898 at the age of nearly eighty-nine years; Colonel Daniel Howe, who married Louisa A. Johnston; Rebecca, who married George D. Hoge; Nancy, who married Archer Edgar; Ardelia, who married Daniel R. Cecil, and Elizabeth, who married Benjamin White. Robert Alexander Pearis and his wife had no children, and after the death of said Robert Alexander, his widow married Colonel McClung.

The children of Colonel Garland Gerald and Julia Pearis Gerald, his wife, were: Sons, Thomas, Robert, Pearis, Garland T.; a daughter, Rebecca, married Dr. Edwin Grant; Louisa married James M. Cunningham; Mary married .....; Fannie married a Mr. Yost; Virginia died in Texas, unmarried; Ophelia, married .....

The children of Colonel John B. George and Rhoda Pearis George were: George Pearis George, who married Sarah A. Davidson; Jane, who married Judge Sterling F. Watts. The names of the children of Captain Thomas J. George and wife are as follows, viz: A. P. G. George, W. W. George, Robert,

and John; the daughters, Larissa, who married Jacob A. Peck; Matilda, who married a Mr. Austin, and Rebecca, who married George W. Jarrell.

Charles Lewis Pearis and his wife, Margaret Peck Pearis, had but one child, a daughter, Electra, who married Dr. Charles W. Pearis, and they had no children.

As already stated, John Brown and family went to Texas prior to 1836; some of his older sons were soldiers in the Texan army. Brown settled in that part of the state that became Collin County. George Pearis Brown, the son of John, remained in Virginia; he married a Miss Mahood, a sister of the late Judge Alexander Mahood, and he and his wife left numerous descendants, among them the wife of Mr. Robert Sanders, the wife of Edward A. Oney, the wife of M. W. Winfree, a son, Cornelius, who was killed on the retreat of the Confederates from the battlefield at Clark's house, May 1st, 1862.

The elder Colonel George Pearis, the settler, was long a magistrate of Montgomery and Giles Counties, and sat in the courts of both counties, and was for a term the Presiding Magistrate of the latter county. The first court of the County of Giles was held in a house belonging to him, and the land for the county buildings and town was given by him and the town of Pearisburg took its name from him. He died on November 4th, 1810, and his ashes repose in the burying ground on the farm on which he died, on the little hill just southwest of Pearisburg station. His widow married Philip Peters and she died April 15th, 1844.

MRS. LEOTA MYRTLE COLVERT CRUM. 128901

Capt.
George Pearis (b 1746-1146-4 Nov 1810) m① 26 Jan 1771
Eleanor Howe
m② 5 Oct 1784 Rebecca Clay

Capt. Pearis was a "minute man" - (3 mos. service)
led 30 man under Captain Wm. Preston (Co of Co)
and Major Joseph Cloyd (Back Creek Rebels Co)

Wounded 14 Oct 1780 at Shallow Ford of Yadkin - Surry Co NC - battle against Tories.
He was shot in the right shoulder & rendered
incapacitated for rest of war after having killed
his own cousin, a Tory now Buried with
his sword. Replaced by Capt Henry Pettow.
A few days after his return home could his first
wife, Eleanor Howe, died (4 Nov 1783)

MRS. MAUDE PORTER RHUDY. 128905

Born in Wythe County, Va.
Wife of Walter W. Rhudy.
Descendant of Capt. George Pearis, as follows:

1. Andrew L. Porter (1847-1914) m. 1876 Sallie Watts (b. 1855).
2. Sterling F. Watts (1820-91) m. 1845 Jane George (1821-82).
3. John B. George (1795-1854) m. 1820 Rhoda Pearis (1804-81).
4. George Pearis m. 2d 1784 Rebecca Clay (1768-1844).

George Pearis (1746-1810) commanded a company of Virginia militia at the battle of the Shallow Ford, 1780. He was born in South Carolina, died in Pearisburg, Va.* (see below)
Also No. 60155.

(was he Geo 3rd?)

MISS LYDIA ANN WILLIAMS. 128906

Born in Putnam County, Ind.
Descendant of Capt. Daniel Dewey, as follows:

1. Worthington A. Williams (b. 1849) m. 1876 Mary Ella Ingram (b. 1848).
2. Worthington B. Williams (1815-91) m. 1837 Lydia Ann Reed (1823-87).
3. Josiah Williams (1783-1864) m. 1807 Martha Loomis (1784-1851).
4. John Williams m. Tryphena Dewey (1755-1813).
5. Daniel Dewey m. 1753 Temperance Baily (1731-95).

Daniel Dewey (1731-1816) commanded a company, 1775, from Lebanon for the relief of Boston. He served in the Rhode Island campaign under Gen. Joseph Spencer. He was born and died in Lebanon, Conn.
Also No. 89064.

MISS MINNIE ELLA WILLIAMS. 128907

Born in Putnam County, Ind.
Descendant of Capt. Daniel Dewey, as follows:

1. Worthington A. Williams (b. 1849) m. 1876 Mary Ella Ingram (b. 1848).

See No. 128906.

MRS. DONNA BLANCHE SILVER BRITTON. 128908

Born in Pendleton, Ind.
Wife of Lewis Britton.
Descendant of Capt. George Robinson and of Capt. Jonathan Robinson, as follows:

1. William Gregg Silver (b. 1853) m. 1876 Elizabeth Clark (b. 1857).
2. James R. Silver (1827-1912) m. 1851 Amanda E. Silver (1833-1915).
3. William Silver (1803-89) m. 1826 Ann Wiley Robinson (b. 1806) (parents of James).
4. John S. Robinson (1766-1843) m. 1796 Mary Robinson (1774-1843).

* Giles Co - W VA border

Honor to be your Exce[llencies] most Obed[t] most Humble [Servant]

DANIEL BRO[DHEAD] Col° 8th P[a] [Reg[t]]

HIS EXCELL[Y] GEN[L] WASHINGTON.

SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA FRONTIER ATTACKED

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 3ZZ18. A. L. S.]

Sunday night April 4th 1779

DEAR SIR:

Two Men were killed last Tuesday at the Clover Bottom on Blue Stone about 45 Miles from here; and yesterday one Hale was wounded near Muncy's fort on Walkers Creek about 18 Miles from this Place.[1] These Accounts I rec[d] by Express. I have just now heard that, a little before Hale was wounded, the Indians killed six persons of John Bradlys Family, whose house was in sight of Hale when he was fired on. Hale was followed a considerable Distance by four Indians and with great Difficulty he got to one Shannons[2] covered with Blood, passing his house above two miles, which gives me reason to doubt that his Family are also destroyed; but of this I have had no Account.

On the first Alarm I ordered out a Party of Men, but I hear the officer did not get half the number I directed. Cap[t] Cloyd is out, but has no men, by whom I expect a full account of the Damage done in that Neighbourhood by to morrow Morning. Two Scouts have been down the River since the 26 ult. from whom there is no Intiligence; they are expected to return, if alive, in two or three Days from this Time.

I have countermanded the Orders for a general Muster in this County, which was to have been held next Wednesday; and I made free to recommend it to Cap[t] William Robinson on the N°

[1] For the streams mentioned see *Dunmore's War*, 56, note 96. The Clover Bottom on Bluestone River was settled by Mitchell Clay in 1775. It is located about five miles north of Princeton, Mercer County, W. Va. One of Clay's family was killed at this time. Munsey's (Muncy) Fort on Walker's Creek was the home of Zechariah Munsey who was an ancestor of a family of well-known Virginia Methodists.

[2] For the families of Hale and Shannon on New River see David E. Johnston, *History of Middle New River Settlements* (Huntington, W. Va., 1906), *passim*.

Fork, not to call his Company down on this Occasion lest that settlement might thereby be too much exposed to Danger in the Absence of the Men. Indeed I believe the News would have prevented their going at any rate.

The People on Sinking Creek and down the river are gathered to different places, & I suppose they will do the same in this Neighbourhood to morrow. I am doubtful that Pearis's fort[1] on the River and Munseys on Walkers Creek will be evacuated. Were it even possible to raise a Company it is impossible to procure Provisions for their support. The whole Country is alarmed. Should the People remove it will ruin them, & to stay is dangerous. I am at a great loss what to do for the best. I have been advised to appoint an Officer at each post & put the Inhabitants under Pay & agree with them for their Rations. I confess I never liked this method of Defending the Frontiers, as it does by no means strengthen the Garrisons, & what measure to adopt at this Juncture I do not know. I will be much obliged to you for your Opinion herein. The situation of my own Family is far from being agreeable. Indeed it is such that I believe the greatest Enemy I have, even on Holston, will not Envy.

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[*Addressed:*] To Col° William Fleming, P W. Breckenridge.[2]

[Col. William Preston to Capt. William Robinson. 3ZZ17. Contemporary transcript.]

April 4th 1779

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[2] William Breckinridge was a nephew of Colonel Preston, being the son of his sister, Letitia, and Col. Robert Breckinridge. The younger Breckinridge went to Kentucky as a surveyor prior to the year 1780 and settled in Fayette County, where he made his home. He married in Augusta County, and one son, John Boys Breckinridge, was a merchant at Staunton.

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only the name of his last wife, Barbara, is known (Darst, *Darst Family*, pp. 368, 369; Pension W4087, National Archives).

In 1782 Henry took up 275 acres of land by survey, which mentions a spring, and it was on this tract that he made his home. In 1785 he added three more tracts, one on the north side for 39 acres, one on the west side for 75 acres, and 200 more adjoining. Henry, Sr. died about 1798, but there is no will or settlement of his estate recorded except those deeds which dispose of his lands. The heirs listed in 1804 in several deeds are as follows: John Trollinger, John Server and wife Margaret, John Hufman and wife Mary, Henry Trollinger, William McCoy; John, Joseph, and Frederick Baron (Beason? Bearon?), Mary Trollinger, Phebe Trollinger, and John Linkous and wife Elizabeth. These heirs sold their interest in the lands of Henry Trollinger deceased to John Trollinger who took over at the homeplace. At one time it was believed that Mary Trollinger married first Adam Wall and second John Huffman, but this is not the case. There appears to be two Mary Trollingers, the one married to Huffman, the other single at the time these deeds were written. *See also* Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, I, p. 279. William McCoy mentioned above married Barbara Trollinger in 1796, and Phebe Trollinger married Philip Martin, Jr. in 1807 (Montgomery County Survey Books A, p. 257; D, pp. 106, 107, 120; Montgomery County Deed Book D, pp. 454, 455, 456, 458, 459; Montgomery County Marriages).

Henry Trollinger, Jr. son of Henry, Sr., was born in 1762 in Orange County, North Carolina. He moved to what is now Pulaski County about 1776, and assisted his father in the manufacture of gunpowder from that time until 1799 when he was drafted for a three month tour of duty under the command of Captain Abraham Trigg, with Joseph Cloyd as major. He was required to find his own gun, horse, and ammunition. There was another company in the detachment under the command of Captain Parriss (Pearis?). Trollinger in his pension statement noted that Montgomery County was then a frontier county in mountainous country in the western part of Virginia. He marched through the mountainous country in a southwest direction for some time and joined Colonel Campbell who had a small number of mounted militia with him. Campbell took command of the whole, "being about 400 strong," and marched through the western part of North Carolina. He continued to the Moravian Towns where their headquarters were established, making excursions from that point against the Tories, "some of whom they whipped and others they hanged." From the Moravian Towns they marched westward towards Morgantown where they left Colonel Campbell's command, and Trollinger and his detachment marched home, where he was discharged about the last week of October (Pension W4087, National Archives).

Henry Trollinger, Jr. resumed his business of manufacturing gunpowder for the army until the following spring, when he was again called to serve in April 1780. This time the action was against the Indians who were then doing much injury on the frontier. He marched under the command of Captain George Parriss to a fort near New River about one days march from his residence. Captain Parriss lived at the fort where a considerable number of settlers had taken refuge. The service with ten others was to guard the fort, and to keep watch for the enemy around and about the plantations while the hands were cultivating the crops. After the crops were sufficiently cultivated Captain Parriss discharged the party in early July, the tour lasting a little more than three months, and the duty performed entirely on foot.

Trollinger had only been home a few days from this tour when he was called into service again under Captain Abraham Trigg. The troops at this time were to act against the British and the Tories. The place of rendezvous was at the Lead Mines in present Wythe County. Two companies on foot under Captains Parriss and Trigg consisting of nearly 200 men performed a most fatiguing march up the New River nearly to its source, through the most rugged and mountainous country with the purpose of joining the residue of the regiment commanded by Colonel Campbell but they were unable to effect a junction before the Battle of Kings Mountain. They were ordered to intercept a

Re: Capt George Parris (1746-1810)

force supposed to be nearly 400 strong of British and Tories, whom they met not far from the Yadkin River on what was called the Shallow Ford Road. They met unexpectedly, and hastily formed, with the odds in numbers much against them, but they did have, as Trollinger put it, some "as perfect marksmen as any perhaps in the world." The commander of the enemy was immediately killed, five rifle balls having passed through him and his horse. The enemy fell back and formed again, but after several rounds they fled, leaving sixteen dead on the ground and ten or twelve badly wounded. The colonial troop had only one killed and five wounded. The sword of the slain commander was a valuable one and was given to Captain Parriss, he being considered the best marksman in the detachment and also having received a wound. The company continued to range chastising the Tories, and then returned home, being discharged sometime in November. Trollinger again resumed the business of making gunpowder, but at this time sustained considerable loss because he had been paid in Continental money which turned out to be of little or no value (Pension W4087, National Archives).

In the spring of 1782 Henry Trollinger, Jr. returned to Orange County, North Carolina, where he continued to reside until his death. In March 1789 he married Mary Thomas, daughter of Griffith Thomas. They had eight children, all of whom remained in North Carolina (Darst, *Darst Family*, p. 369).

For his service in the American Revolution, Henry was placed on the pension roll at the rate of $30 per annum. He died in 1844, and in 1848 his widow was placed on the pension roll at the same rate (Pension W4087, National Archives).

John Trollinger (1771-1840), son of Henry Trollinger, Sr., inherited all his father's lands around Dublin. In 1792 he married Elizabeth Burris, daughter of William Burris. In 1806 John Trollinger purchased 306 acres from Christopher Trinkle, in 1809, 45 acres from James McLaughlin, being part of 167 acres formerly the property of John Alford, and in 1805 he purchased from John Patton 140 acres part of 280 surveyed for John Smith in 1796. In 1825 he added 108 acres, part of 167 formerly John Alford's, from Samuel and Elizabeth Robinson. All these purchases were in the vicinity of Dublin (Montgomery County Deed Books D, pp. 258, 321, 654; IJ, p. 191; Darst, *Darst Family*, pp. 369-370).

In 1819 John Trollinger purchased three tracts of land formerly the property of Adam Wall II. The land included half of the grant made to Adam Wall I in 1752 which had been willed to Adam Wall II, on the south side of the New River joining and below the mouth of Stroubles Creek. The second tract was 200 acres granted Adam Wall II in 1793, and the third tract was 340 acres on the same creek granted Adam Wall II in 1800 and known as the Coffee Pot survey. These lands were on the east side of New River below Price's Fork (Montgomery County Deed Book G, p. 489).

John Trollinger built the family home east of present Dublin, and it was rebuilt in the year 1886. His homeplace contained about 450 acres at the time of his death. He wrote his will in September 1832 and it was recorded in Pulaski County in 1840, being the first will recorded in that new county (Pulaski County Will Book 1, p. 1).

To his wife Elizabeth, John left one-third of all lands and all personal estate. To his son Henry he left his lands on New River, being several different surveys in all about 600 acres, but with a reservation for his half-sister Elizabeth Linkous who was to have the Coffee Pot survey for her lifetime, or "as long as she resides on it." John made the stipulation that sister Elizabeth could only transfer the title to Henry Trollinger or his heirs, and this was done in 1835 (Montgomery County Deed Book M, p. 87).

To his son John, Jr., John gave all the lands known as the homeplace being about 450 acres. John noted that he had sold to Martin Elliott the place where Elliott was living, and that if no deed had been made before his death then one was to be made after. The balance of the estate was to be divided among the daughters, Sally Trinkle, Polly Elliott, Elizabeth Jordan, Phoebe Shufflebarger, and Eliza Trollinger. Sons Henry and John were to act as executors with Michael Jordan, his son-in-law (Pulaski County Will Book 1, p. 1).

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TETER FAMILY

Note: Using this sketch, one can project the probable route of the road from Jost Hite's Mill to Ashby's ford on the Shenandoah. One might assume that only land-owners who expected to benefit would have signed the petition.

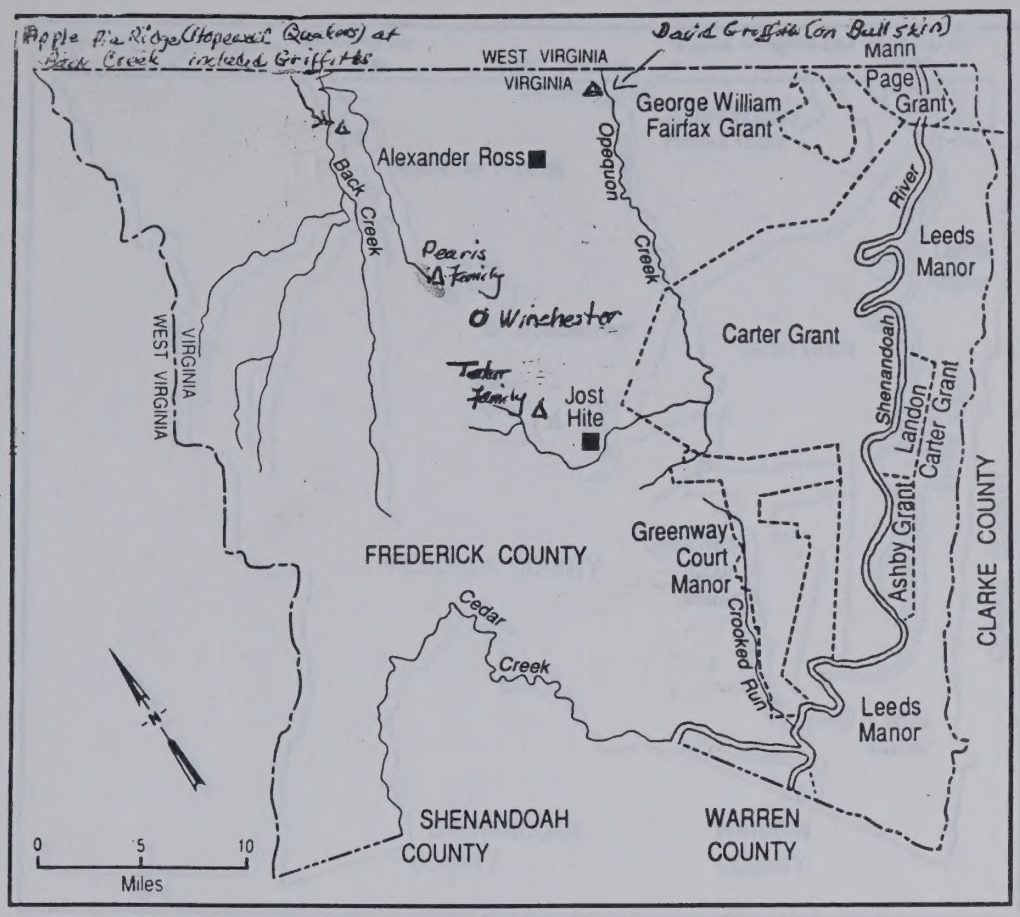
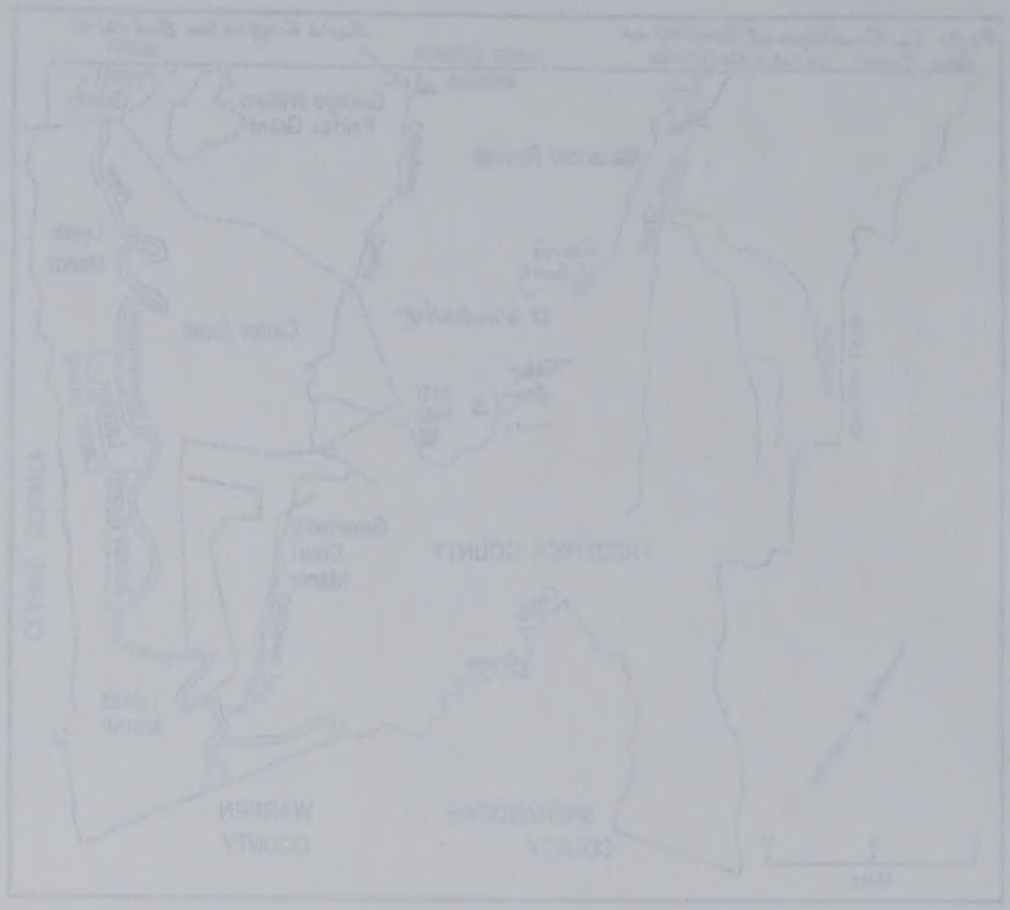


Figure 7.1. Early Land Grants, Frederick County, Virginia

Virginia Council for land in the area. On 17 June 1730, they obtained the rights to distribute forty thousand acres but sold them the next year to Hite and his partners. By this time Hite already held orders of his own for a hundred thousand acres. Hite, a native of Bonfeld in Baden-Wurtemberg, had immigrated to the English colonies in 1709, initially residing in New York and then in Pennsylvania.[6] In 1732 he moved to Virginia with his large family and an entourage of German and Ulster (predominantly Scotch-Irish) settlers. Hite established himself along the springs of the Opequon Creek in western Frederick County about five miles south of the future site of Winchester, Virginia (Figure 7.1). Ross, an Irish Quaker with a Pennsylvania background, settled shortly thereafter about twelve miles to the north. There he located a number of fellow Quakers and aided in the establishment of a Quaker meeting. Both Hite and Ross actively recruited settlers in Pennsylvania. Hite's son Jacob reportedly traveled to Ireland in a recruiting effort.[7] By the mid-1730s, Hite and Ross had succeeded in having more than a hundred patents issued to valley settlers. Even more families were on the land, but the growing conflict with the proprietary prevented the colony from issuing more patents. Nearly all these first settlers lived west of the Opequon Creek, which would shortly become the eastern boundary of small-farm settlement.

Page from: Appalachian Frontiers - Settlement, Society & Development in the Preindustrial Era - Robert D. Mitchell, editor.
Chapt 7 - Land Policy and Settlement in The Northern Shenandoah Valley
by Warren R. Hofstra, pages 105-119.
(Hofstra is a History Professor at Shenandoah University at Winchester.)



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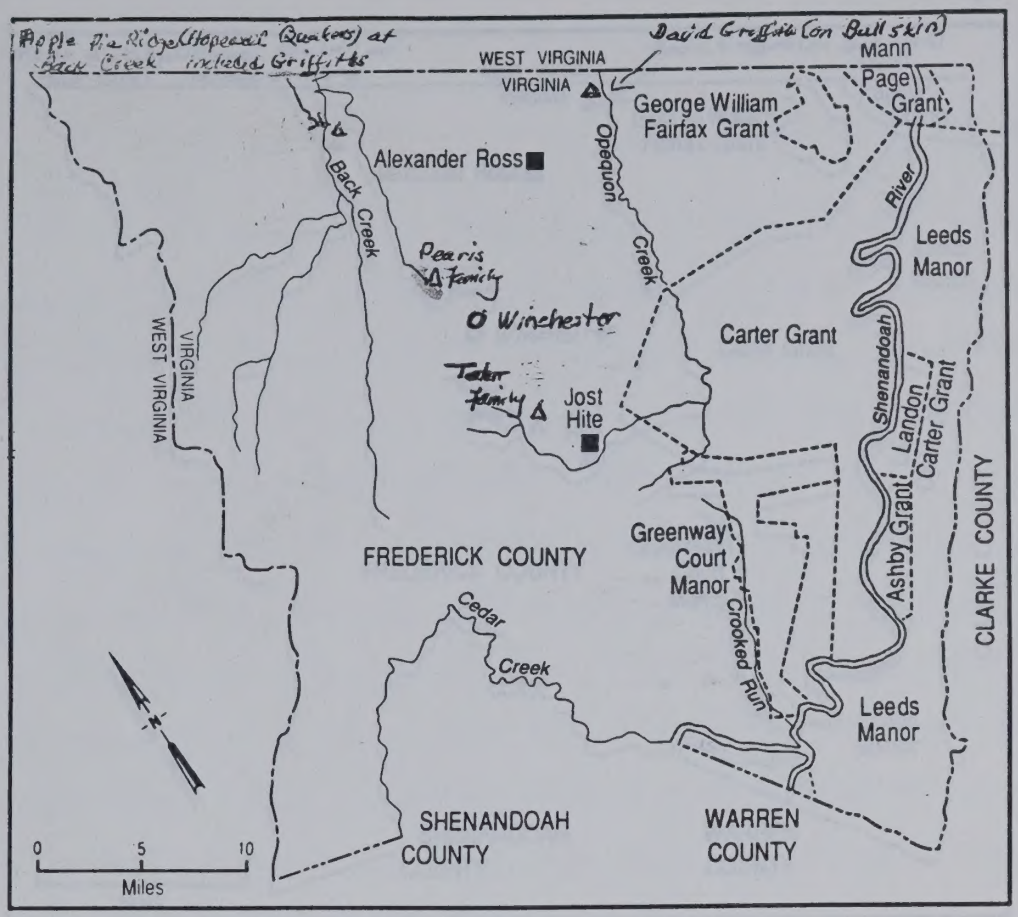

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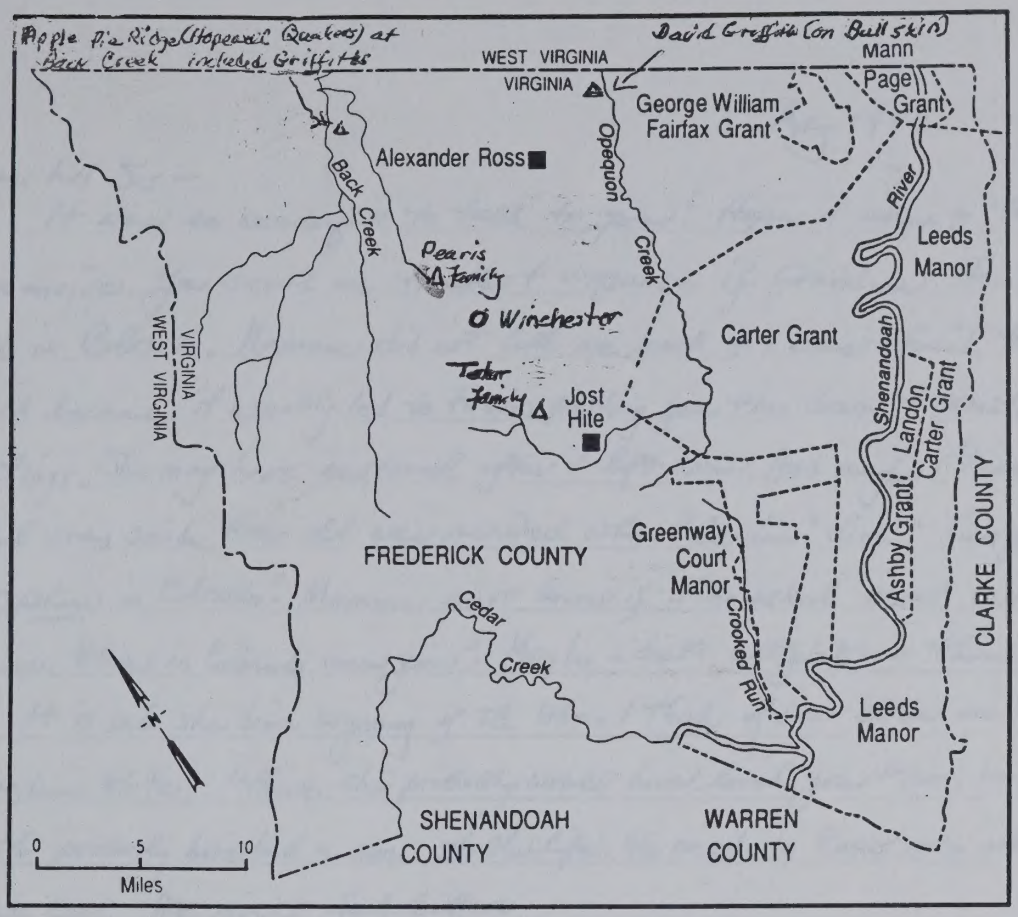

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May 1993

Dear Lil Sis –

It was so wonderful to talk to you! Hope it wasn't too expensive. You saved me trouble & expense if Grandma Hansen died in Colorado. Mamma did not tell me much & I was afraid to ask much because it usually led to tirades putting you & me down & sometimes to beatings. She may have mellowed after I left home. And maybe I "tuned out" – what was said. How old was our Dad when "Carrie" died? Can you find out where in Colorado? Mamma must know if she asked about visiting a grave. Where in Colorado were you? Maybe a death certificate is there.

It is sad she died so young of TB. When I think of how close we were to Grandma White, I think she probably would have loved you & me, and our Dad probably have had a more stable life. We need to know more about her if we can. We might feel better.

Thank you for the highly interesting stuff about Richard Pearis. He had to be older than the imputed age at death. I hate to get sidetracked in case Samuel Griffith was not John W's father – though the circumstantial evidence indicates he may have been. Need more proof! Wish a will could be found. The Garrard County map shows where Sugar Creek was. There was a tobacco warehouse at or near where it joined the river. Tobacco was the chief crop & was sent down the river to New Orleans. That grown there was of exceptionally high quality. Have not found any Griffith land record for Griffiths. This was not far from the Deans. Both families seem to have spent time in a visitel Nicholasville in Jessamine Co.

(Maybe the young widow was his son's wife.)

Am enclosing two Pearis references in case that family is ours. The only reference to them in Kellogg's (Military officer letters) book is about the brother, George Pearis. She says the Pearis(es) were Huguenot. That does make sense – they acted like Frenchmen. As you know, those people came ca 1707 or so, half to So Carolina & half to Virginia evidently.

Wonder if wife Rhoda was the Indian wife? Or if he was a bigamist? If Rhoda was an Indian we may have Cherokee blood!

At Madison I plowed thru 5 books (of 16 volumes) of Frederick Co VA Deed books abstracts + Xeroxed the Pearis pages for historical documentation. Too much paper + too scattered so I abstracted all the abstracts. Am enclosing all that plus an Index on top.

This shows them in the Opequon area as early as Feb 1747/8 — If they came from So Car or Md I have then was not told. (We already know they led Maryland + Virginia troops fighting at Fort Pitt during that time or at least in the late 1750's.) This proves the data you sent saying they (Richard + Rhoda) went south about 1768 but does not, of course, say where they went or tell about a trading house on Long Island of the Hoston River the had one! This does not show land grants (which are reflected but under different auspices) only purchases + sales recorded in a quaint way.

Reconciling this family with the So. Car. data you sent takes some doing — the common thread proving they were the same is through Jost Hite (of the Opequon) heirs attempt to recover land he (Hite) had acquired in So. Car. which they said was purchased of Richard Pearis thru his Indian son (and they were afraid they might not be able to recover — now we know why). You will note that in 1770 Richard appointed Thomas Hite power of attorney to sell his remaining property in Frederick County.

Seems the Huguenots keep chasing us, don't they? We know some Vests married Huguenots but not whether we descend from these particular Vests. (All the Huguenots who came over were of noble families, by the way.) Can you please send me the reference to the inventory of the James Vest who died in Washington Co VA before 1810? Probably he was Martha's father. The pension records I ordered probably will not show any ancestral information but I'm looking for any clue at all.

(Persecuted by Louis XIV 1685)

Love,
Dean

R 929.3 C592 Washington County VA Militia

57 Teator, Jacob - Rec Lt Rifle Co 105th Reg 17 Jan 1806

Commission as Lt of Riflemen 4 Aug 1806 per Officer Roll 105th Reg 1808

Masterfine (?) 105th Reg 1808 85 yrs

Resigned - Repl as Lt by Abraham Fulkerson 15 Nov 1808

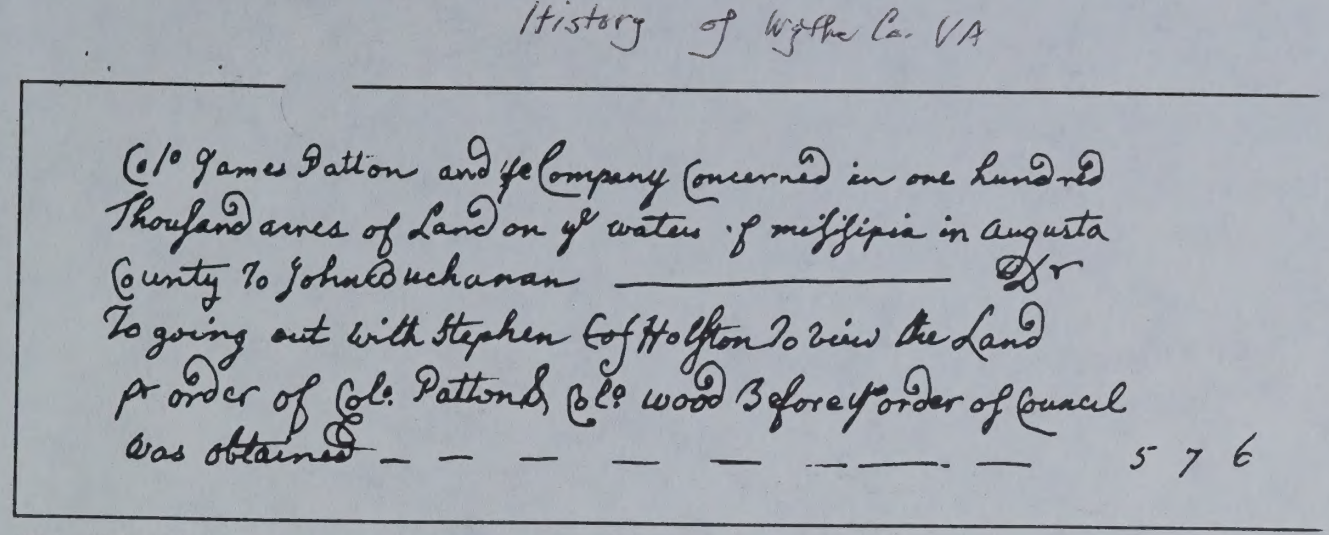
— Jacob Teator (Teeter) - 2nd Batt 105 Reg 1802; Capt Fulkerson's Co 1805-10, 1811, 1815, 1817, 1822

" John 2nd Batt 105th Reg 1802; Capt Lockey's Co 1806

" Martin 2nd Batt 105 Reg 1799, 1802, 1804

? Tester, George - Rec Ensign VA Co M.I. 19 Aug 1778

(Farris - pages 87-90 - get later if applicable or needed)


History of Wythe Co. VA
Colo James Patton and ye Company Concerned in one hundred
Thousand acres of Land on ye waters of mississipia in augusta
County To John Buchanan ——— Dr
To going out with Stephen (of Holston To view the Land
pr order of Colo Patton & Colo wood Before ye order of Council
was obtained — — — — — ——— — 5 7 6

"Colo. [Colonel] Patton and ye [the] Company Concerned in one hundred Thousand acres of Land on ye waters of Mississipia [Mississipp in Augusta County to John Buchanan, Dr. [Debtor] To going out with Stephen (word crossed out) Holston to view the Land pr. order Colo. Patton & Colo. Wood Before ye Order of Council was obtained, 5 Pounds 7 Shillings 6 Pence." Tracing excerpted from John Buchanan's account with Colonel James Patton.

Holston to view the land" as ordered by Colonel Patton and Colonel Wood "before the Order of Counci was obtained," that is, before he had received authority to settle the grant. Although the date of the account for viewing of the land is uncertain because of the dimness of the record, it appears to be 1743.[13]

On this expedition Jacob Goldman's two sons acted as chain carriers for five months, with Mordicai Erley and John Bowman acting for lesser time periods. Thomas Deleney and Anthony Plates were also mentioned as chain carriers. Peter Rantfroe and John Goldman were pilots, and William Foreman served as hunter and pilot. This group carried with them canvas (probably tents), Indian corn, "flower," beans, "pease," and twenty gallons of whiskey "drank by the hands."[14] There is no diary of this trip or any way to determine how far into the wilderness these viewers of the land proceeded.

Although no Indians were permanent residents of Southwest Virginia or of the Valley of Virginia at the time of the explorations or early settlements, the Indians of the Six Nations of Iroquois were aware of the white man's encroachment into their Virginia hunting grounds. In addition, these northern Indians traveled to war against the Catawbas to the south, using the paths through Southwest Virginia carved out centuries before.[15] In December 1742, the first clash between Indians and white settlers in western Virginia took place on the James River at a place called Balcony Falls, later known as Glasgow. Here, several Indians met with the men of the local militia, killing eight of them and wounding others. Some of the Indians were also killed.[16] This confrontation was reported to the Virginia Council by Colonel James Patton. Subsequently, throughout 1743, there were negotiations with the Iroquois and a temporary peaceful settlement reached in August.[17]

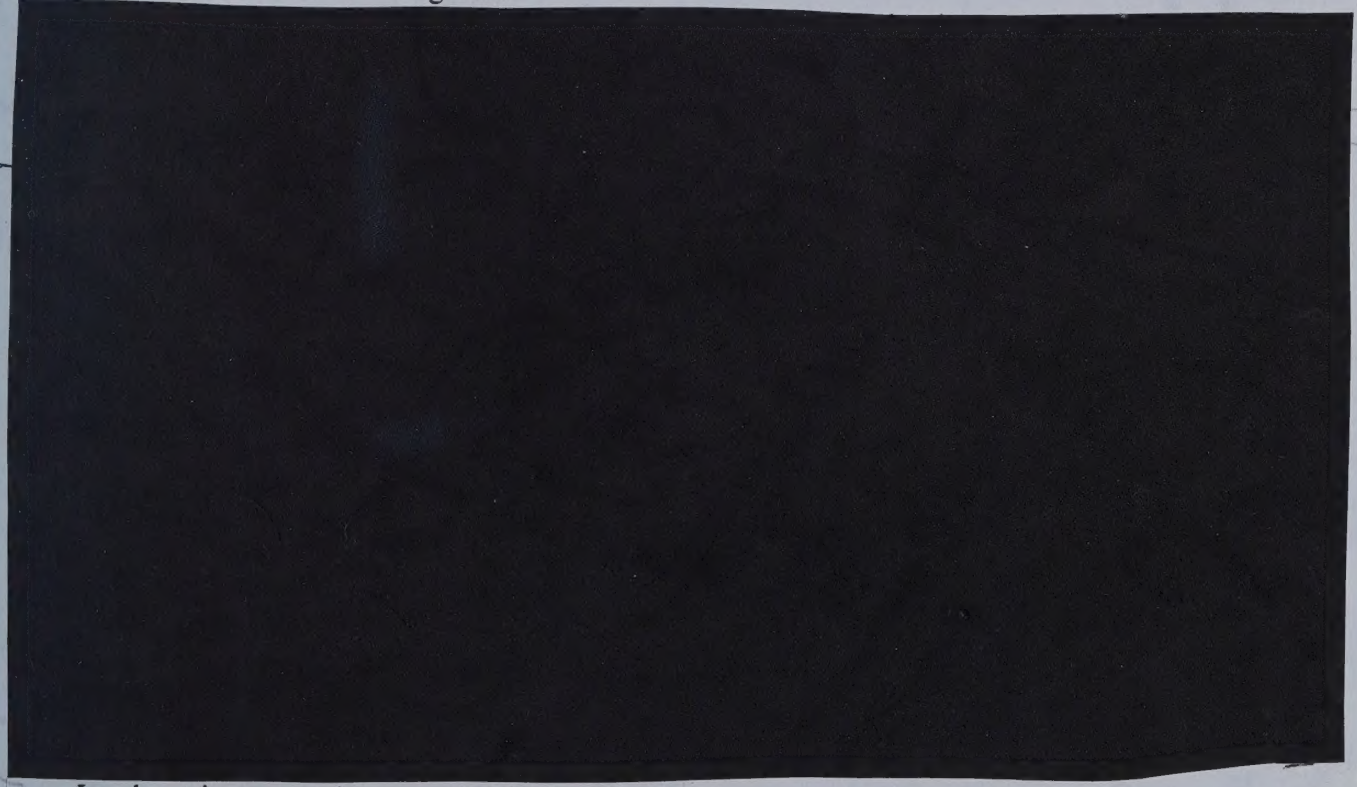
By the terms of the Treaty of Albany (1722), the Iroquois had agreed to relinquish all ownership of the lands west of the mountains to the English. However, they continued to use the area for hunting purposes. When they saw the settlers arriving daily, the Iroquois renewed their claim. In addition, the French claimed the territory based on their early explorations in the Mississippi Valley.[18] The stage was now set for the French and Indian War, which would erupt some years later.

On July 4, the Treaty of Lancaster was signed by all parties, and for the sum of 400 pounds, payable in goods and currency of the colony of Pennsylvania, the English gained title to the land formerly claimed by the Iroquois. Thus the way was cleared for settlement between the Alleghanies and the Ohio River.[22]

Patton's proposal for occupation of the land was to settle one family on each 1,000 acres, the company paying all the required fees. The Council of Virginia at first refused to grant the land, believing that the French might have a claim. The government in London had the final authority and unless war broke out between France and England, the Council thought it best to refuse. Between the time Patton filed the petition in 1743 and the spring of 1745 war did break out. On April 26, as agreed, the Council issued the grant as promised.[23]

Patton called his grant for 100,000 acres the "Great Grant," and the company the Woods River Company. Nineteen men of the Virginia aristocracy were his partners. These were Robert Slaughter, John Green, John Belfield, John Tayloe, Jr., William Green, Richard Barnes, James Gordon, James Wood, John Buchanan, George Robinson, James Bowey, Robert Jackson, William Parks, John Preston, Robert Gilchrist, Richard Winslow, John Roberts, John Wetheral, and James Johnston.[24]

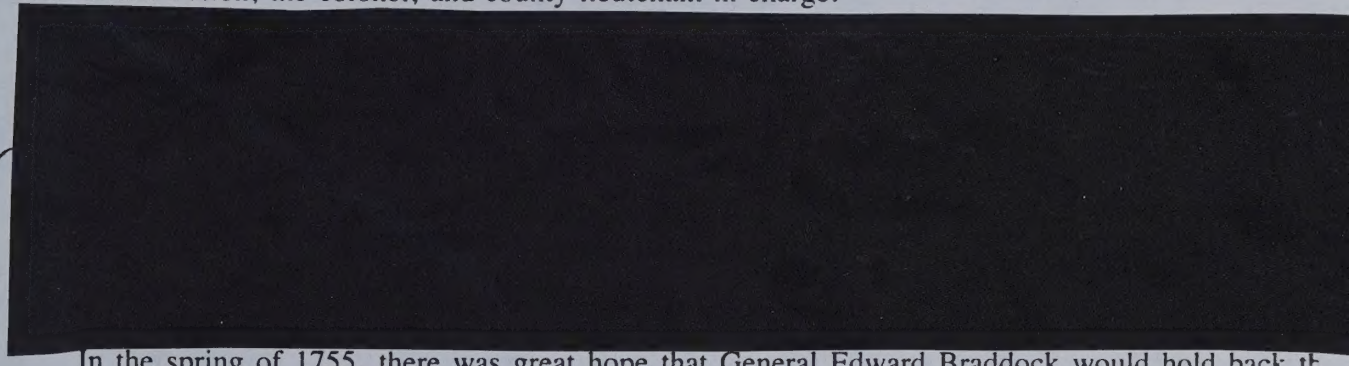
There was no particular tract of 100,000 acres, but the grant gave Patton the authority to claim a total equal to that amount anywhere on the New, Holston, or Clinch rivers. If the land was taken up prior to May 1747, the purchaser was to pay at the rate of four pounds five shillings current money for 100 acres (approximately $11.39 to $14.16 per 100 acres), part of which had to be paid by May 1, 1748, and the remainder by May 1749. The company required that the land be settled, cultivated, and improved, and have a dwelling prior to April 15, 1748, in order to prevent the land from being forfeited to the company. The settlers could not sell their land until they had possessed it by deed or grant for at least six months. If a settler took up less than 1,000 acres in one survey he was required to pay the surveyor's fees. John Buchanan was appointed agent and surveyor, and Peter Rentfroe was to take the entries and show the land-seekers over the ground.[25]



Land entries were also recorded in the Woods River Entry Book, and additional names of early settlers of Wythe County appeared there. On November 27, 1745, a lengthy record reveals that 800 acres on a branch of Reed Creek were sold to John Vance. On this tract he had built a cabin. Part of the purchase money was to be paid in July 1747 and the remainder the following July. The provision of his purchase was that he was to return in August to "settle & Emprove" the land; otherwise, it was to be returned to the company. He was not allowed to sell or dispose of the land before he got a deed or patent, or his title would be forfeited. The location was given as "the Great Buffalow Lick," with a note that

On Septembe Dinwiddie ordered Colonel George Washington to send a detachment of forty fifty men to Captain Andrew Lewis for the protection of the Augusta County frontier. Colonel Jam Patton, well acquainted with the Indians and the settlements needing protection, was to direct Lewis proceed wherever he would be most useful. Lewis was on the frontier during the fall and winter of 175 1755. During this time a fort (exact location unknown) was built and manned by militia. In Octob 1754, anticipating war, the General Assembly made provision for enlistment of troops through the coun justices of the peace in Virginia. For such service a colonel was to be paid 15 shillings per day; a lieutena colonel, 12 shillings 6 pence; a major 10 shillings; a captain 8 shillings; a lieutenant 4 shillings; an ensig 3 shillings; a sergeant 4 shillings; a private 8 pence and a pistole ($3.60) per day on enlisting.[6]

On New River, in what is now Wythe County, James Calhoun was a captain of a troop of hors Alexander Sayers was a captain of horse, with Robert McFarland, lieutenant of horse, and John McFarlan ensign. Joseph Crockett was a captain of foot. Other officers were chosen for other areas of the regio with James Patton, the colonel, and county lieutenant in charge.[7]

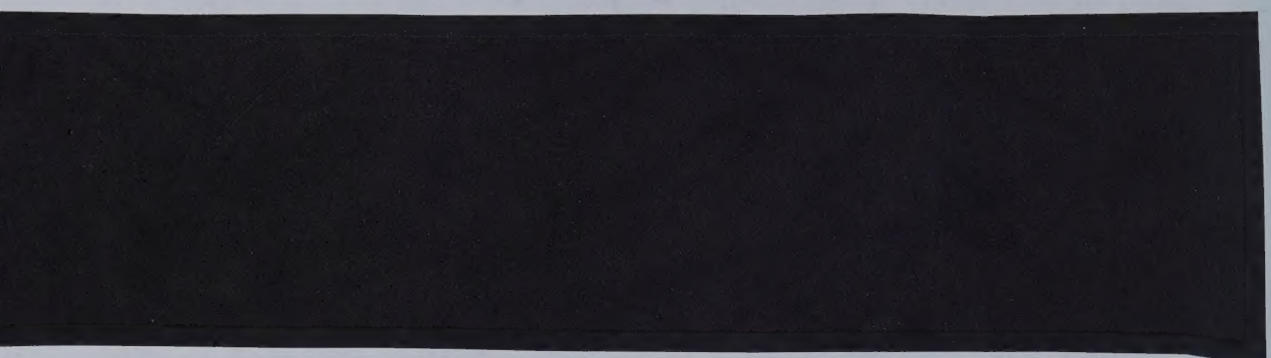


In the spring of 1755, there was great hope that General Edward Braddock would hold back th Indians on the Ohio, as he had marched westward from Alexandria for that purpose. However, afte spending May and June on the road with his troops, Braddock was attacked by the Indians early in Jul and was severely defeated. By the end of July, all of Virginia was without protection and leadership, a both Patton and Braddock had been killed. Of the 1,459 British troops who marched to the Ohio, 97 were casualties.[9]

News of this disaster spread rapidly, reaching the frontier of Virginia within a week. The Reveren Hugh McAden, a young newly licensed Presbyterian minister, who was on his way through the Valle of Virginia to North Carolina, probably accurately described the feelings of the residents when he wrote "This . . . struck terror to every heart. A cold shuddering possessed every breast, and paleness covere almost every face. The whole inhabitants were put into an universal confusion." He went on to say tha the settlers were building little fortifications and that the men were meeting in groups with their wive and children.[10]

These disasters caused most of the residents of the Reed Creek and Cripple Creek settlements in wha was to become Wythe County to leave their plantations and move elsewhere. We know that Alexander Sayer purchased lots in Bedford and that the Calhouns and others moved to South Carolina. James McCaul move to North Carolina. John Madison, Clerk of the Augusta Court, described the situation: " 'Tis shocking t think of the calamity of the poor wretches who live on the Holston and New Rivers, who for upwards of a hundred miles have left their habitations, lost their crops and vast numbers of their stock."[11]

Near the end of 1755, Governor Dinwiddie learned that friendly Cherokees had sent 120 men t assist on the New River against the Shawnees and ordered companies of rangers to join them. They me at Dunkard Bottom at Fort Frederick in February 1756, greeted the Indians, had a celebration, heard two sermons, and then set out to find the Shawnees. They received word from James Burk that Robert Looney had been killed near Alexander Sawyers's [Sayers's], who lived at Fort Chiswell. Captain William Preston marched with his troops and 27 pack horses through what is now Wythe County, stopping to spend the night on the barn floor of William Sayers near the Wythe-Pulaski line. They traveled then to Alexander Sayers's and on to John McFarland's where the late F.B. Kegley lived near Fairview community. From there the group marched over Bear Mountain to Burkes Garden and into the uninhabited parts of Virginia. They were not engaged in any battles with the Indians, and the farther they went, the worse conditions became. The expedition was unsuccessful; supplies and equipment were damaged and destroyed, horses wandered off, canoes were turned over in the creeks, and many men deserted and straggled out of the



the main body of the army which was then located at Staunton. By the end of the month, 651 men were camped at the fort, with directions to proceed to Stalnaker's and build a block house.[18]

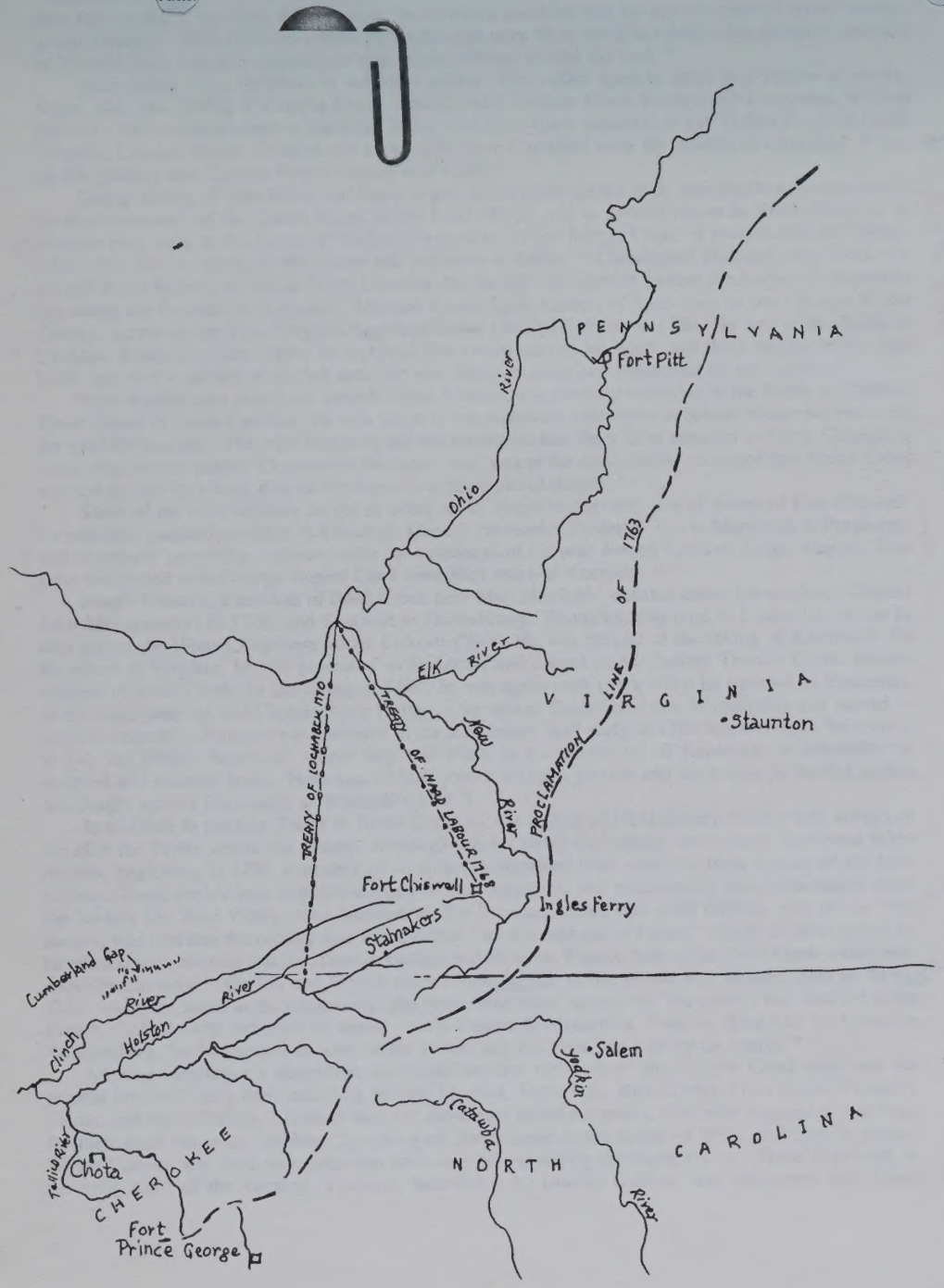
In October, Colonel Adam Stephen, who had replaced Byrd at Fort Chiswell, entertained Colonel Waddell, commander of the North Carolina troops, who had arrived at the fort with about 300 men and some Tuscarora Indians. Although the army was ordered to continue in service in November, peace negotiations were under way as early as January 1762 and in the spring the Indian traders agreed to go as far as Fort Chiswell.[19]

Under the terms of the Proclamation of 1763, following the end of the war, the Indians who were living under the protection of the colony were not to be molested or disturbed in possession of their lands, nor were their territories to be ceded to or purchased by the English, but were to be reserved to them for hunting grounds. The governor was thus prevented from issuing grants for any lands on the Western Waters, and those who had willfully or inadvertently settled there were ordered to remove themselves immediately. In addition, the proclamation provided for military personnel to claim land on the east side of the Ohio, including the Kentucky, Beargrass, and Elkhorn rivers. Following the proclamation, the Virginia government undertook to regulate trade with the Indians, appointing Peter Randolph, William Byrd, Richard Bland, Archibald Cary, Thomas Walker, John Fleming, Thomas Tabb, and John Chiswell as managers. In spite of the proclamation some of the settlers who had moved out of the area during the war returned to their former locations. Further negotiations with the Cherokees resulted in the treaties of Hard Labour and Lochabor in 1768 and 1770, thus clearing the way for settlement on the New and Holston rivers.[20]

The Loyal Company resumed surveying in the fall of 1768 and the spring of 1769, and the list of the settlers for whom lands were surveyed was found in the Preston Family Papers, which have been published. Among the names are several who were residents of what is now Wythe County. These included William, David, and Mary Sayers, William Herbert, John Jenkins, James Newell, Jeremiah and David Doaty, Jeremiah Peirce, Thomas Jones, William Montgomery, James Davies, Josiah Ramsey, Anthony and Abraham Bledsoe, Daniel and Richard Chapman, John Walraven, James Sproul, John Hollis, William Phips, Joseph White, Jehu Stevens [Stephens], James King, John Boyd, Robert Lucky, George Harbison, George Coon, William Purviance, Amos Heyton, Michael Dougherty, John Beaty, as well as Andrew Crockett, Thomas Alford, Samuel Drake and others in the boundaries of present nearby Pulaski County.[21]

Following the French and Indian War, the military warrants issued for service allowed the soldiers entitled to land to settle anywhere, with one exception: their choice of location was not to interfere with the legal surveys or settlements already made. A settler was defined as a "resident of the land before October 1773 and continued on the land." The surveying was again resumed in 1773 and the records filed at the Montgomery County courthouse in Christiansburg, although the county at that time was the now extinct county of Fincastle. Each of the surveys taken under the Loyal Company is so designated in the records, although sometimes simply referred to as "as per Order of Council." The soldiers' warrants and surveys were recorded in 1774 in Fincastle County Survey Book A, located at the Clerk's Office of Montgomery County in Christiansburg. Other soldiers are mentioned in the records of 1780. All of these records have been published, and there is no need here to repeat all of the claims. However, some citizens of what is now Wythe County were mentioned. These included Robert Sayers, son and heir of Alexander Sayers, Jeremiah Pierce, William Phipps, William Montgomery, Joseph Montgomery, Walter Crockett, Robert Montgomery, James McGavock, James Buchanan, heir of Colonel John Buchanan, John Montgomery, John Crockett, William Sayers, James Montgomery, John Alcorn, David Sayers, Henry Francis, Samuel Montgomery, William Montgomery, Jr., James Montgomery, Jr., James Montgomery, Sr., possibly James and John Adams, and others.[22]

By December 1773, Walker reported that he had made 980 surveys and had sold a total of 201,554 acres. In 1778, he was trying to obtain confirmation of the titles for the settlers. By this time the surveyors reported that between 1000 and 1200 settlers were already located in the counties of Montgomery and Washington, and they were expecting to obtain titles to their lands. A resolution indicated that 254 surveys, containing 45,390 acres, made before January 14, 1757, and 756 additional surveys containing 156,164 acres, were reasonable and "that the said Walker ought to be empowered to make titles for same." The following year the Virginia Land Office was established by the General Assembly, and Walker laid his case with the list of all surveys before the Court of Appeals. The hearing was held on



Map showing the treaty lines of 1768 and 1770, and the relationship of Fort Chiswell and Fort Prince George in Cherokee country.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEW COUNTIES AND MORE WAR

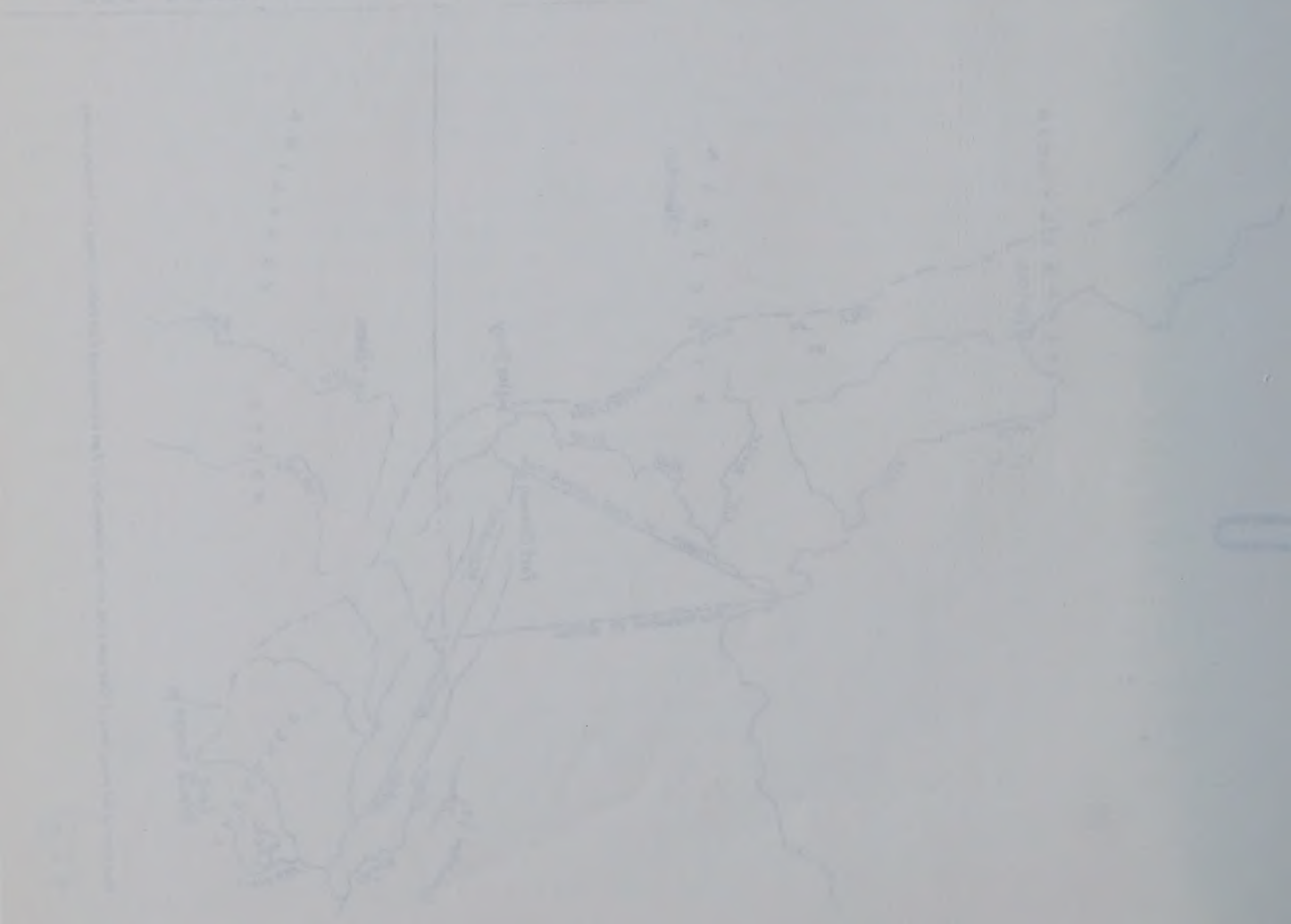
At the time that the settlements were beginning on the New River, the Augusta County Court was being established at Staunton. It was to this court that the early Reed Creek settlers took their deeds and wills to be recorded and in this court that the litigants in civil and criminal cases were heard. The 150-mile trip was difficult and hazardous, as roads were almost non-existent. For many years prior to the formation of Augusta County, the entire region of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge mountains was governed by Orange County. In fact, when the new county was first authorized on November 1, 1738, it was with the provision that it should remain part of Orange until there was a "sufficient number of inhabitants" for appointing the officers of the court and for establishing their own court buildings. Until December 1745 the legal affairs of the day were handled in the Town of Orange, the county seat of Orange County, located north of present Charlottesville. The only record of interest to the New River settlers recorded in Orange County was an order authorizing the establishment of a road from the Frederick County line to Adam Harman's (near Blacksburg) on the New River. There is no mention of Reed Creek or the settlements to the west, for they had not yet been established.[1]

Augusta County at its formation included the present county of Rockingham and part of Page County. To the south, it extended to the present Tennessee line; to the west and northwest, it covered the whole region claimed by Great Britain. The states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and part of western Pennsylvania were eventually formed from this county.[2]

The New River area had minimum representation in the county offices. James Calhoun and Humberston Lyon were the first constables. In 1763, John Chiswell, then living on the New River at the lead mines, was added to the list of justices, along with Alexander Sayers. In 1765, William Montgomery became constable on Reed Creek, being replaced later by George Adams. In 1769, William Herbert, Robert Doak, and John Montgomery, became justices of the peace. James McGavock was also appointed to the court, but he had not at this time moved to the Reed Creek settlements.[3]

In the militia, the names of James Calhoun, Robert McFarland, John McFarland, Joseph Crockett, Alexander Sayers, and Robert Sayers are the first to appear.[4] The early road surveyors, workers, and overseers included the four Calhoun brothers (Patrick, James, William, and Ezekiel), John McFarland, Joseph Crockett, Nathaniel Welshire, William Sayers, Humberston Lyon, Robert Norris, James Miller, Samuel Montgomery, Steven Lyon, Robert McFarland, James Harris, John Vance, Robert Miller, Alexander Sayers, John Miller, Jacob Castle, Robert Alcorn, James Miller, and James McCaul, among others.[5] After the treaty of 1768 was signed with the Indians, thirty-one petitioners of the western settlement asked for alterations in the road from Ingles Ferry (near present Radford) to James Davis's on the Holston River (in present Smyth County). James Hollis, three Montgomerys (James, Robert, and John), three Breckenridges (George, Alexander, and Robert), two Doaks (Robert and William), three Kinders (Gasper, George, and Jacob), John Hounshell, William Phipps, three Buchanans (Robert, Nicholas, and Alexander) and William Sayers were among those from the Reed Creek community who signed.[6]

In November 1769, the Virginia General Assembly passed the act which established Botetourt County with the county seat at the present Town of Fincastle, north of Roanoke. The act was to take effect on January 31, 1770. The southern part of Augusta was cut off, and a separate and distinct county was formed to include the settlers on the waters of the Mississippi (New River). However, the General



foundation or truth. Nevertheless, they were put under bond of one thousand pounds; and even though they had not taken the oath, they wanted "to convince mankind that we are not open or secret enemies to our country." Most of those appearing on this list were from the Blacksburg area as many members of Thomas Burk's militia company in that region refused to take the oath.[31]

Other young men, members of the local militia, were called upon to serve in a variety of places. Some, like John Ewing of Cripple Creek, served under Captain Henry Francis and Lieutenant William Gleaves. They rendezvoused at the Lead Mines and from there marched to the Yadkin River in North Carolina. Colonel Walter Crockett and General William Campbell were the officers in command. It was on this journey that Captain Henry Francis was killed.[32]

George Ewing, Robert Rhea, and James Wyly, also from Cripple Creek, marched to a frontier station on the headwaters of the Clinch River, to the Lead Mines, and to several places in North Carolina. In addition they were at the Battle of Shallow Ford under Major Joseph Cloyd of present Pulaski County, where they met a "party of 400 Tories and put them to flight."[33] Christopher Phillippi, who lived near present Rural Retreat, served in North Carolina, but he also saw service against the Indians in Tennessee and along the frontiers of Virginia.[34] Michael Kinser (also Kincer) of Tates Run in what is now Wythe County, served in the First Virginia Regiment under General Greene in 1780. He was in the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, where he received five sword cuts to his head, lost three fingers of his right hand, and was wounded in the left arm. He was taken prisoner and mistreated by his captors.[35]

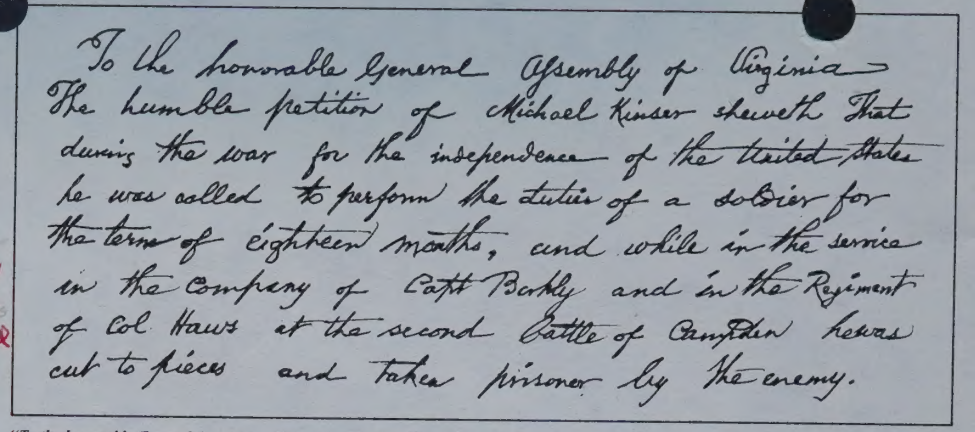
Peter Kinder who lived near present Rural Retreat, was severely wounded in the Battle of Guilford Court House in North Carolina. He was taken to the Moravian settlement at Salem, where he was cared for until his recovery. His wife Margaret and his brother-in-law Peter Etter traveled to North Carolina to nurse him back to health. Christopher Phillippi, who was at the same battle, indicated that Major Cloyd rescued Kinder by taking him on his horse to a place out of danger.[36]

Some of the local soldiers served in other areas. Hugh McGavock, son of James of Fort Chiswell, for example, guarded prisoners in Albemarle County, traveled to Frederick Town, Maryland, to Pittsburgh, and to present Louisville. He was under the command of Colonel Joseph Crockett in the Virginia State Line and joined with George Rogers Clark once they reached Kentucky.[37]

Joseph Ramsey, a resident of Reed Creek near Max Meadows, enlisted under his neighbor, Captain John Montgomery, in 1778, and marched to Harrodsburg, Kentucky, and then to Louisville, where he also joined the Illinois Regiment under Colonel Clark. He was present at the taking of Kaskaskia. On his return to Virginia, he was promoted to lieutenant and served under Captain Thomas Quirk, another resident of Reed Creek. In the spring of 1779, he was again with Clark when he traveled to Vincennes. In the same year, he and Captain Jesse Evans — for whom Evansham (now Wytheville) was named — acted as recruiters. Ramsey was stationed at the lead mines until early in 1780 when he took the recruits to join the Illinois Regiment, where they met Clark in the wilderness of Kentucky. In November he resigned and returned home. However, he later joined William Preston and the militia in North Carolina and fought against Cornwallis at Whetsell's Mill.[38]

In addition to fighting Tories in North Carolina, the militia of Montgomery County was always on the alert for Tories within the county. Although Jacob Catron was among the earliest mentioned in the records, beginning in 1779 a number of so-called confessions were obtained from several of the local citizens. These confessions implicated many of their neighbors and occasionally gave information about the leaders and their views. John Henderson, for instance, stated that John Griffith, one of the Tory leaders, told him that the country was lost and that "we are sold out to France." Some of those named by Henderson were allowed bail, but Duncan Gullion and Nicholas Wyrick, both of the Reed Creek settlements, were "put in irons." Gullion and Wyrick named John Griffith as the person who enlisted them as Tories. There was great alarm in the community, and there were many rumors that the country was sold out to the French. Gullion, who indicated he would "scalp Preston & McGavock," was to stand trial for treason in Williamsburg, but he escaped en route to the prison, and his horse was sold by the sheriff.[39]

Michael Henninger's deposition implicated several residents of the Cripple Creek area near the present Smyth County line, including several Vaughts, Ketterings, Bronstetters, Peter Razor, Frederick Slemp, and Philip Dutton. Although many of them were found not guilty, they were required to post bond for their good behavior. On June 5, a party of Tories came to the house of William Phipps in present Wythe County, and fired four guns into his house before setting the house on fire. Three days later, in the early hours of the morning, a person, believed to be Duncan Gullion, was discovered near James



To the honorable General Assembly of Virginia
The humble petition of Michael Kinser sheweth That
during the war for the independence of the United States
he was called to perform the duties of a soldier for
the term of eighteen months, and while in the service
in the Company of Capt Berkly and in the Regiment
of Col Haws at the second battle of Campden he was
cut to pieces and taken prisoner by the enemy.

"To the honorable General Assembly of Virginia, The humble petition of Michael Kinser sheweth That during the war for the independence of the United States he was called to perform the duties of a soldier for the term of eighteen months, and while in the service in the company of Capt. Berkly and in the Regiment of Col. Haws in the second battle of Campden [Camden] he was cut to pieces and taken prisoner by the enemy." Tracing excerpted from Michael Kinser's Petition to the General Assembly, September 6, 1806.

McGavock's house, where later a camp was discovered. Seven sheep had been killed, and meat was missing from four of them. The same night after two men were seen near the house, four guards were stationed outside for protection. Alarm in the neighborhood was great, and several men from the local militia were sent to patrol in the neighborhood. Daniel Etter, who later gave the land for the St. John's Lutheran Church, appeared before the court for "harboring persons of ill fame and Enemies of this State." He was required to post bond.[40]

During the fall and winter months of 1779, the Tories appear to have been inactive along the New River, but the problem was not yet over. In June, William Preston was informed that "The Tories were about to rise" and had already killed some persons. A certain man by the name of Husk appeared at the Lead Mines and was detained by Captain Thomas Quirk, who thought he was a spy. From him they learned that Captain Flower Swift of the militia, had been captured, and that about 200 Tories had gathered up the New River near the Glades, believed to be in present Grayson County. They were accompanied by British officers. There was a report that the Tories intended to take the Lead Mines, and had been committing "various outrages." John Griffith was recruiting on Walkers Creek and threatened to take Preston and McGavock prisoners. The militia was ordered to disarm the Tories, but they were warned not to use cruelty or unnecessary outrage in taking the property from the Tories. Preston was especially concerned for the women and children and the old and helpless. Word was received that 1,500 Tories had been defeated in North Carolina at Ramsour's Mill. In August 1780, 250 men were assembled at Fort Chiswell under the leadership of Colonel Walter Crockett. A few weeks later Charles Lynch, superintendent of the lead mines, reported he had apprehended several persons he described as "principal villans," specifically naming David Herbert, Roger Oats, and John Jenkins — all associated with the mining and smelting of lead. Peter Kinder's confession named many on Cripple Creek and Walkers Creek who were members of "the club." Most of them were brought to trial, and sentenced. Some posted bond, some enlisted in the Continental Army, some took the Oath of Allegiance to the State, and some went to jail. Abraham Morgan, "an ignorant man with a small family," was ordered to be acquitted after receiving thirty-nine lashes.[41]

Throughout this difficult time, neighbor was suspicious of neighbor, threats were made, and protection was offered at the lead mines. Trials were held in orderly fashion; and although there is a tradition that several Tories were hanged in the Black Lick community, no report of such activity has been found in the records.

Throughout the Revolutionary War there was a constant need for provisions for the army and the local militia companies. Those living in what is now Wythe County presented their claims for payment

orders that the warriors were to be restrained. But the British and Indian raids continued. Passive defense even with the aid of Continentals had proved inadequate to protect the frontier; an offensive was necessary.

Developments on the northern frontier early in 1779 confirmed the lessons of the previous two years. The Indians and Tories under Joseph Brant raided Schoharie, the upper Susquehanna, and later penetrated as far as the Minisink District on the upper Delaware. The American commanders were helpless. From Wyoming Zebulon Butler complained that "it is aggravating to see the savage wretches drive off cattle [and] horses [,] burning and destroying, and we not able to attack them out of the Fort."[14]

The governments of New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, those whose frontier settlers suffered directly, now appealed to the Continental Congress for relief. First, a regiment of Continentals under Colonel Edward Hand took up stations in Northampton and Cumberland counties; another posted at Pittsburgh and Kittanning on the Allegheny covered Bedford and Westmoreland counties, and the militia of Lancaster and Cumberland counties mobilized to defend the western portions of Pennsylvania. Since the lack of provisions and transportation ruled out any move against the British in Canada, Washington decided on a more limited objective—an expedition against the Indian villages and, if possible, the reduction of Niagara. Although American authorities had previously considered an invasion of the Indian country and attacks on the British posts, particularly Detroit, they had done little until 1779. In October 1778 General Lachlan McIntosh had attempted to move against Detroit from Fort Pitt, but rumors of a large Indian force, the lateness of the season, and the fact that the Pennsylvania militia could only be used for two months, forced him to abandon the attempt. He did establish two small posts, however: Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, thirty miles below Pittsburgh on the right bank of the Ohio, and Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River.

The British were vulnerable along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as two raids conducted in 1778 by George Rogers Clark and James Willing demonstrated. Since Willing, the ne'er-do-well son of a Philadelphia merchant family, had spent some time on the lower Mississippi, a Congressional committee had sent him on a raid to plunder the Natchez settlements and possibly to establish commercial connections with the Spanish at New Orleans. With about thirty men he set off from Fort Pitt on January 10, 1778, in a small boat, the *Rattlesnake*. Descending the Ohio and avoiding Choctaw patrols on the Mississippi, he struck the settlers at Manchac on February 21. After plundering the residents, Willing made for New Orleans where he was received by the Spanish governor, Bernardo de Galvez. The settlers at Natchez

revolted against Willing's men, however, and with the aid of 100 British troops from Pensacola regained control of the lower Mississippi. Willing's expedition achieved the opposite effect of what Congress probably intended. Instead of facilitating the sending of supplies to the Ohio frontier, it called forth British reinforcements from West Florida and a virtual blockade of the lower Mississippi.[15] Virginia forces were able, however, to establish temporary control over the confluence of the Mississippi and the Ohio in the summer of 1778 when George Rogers Clark and a small band from the Old Dominion and Kentucky seized Kaskaskia.

The ungarrisoned Illinois country was a military vacuum, governed only by a civil magistrate, the Chevalier de Rocheblave, and inhabited principally by Frenchmen with little love for the British. Some merchants such as Thomas Bentley and James Murray who had contacts with the Kentucky and Ohio settlements may have encouraged, or indeed instigated, the American occupation of that region. George Rogers Clark learned of the situation in the Illinois country in 1777 when he sent two spies, Benjamin Lynn and Samuel Moore, disguised as hunters to Kaskaskia. After they returned, Clark traveled to Williamsburg and that winter proposed a scheme for the conquest of the Illinois towns to Governor Patrick Henry. Clark's motives for the secret expedition are not clear. If he intended to conquer the Illinois country as a preliminary step toward the reduction of Detroit, he was dissipating his meager forces against an objective lying in almost the opposite direction. However, Clark professed more immediate aims; he insisted that the Illinois country was essential to the British to control the Indians and send them against the Kentucky stations, to disrupt the American supply line from New Orleans, and to provision their garrison at Detroit.[16] Yet there were relatively few warriors in the Illinois country; those braves who were raiding south of the Ohio lived on, and east of, the Wabash. They looked to Detroit, not to Kaskaskia, for support. Moreover, the British garrison at Detroit was not provisioned from the Illinois country but from its own immediate vicinity and Montreal by way of the Great Lakes. Since there were no British troops in the Illinois country, as Clark well knew, they could not exercise the supposed control over the Mississippi and Ohio that he proposed to break by occupying the French villages.[16]

Whatever Clark's motives—and they may have been to establish land claims or to consolidate Virginia's right to the region north of the Ohio—fortune was with him when he departed on an ill-conceived and hazardous expedition. He carried two sets of instructions: public orders to raise 500 men for service in Kentucky, and private instructions to lead an expedition against the Illinois country. Even without informing his men of their true objective, Clark and his captains could raise

The Rev. Frontier 1763-1783

Jack M. Sosin (1967)

he had found terrain that would give some advantage. Although forced by Cornwallis to give up the field at Guilford Courthouse, Greene exacted a dreadful toll of the victor. When news of it reached London, Charles James Fox exclaimed, "Another such victory would destroy the British army." [4] Cornwallis had to lead his bedraggled army back to the safety of the coast at Wilmington. Greene's lost battle at Guilford Courthouse delayed Cornwallis's march to Yorktown until the French had established naval superiority at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Thus Greene helped insure the British defeat. After Guilford Courthouse, Greene turned back to South Carolina in the hope of saving the state from further British domination.

Greene moved down into South Carolina by way of Cheraw. On the way, he hoped to enlist enough militia to challenge Lord Rawdon, whom Cornwallis had left in command at Camden. However, at Hobkirk Hill—now a fashionable residential area of Camden—Rawdon surprised Greene's camp on April 25, 1781. Once again the American commander had to retreat. But Rawdon's small force found itself isolated by Francis Marion's previous capture of Fort Watson and the fall of other British outposts; he evacuated Camden and returned to Charleston.

Former British strongpoints in an arc from Augusta to Fort Watson were now in control of the partisans, but Ninety Six, strategically important, was still held by the British. So long as they occupied this outpost, Tories, who outnumbered the patriots in this section of the back country, were free to raid, plunder, burn houses and barns, and frequently hang their Whig enemies. Hangings at Ninety Six had prompted the retaliatory executions after Kings Mountain. Rallying as many partisans as possible, Greene marched from Camden toward Ninety Six, which he reached on May 22, 1781.

A New York Tory, Lieutenant Colonel John H. Cruger, held Ninety Six with 550 Tories from New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina. He had fortified the village with a stockade and an eight-foot ditch. On high ground at the village's eastern

4. Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 237.

edge, he constructed an eight-pointed star redoubt. With cannon mounted on the redoubt, Cruger had made his fort well-nigh impregnable to frontal assault.

With Greene was a Polish engineer, Thaddeus Kosciusko, who immediately ordered trenches dug within seventy yards of the redoubt. British fire soon proved these trenches useless. Greene next tried a wooden tower filled with snipers to fire on the fort's defenders, and he also sent showers of fire-tipped arrows to ignite roofs inside the fort—all to no avail. In the meantime, Kosciusko was driving a tunnel toward the redoubt, which he hoped to blow up with gunpowder. He did not complete his work in time. Greene cut off the fort's water supply, but the garrison sent out black slaves under cover of darkness to bring in enough water to keep the soldiers from perishing.

With reinforcements brought by Colonel Light Horse Harry Lee and General Andrew Pickens, returning from the capture of Augusta, Greene tried to storm the fort on June 19. Because of the loss of life, the Quaker general pulled back his assault force. News had also reached him that Lord Rawdon was advancing from Charleston to relieve Ninety Six. Consequently, Green arranged with Cruger for an exchange of prisoners and withdrew with his army to the High Hills of Santee to recuperate. The American loss was 57 killed, 70 wounded, and 20 missing in action. Cruger lost 27 killed and 58 wounded.

Rawdon reached Ninety Six on June 21, two days after Greene had left, but he conceded that he could no longer hold Ninety Six with all the peripheral outposts—Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, and Augusta—in rebel hands. So Cruger evacuated the fort and followed Rawdon back to Charleston. Once more Greene had lost a battle, but had won the campaign.

Of all the Revolutionary outposts, Ninety Six is the only one still visible. The redoubt, now called Old Star Fort, is being restored, and the outlines of the village are being excavated.

Greene's forces of about 2,000 men, after two months of rest and recreation in the High Hills, were ready again for action. The only sizable British force north of Charleston consisted of nearly 2,000 men commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart at Eutaw Springs, in an area now near the dam im-

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Palms). Separating the two islands was a narrow inlet that the British believed could be forded at low tide. Providentially for the defenders, unusually high tides required crossing by boat, and Thompson's riflemen, with the help of three small cannon, successfully fought off landing parties.

In the meantime, on June 28, the fleet had sailed around the point to attack the palmetto fort, which Admiral Sir Peter Parker expected to destroy with a few broadsides from his warships and mortar shells from the bombship *Thunder*. Again nothing went right for the British. Overcharged mortars severely damaged the *Thunder*. Three ships ran aground, and one, the *Acteon*, stuck so hard on a shoal (later used as the site for Fort Sumter) that the crew burned her the next day. Other ships, however, pounded away at the palmetto fort, but to no avail. Their shells lodged harmlessly in the sand and the spongy wood without splintering the walls.

During the bombardment, a shell cut down the South Carolina flag, blue with a silver crescent in the corner. Sergeant William Jasper, at the risk of his life, jumped over the parapet and stuck the flag back on an artillery-sponge staff, a deed immortalized in South Carolina legendry. In this battle, Francis Marion, later to serve so effectively in guerrilla warfare, had his baptism of fire from the British.

Unable to destroy the fort or to land troops at the other end of the island, the British gave up the attack on Charleston harbor and sailed away, not to return until 1779. For the time being South Carolina was safe from further attack by sea. For his defense of the fort, Moultrie was made a brigadier general and a palmetto was added to the South Carolina flag.

The British defeat at Charleston under Moultrie's guns was not the first evidence of the enemy's vulnerability and the shortcomings of its high command. The battle of Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill in Boston had proved a costly victory for the British, and Washington, by March 17, 1776, had forced Sir William Howe to evacuate Boston and retire to Halifax to prepare for an attack on New York. Howe had demonstrated supreme complacence and almost contempt for the employment of any strategy of defense or offense.

Washington, however, was experiencing difficulties that

would plague the patriot forces throughout the war. Congress would authorize only short-term enlistments in the Continental army with which Washington was supposed to fight a war. The militia were subject to the whims of the individual states whence they came. At the expiration of the first enlistments on December 31, 1775, Washington's army at Boston melted away. Someone remarked that his camp looked like moving day as soldiers packed up to leave. While he waited to seek new enlistments for another year, he was left only with such state militia as were willing to remain under arms. Small wonder that Washington was rarely able to mount a vigorous offensive, but he proved a master of skillful retreat, a tactic that allowed incompetent British generals to defeat themselves in more than one campaign. The patriot cause also stood in imminent danger from loyalists, who often outnumbered the rebels. New York, for example, furnished more troops to the British army than to Washington's.

Soon after the attack by the British on Charleston in 1776, the Cherokees swarmed into the northern settlements, scalping men, women, and children and burning the cabins of settlers. The South Carolina militia, reinforced by militia from Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, moved against the Cherokees and devastated their territory so completely that many died of starvation. In May 1777, Georgia and South Carolina met with Cherokee chiefs at Dewitt's Corner (later called Due West) and concluded a treaty which gave to South Carolina the northwestern tier of counties: Greenville, Pickens, Oconee, and Anderson.

While Washington was fighting indecisive campaigns from Long Island through New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1777 and 1778, South Carolina was reasonably quiet. Except for the campaign against the Cherokees and some rather ineffectual aid to Georgia in repelling an attack of the British from Florida, the state had little military activity. Privateers from time to time captured valuable British prizes and brought them into Charleston harbor. Commerce flourished during these years. Though South Carolinians were aware of the suffering of Washington's army at Valley Forge in the desperate winter of 1777–1778, they could do little to help.

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British West Florida 1763-1783
by Cecil Johnson (1943)

of the southern district, for the Spanish governor, Don Luis de Unzaga. The purpose of this expedition was to secure for the American army such necessary supplies as guns, blankets, and medicines. It was through the influence of Pollock that Gibson was received and that ten thousand pounds of powder was purchased for the use of the Americans. Most of this was immediately sent up the river in the charge of Lieutenant William Linn and eventually reached Fort Pitt in the following spring. Gibson, himself, was temporarily imprisoned as a blind to the British authorities, but was later sent to Philadelphia by sea.[10] That Chester was not ignorant of the expedition of Gibson and its purpose is indicated by his correspondence with the home government.[11]

Under Galvez the Louisiana administration was even more hostile to the British and even more friendly to the Americans. The opening of trade with the French islands and the sudden seizure of eleven British ships have already been discussed. Galvez declared the port of New Orleans free and open to American commerce and to the admission and sale of prizes captured by American cruisers. He corresponded with Colonel George Morgan regarding the conduct of operations in the west in case France and Spain combined in an attack on Great Britain and Portugal.[12] By July, 1777, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, a quantity of lead, and a large amount of clothing had been deposited at New Orleans subject to the order of Virginia. And by the end of the year the Americans had been aided by arms, ammunition, and provisions valued by one authority at seventy thousand dollars.[13] During this time, the protests of Governor Chester were unheeded.

10. James, "Oliver Pollock," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 67–71; also *Oliver Pollock*, pp. 61–73, by the same writer.

11. Chester to Germain, Dec. 26, 1776, C.O.5: 593, pp. 105–112, Miss. Trans.; also [Chester] to [General Howe], Nov. 21, 1776, Carleton Papers.

12. James, "Spanish Influence in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IV, 197–198.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202 (figures from Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 313).

On July 10, 1777, the Board of War of the Continental Congress recommended that one thousand men under the command of General Edward Hand be sent down the Mississippi against Mobile and Pensacola and that Colonel Morgan be sent to New Orleans to confer with Galvez on arrangements for the expedition. The proposition was considered in Congress on July 19, 24, and 25. It was argued that such a campaign would result in the gaining of vast stores of merchandise and supplies, the interruption of trade between West Florida and England and the British West Indies, the probable acquisition of a fourteenth state for the confederacy, and the gaining of glory and lustre for American arms. Henry Laurens, who had just taken his seat, vigorously opposed the plan as too expensive and too precarious of success, and on the further ground that the troops required for it could be used to a better advantage in Georgia and South Carolina.[14] Though Congress eventually voted to postpone the matter, a similar plan on a smaller and more informal scale came to fruition in the Willing expedition of the following year.

The exposed and unprotected condition of the Mississippi region of West Florida had for some time been a cause of anxiety to the inhabitants. On February 4, 1778, the grand jury at a court of general sessions held at Manchac requested Chester to inform the home government of the defenseless state of this section of the province and to make clear the need of militia for protection from a slave insurrection and for defense in case of a rupture with Spain.[15] In the latter part of this month occurred the Willing raid which came with dramatic suddenness to Natchez and Manchac and left in its wake destruction, fear, and bitter feeling.

14. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford ed.), VIII, 576–577, 578, 579. Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II, 445–449, Laurens to the President of South Carolina [John Rutledge], Aug. 12, 1777; James, *Oliver Pollock*, pp. 107–108. James' citations on these pages to the *Journals of the Continental Congress* should be to *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*.

15. C.O.5: 580, pp. 309–311.

Manchac
Re: Richard Pears

James Willing was a younger brother of Thomas Willing of the well-known Philadelphia firm of Willing and Morris, which participated so actively in financing the Revolution. In 1774, James settled at Natchez where he led a dissipated life for several years, though he apparently stood rather well in the community. In 1777, he returned to Philadelphia, and received authorization from the Commerce Committee of the Continental Congress to lead a small expedition down the Mississippi. The instructions of this Committee to Willing have not been found, so it is impossible to make a complete statement as to the purposes of his excursion, but it is apparent that one aim was to secure supplies from New Orleans. It may be that he was also directed to seize the property of those attached to the British cause who lived along the east bank of the river and to secure a pledge of neutrality from others. At any rate, he enlisted a company and set out from Pittsburgh on January 10, 1778, in the armed boat, *Rattletrap*.[16]

The conduct of Willing was ill-calculated to win supporters for the colonies. As his expedition proceeded down the river it gathered recruits who added to the numbers if not to the quality of the personnel. The village of Natchez was taken by surprise on February 21, and an agreement of neutrality was forced upon the inhabitants. Anthony Hutchins, one of the leading settlers of the district, was held as prisoner. The expedition continued on its way to Manchac, burning and pillaging some of the settlements where Willing had been entertained during his residence in the colony. Some of the plantation owners, among them William Dunbar, heard of the approach of the marauders in time to flee with their slaves and valuables to the Spanish side of the river, but others saw their slaves and their movable property carried away. Arriving at Manchac on February 28, Willing and his followers made the inhabi-

16. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1778–1779*, pp. 191–192n. Also Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II, 565n, and the Commercial Committee to Robert Morris, Feb. 21, 1778, *ibid.*, III, 95–96.

tants prisoners on their parole, and captured a British armed vessel. They then proceeded with their spoils to New Orleans where they were hospitably received by Galvez and allowed to dispose of the booty.[17]

The entire province was thrown into great excitement and apprehension by this occurrence. Chester authorized the raising of a troop of twenty-five officers and two hundred and fifty enlisted men under the command of John McGillivray. Captain Francis Miller, formerly of the Massachusetts provincial troops, was directed to raise an independent company.[18] Chester protested vigorously to Galvez for receiving the Willing forces and for allowing them to dispose of their plunder in New Orleans.[19] He sent a small force to Manchac in order to protect the Mississippi region. He appealed to General Dalling, governor of Jamaica, who sent a force of one hundred men, and to Sir Peter Parker, in command of the Jamaica naval base, who responded by sending the frigate *Active* and the armed schooner *Florida* to the mouth of the Mississippi.[20] A resolution of the council required that all strangers appear before a justice of the peace within five days of their arrival in the province and give account of themselves, testifying of their disapprobation of the rebels and taking the oath of allegiance if required; tavern-keepers were instructed to report to the council the arrival of strangers.[21] The British government itself was aroused and determined to send reënforcements to the province and to occupy again the post at Manchac.[22] Chester reported that the

17. Dunbar placed a full account of this expedition in his diary (Rowland, *William Dunbar*, pp. 60–63); see also Anthony Hutchins to Germain, May 21, 1778, C.O.5: 594, pp. 475–483. The best modern accounts are in Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 102–134, and James, *Oliver Pollock*, pp. 117–130.

18. Chester to Germain, April 14, 1778, C.O.5: 594, pp. 365–372, Miss. Trans.

19. Same to Galvez, May 28, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 629–641.

20. Same to Germain, June 2, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 621–624.

21. Minutes of Council, March 10, 1778, C.O.5: 631.

22. Germain to general officer commanding in West Florida, July 1, 1778, C.O.5: 594, pp. 468–474, Miss. Trans. General Sir Henry Clinton to Brigadier General John Campbell, Oct. 27, 1778, Carleton Papers.

presence of ships at the mouth of the Mississippi and the troops at Manchac caused Galvez to assume a more civil air toward West Florida authorities.

The results of the Willing raid were, on the whole, quite unfavorable to the American cause. Manchac and Natchez were soon in British possession again after counter attacks led by Adam Chrystie and Anthony Hutchins. Military posts at these places were reëstablished and strengthened to such an extent that the sending of supplies from New Orleans up the river to the Americans became uncertain and hazardous. The settlers along the Mississippi, far from being won over, were alienated by the excesses and indiscretions of Willing. This leader was soon at odds with Galvez over an alleged infringement of Spanish sovereignty, and with Oliver Pollock, commercial agent of the Continental Congress, over the division of the plunder and other matters relating to finance. Not surprisingly, he soon wore out his welcome in New Orleans. Attempting to return to Philadelphia by sea, Willing was taken prisoner when the sloop on which he took passage was captured. After an uncomfortable confinement he was eventually exchanged or released.[23]

Willing, Pollock, and Galvez evidently discussed at length the question of the conquest of West Florida. On October 10, 1778, the Board of War reported to the Continental Congress that the papers referred to it had been taken into consideration. These papers were letters and extracts of letters from the governor of New Orleans, from Pollock, and from Willing, on the situation of affairs on the Mississippi. The report recommended: that because of the numerous operations under way at the time, it was impracticable for the States to undertake an enterprise of the

23. Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 129–134. Early historians carried a story to the effect that Willing was captured while on a reconnaissance near Mobile, and narrowly missed being hanged. Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, p. 251, and J. A. Pickett, *History of Alabama*, p. 348. After the disturbance that Willing had caused, however, it seems highly improbable that Governor Chester would have failed to mention such an episode in his correspondence with the home government.

magnitude recommended by Governor Galvez; that probably Congress would be enabled to turn its attention to operations in that quarter in the near future; and, finally, that Galvez be requested to accept the thanks of Congress for his spirited and disinterested conduct toward the States and be assured that Congress would take every opportunity of evincing the favorable and friendly sentiments which were entertained toward him.[24]

The need for protecting the province against further depredations moved Chester to summon the assembly for the purpose of passing a militia act. The governor, it will be recalled, had quarrelled with the commons house in 1772 over the question of privilege and no assembly had been called since that time. The members of the lower chamber of the assembly of 1778 were jealous of their rights, and Chester was no more willing to compromise than he had been in 1772. A disagreement occurred over the representation in the assembly of the town of Mobile. The commons house was not willing to proceed with the business at hand until Mobile had been given representation. Chester, on his part, claimed that the apportionment of seats was part of the royal prerogative which was delegated to the governor and he refused to make any concessions. After a fruitless session of six weeks the assembly was indefinitely prorogued.

The Willing raid impressed upon the British government the defenseless condition of West Florida. The military and naval reënforcements from Jamaica have already been mentioned. In the latter part of 1778, Brigadier General John Campbell was on his way to Pensacola with reenforcements of about 1,200 men, including 700 Waldeckers[25] and 475 Pennsylvania and Maryland loyalists.[26]

24. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford ed.), Oct. 31, 1778, XII, 1083–1084.

25. Waldeckers were German mercenary troops from the principality of Waldeck.

26. Campbell to Germain from Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 26, 1778, C.O.5: 597, pp. 1–9, Miss. Trans.

He had orders to establish a post on the Mississippi near old Fort Bute (Manchac) and was instructed to give all proper protection to the subjects of the king in their efforts to carry on lawful commerce and to improve and cultivate their land. He was warned, however, not to offend the Spaniards or the Indians in alliance with the British.[27] Campbell reached Pensacola on January 17, 1779. He was impressed by the poor repair in which he found the fortifications of the province and was handicapped in carrying out his orders by the lack of supplies and equipment. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, British commander at New York, he said, "And last of all I have to set forth to your Excellency the total impossibility of beginning the fortifications to be erected on the Mississippi for want of materials, for want of tools, for want of artificers, for want of proper vessels for the navigation to transport troops and provisions, and even for want of provisions. In short for a thousand reasons it cannot possibly be begun until next fall." [28] Nevertheless, by midsummer he had not only dispatched troops to Manchac, but had ordered the establishment of a small post at Natchez, site of the old French Fort Panmure.[29]

In the meantime, Spain having at last come into the war as an ally of France (June 15, 1779), the authorities in England planned to capture New Orleans. In a secret and confidential dispatch of June 25, 1779, Campbell was ordered to coöperate with Admiral Sir Peter Parker in the execution of this design. On receiving this order Campbell wrote Clinton that a surprise attack on New Orleans was impossible because of the lack of naval transports, intrenching tools, and artillery, and because of the condition of his troops as a result of desertion and sickness.[30] Germain advised a similar expedition against New Orleans in the latter part of 1780.[31]

27. Germain to general officer commanding in West Florida, July 1, 1778, C.O.5: 594, pp. 463–474, Miss. Trans.
28. Feb. 10, 1779, C.O.5: 597, pp. 41–98.
29. Campbell to Germain, July 14, 1779, Miss. Trans., vol. X. This is a volume of miscellaneous manuscripts from the Public Record Office.
30. Sept. 11, 1779, *ibid.*

The news of the entrance of Spain into the war reached Pensacola on September 9, and Campbell immediately dispatched communications to Colonel Alexander Dickson and Captain Anthony Forster, commanding at Manchac and Natchez, respectively, apprising them of this fact and ordering them to make all possible preparations for hostilities.[32] But the news had reached New Orleans earlier, at least by August 20, and the energetic Galvez had proceeded immediately up the Mississippi with a large force. Dickson, retiring from Manchac, fell back to a stronger position at Baton Rouge, twelve miles up the river. Galvez pressed on, attacked him there, and on September 21, Dickson agreed to articles of capitulation whereby all British forces on the Mississippi were surrendered with full honors of war.[33]

In the face of this emergency the old quarrel between the civil and the military authorities flared up again, and the colony was torn once more by internal dissensions. The prorogation of the assembly of 1778 had by no means settled the question at issue. Several members of the body, led by Adam Chrystie, the speaker, forwarded a memorial of protest to Samuel Hannay, legislative agent of the province in London, with the request that it be placed before the king.[34] In the spring of 1779 a petition signed by 136 "Gentlemen, Freeholders and Principal Inhabitants"

31. Germain to Campbell, Nov. 1, 1780, C.O.5: 597, pp. 465–468, Miss. Trans.
32. Letters of this date from James Campbell (secretary to General Campbell) to Dickson and Forster, Miss. Trans., vol. X.
33. Campbell to Germain, Dec. 5, 1779, C.O.5: 597, pp. 229–254, Miss. Trans. Also Campbell to Clinton, Sept. 14, 1779, and Nov. 7, 1779 in Carleton Papers. For a Spanish account of the campaign, see Bernardo de Galvez to José de Galvez, Oct. 16, 1779, translated transcripts in Howard Memorial Library in New Orleans. Good secondary accounts are Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 149–170, and James, *Oliver Pollock*, pp. 191–198.
34. Minutes of a meeting held at the Carolina Coffee Shop, March 10, 1779, C.O.5: 595, pp. 473–476, Miss. Trans.

of West Florida was sent to the king charging Chester and his private secretary, Philip Livingston, Junior, with misappropriations of public funds and other grave irregularities.[35] So intense was the feeling against the governor that it was not until 1782, a year after the fall of the province, that the agitation against him was finally dropped.[36] On September 10, 1779, Campbell suggested to Chester, in view of the danger which threatened the colony and the lack of a militia law, that martial law be established for a period of not less than six months.[37] Accordingly, Chester placed the matter before the council. Lieutenant Governor Durnford, Lieutenant Colonel Stiell, Captain Rainsford, and Captain Johnstone, who might be said to represent the military point of view, favored such an action, but Chief Justice Clifton, Customs Collector Bruce, and Messrs. Stephenson and Hodge, local merchants, agreed with the governor that such a step would be illegal and unconstitutional. As a possible compromise, Chester suggested to Campbell that he was willing to issue a proclamation requiring that all inhabitants take the oath of allegiance before magistrates and enroll in military companies under officers of their own selection.[38]

Chester, furthermore, declined to act on a suggestion from Campbell that the assembly be called together for the purpose of passing a militia law, on the ground that in the preceding year it had been given ample opportunity to act on this matter and had failed to do so. Besides, he pointed out, eight of the members were in Manchac and Natchez, by this time under Spanish control, and two others had left the province; a quorum, therefore, could not be obtained. The governor criticized the general severely for his failure

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 785–816. A manuscript copy of Chester's defense has been printed by James A. Padgett in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 31–46.

36. Albany Wallis to one Cumberland, April 28, 1782, C.O.5: 581, p. 28. *Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, May 1, 1782, XIV, 472.

37. Campbell to Chester, Miss. Trans, vol. X.

38. Chester to Campbell, Sept. 11, 1779, *ibid.*

to protect the Mississippi region, saying that though Campbell had been in the province since January 18, he had made no attempt to fortify the western part of the colony.[39] Campbell on his part spoke feelingly in regard to the inhabitants, the Indians, and the governor. "I find the inhabitants in general," he said, "self-interested and without public spirit, whose minds are only attached to gain and their private concerns; in short nothing can be had from them even in this emergency but at an enormous and extravagant price, and personal service on the general principles of national defense is too generous and exalted for their conceptions." [40] The Indians, he said "are a mercenary race, and are the purchase and slaves of the highest bidder, without gratitude or affection. However, my lord, I'm afraid the Europeans themselves have taught them these principles." His characterization of Chester in the same letter was equally unflattering: "The governor, too, perseveres cold, phlegmatic, and indifferent, in his conduct, and, would not proceed one tittle beyond the strict and most limited construction of the law, to save West Florida." [41]

With such mutual distrust and lack of coöperation between the civil and military heads of West Florida, and with Great Britain pressed by the active hostility of half of Europe and the armed neutrality of most of the other half, it is not surprising that a leader of the ability and determination of Galvez should have been successful in his operations against the colony. In early February, 1780, the Spanish governor set out from the Balise, at the mouth of the Mississippi, for Mobile with an expedition of twelve small vessels and 750 men. Though the fleet was damaged by a hurricane, it eventually reached its destination and was joined by five ships with reënforcements from Havana.

39. Same to Germain with enclosure, Nov. 15, 1779, C.O.5: 595, pp. 821–824, Miss. Trans.

40. Campbell to Germain, Sept. 14, 1779, C.O.5: 597, pp. 393–404, Miss. Trans.

41. Same to same, Dec. 15, 1779, *ibid.*, pp. 229–254.

On March 1, Galvez demanded the surrender of Fort Charlotte, but Lieutenant Governor Durnford, the commandant, refused although his forces were greatly inferior in number. The Spanish therefore made preparations for an attack. Meanwhile, General Campbell, at last persuaded that an appeal for help from Mobile was not just a ruse to draw him from Pensacola, rushed reënforcements to the beleaguered town. The bombardment of the fort began on the morning of March 12 and by sunset the Spanish cannonading had made such a breach in the walls of the fort that Durnford was forced to ask for terms of surrender. The arrangements eventually agreed upon were with minor variations similar to those made with Dickson. General Campbell's reënforcements arrived a few hours too late.[42]

Galvez prepared to capture Pensacola and complete the conquest of the province by using Mobile as a base and obtaining aid from Havana. The English prepared for a final stand; friendly Indians were summoned to Pensacola; naval and military reënforcements were sent from Jamaica.[43] Spanish authorities at Havana made at least two gestures toward an attack on Pensacola but were deterred by timidity and by reports of British ships of war in the vicinity.[44] In August Galvez himself went to Havana and after numerous *junta de guerra* a formidable expedition sailed on October 16 for the West Florida capital. But Pensacola was saved for the time being by a hurricane which scattered the fleet and necessitated the temporary abandonment of the project.[45] In January, 1781, Campbell sent a force overland to make a counter-attack on

42. Same to same, March 24, 1780, *ibid.*, pp. 331–340; Chester to Germain, May 17, 1780, with Articles of Capitulation, C.O.5: 595, pp. 935–938, Miss. Trans. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 250–257. Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 171–186.

43. Governor Dalling to Chester, Feb. 16, 1781, C.O.5: 137, vol. 80, Florida State Historical Society photostats.

44. Campbell to Germain, May 15, 1780, C.O.5: 597, pp. 405–412; Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 187–190.

45. Campbell to Germain, Jan. 5, 1781, C.O.5: 597, pp. 573–576; Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 192–193.

Mobile, but the expedition was repulsed with heavy losses. An additional negative effect, from the English point of view, was the fact that this incident served to strengthen Galvez's hand in his endeavor to convince the officials at Havana of the necessity of bringing Pensacola under Spanish control.[46]

The dangers threatening to overwhelm West Florida did not cause cessation of internal friction. In July, 1780, Campbell wrote Germain setting forth his view of the merits of the dispute over jurisdiction in which he was engaged with Chester.[47] In the following January, he complained of the indifference of the governor in encouraging civilians to aid in the defense of the colony: "In short, my lord, (with regret I say) there is no civil authority in this province only what is sufficient from the nature of the constitution to prevent the establishment of the military."[48]

During the winter of 1780–81, Galvez had reassembled and reorganized his expedition and on the last day of February the small armada set sail from Havana. Ten days later the fleet arrived before the Pensacola harbor and after a brief delay a landing was effected. This maneuver was the more easily accomplished because of the inadequacy of the harbor defenses and the lack of naval protection. Soon reënforcements of 2,300 men arrived from Mobile and New Orleans, and on April 19 a combined Spanish and French squadron with another 2,300 appeared unexpectedly. Galvez now had more than 7,000 men under his command and besieged the town by land and by sea. Campbell had a force of about 2,500, including about a thousand Indians, with which to oppose him. Despite this disparity in numbers the British put up a stubborn resistance and the issue was long in doubt; but the explosion, on May 8, of an English powder magazine, re-

46. Campbell to Germain, Jan. 11, 1781, C.O.5: 597, pp. 581–585 Miss. Trans.; Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 194–195.

47. Campbell to Germain, July 27, 1780, C.O.5: 597, pp. 369–372, Miss. Trans.

48. Same to same, Jan. 5, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 573–576.

sulted in the surrender of the town and garrison on the following day. It was agreed by the two commanders and Governor Chester that the British soldiers should be transported to some part of North America where the British were still in control and that the ultimate fate of the province should be left to the respective courts.[49]

A tragic phase of the conquest of West Florida was the rebellion against Spanish authority which broke out in the Natchez district during the latter part of April. The uprising had been sanctioned by Campbell and though successful at first, it naturally collapsed on the arrival of the news of the Spanish success at Pensacola. Some of the leaders were seized and imprisoned for a while and others fled with their families to the seaboard states. Though their property was confiscated it is to the credit of Galvez that there were no executions.[50]

As has already been pointed out, Spain's objectives in the war were the Floridas (especially Pensacola, Mobile, and the Mississippi region), Gibraltar, and Minorca. After winning West Florida she sent an expedition against Gibraltar, the possession of which was necessary to her security and self-respect and the desire to gain which was the key to all of her diplomatic maneuvering. England on her part was unwilling to give up the Floridas without a struggle, and the provisional treaty between England and

49. Chester to Germain (from Charles Town), July 2, 1781, C.O.5: 596 (not paged). Two letters with enclosures, Campbell to Germain, May 7 and 12, 1781, C.O.5: 597, pp. 619–630, Miss. Trans. Campbell to Clinton, May 12, 1781, and May 21, 1781, and Articles of Capitulation, May 9, 1781, in Carleton Papers. Two interesting maps of the siege, one depicting the land and the other the water operations are in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. They were made by Captain-Lieutenant Henry Heldring of the Third Waldeck Regiment who was acting engineer at Pensacola. The best secondary account is found in Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 187–214.

50. Campbell to Germain (from New York), July 21, 1781, C.O.5: 597, pp. 751–755, Miss. Trans. Campbell to Clinton (from New York), July 17, 1781, and acrimonious correspondence on the subject between Galvez and Campbell in the Carleton Papers. Good secondary accounts are Siebert, "Loyalists in West Florida," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 465–483, and Caughey, *Galvez*, pp. 215–242.

the United States provided a northern boundary of thirty-one degrees for West Florida in case the province remained in the hands of Spain (this was the boundary prescribed by the Proclamation of 1763). But in the event that England was able to regain possession, the boundary was to be thirty-two degrees and twenty-eight minutes[51] (the boundary as established by the additional commission to Governor Johnstone in 1764). Spain's hopes for Gibraltar, however, were crushed by the victory of England's relief expedition in 1782. By the terms of the treaty negotiated between England and Spain in Paris, in 1783, the Floridas with boundaries undefined, and Minorca were formally ceded to the latter power; nothing was said of Gibraltar except that the Treaty of Utrecht was confirmed, meaning of course that the fortress was to remain in the possession of England.[52] The discrepancy between the northern limit of West Florida, as defined in the preliminary treaty between England and the United States and as interpreted by Spain, was to be the fruitful cause of much controversy between the United States and Spain.[53]

51. W. M. Malloy (compiler), *Treaties, Conventions*, etc., I, 580–584 (Senate Documents, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, vol. 47). Also Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, II, 101n.

52. Charles Jenkinson, *A Collection of Treaties*, III, 392–400. See also Bemis, *Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, Chaps. XVII and XVIII.

53. I. J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy*, Chap. I, and S. F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, Chap. I.

pounding Lake Marion. Most of Stewart's men were Tories, many of them deserters from Greene's own army. Against this force, Greene advanced and achieved a surprise on September 8, 1781. The battle, hotly fought for four hours, was nearly won when American troops fell into confusion, partly because they stopped to plunder the British camp of food and rum. Greene ordered his troops to retreat and marched back seven miles. Both sides claimed the victory, one of the hardest fought battles of the war, but Stewart realized that he had to fall back to Charleston. Greene again was a victor without holding the field of battle. Stewart had lost some two fifths of his whole force, 866 casualties. Greene had 139 killed and 375 wounded. Next day, a detachment of American troops that had been left to observe the retreating redcoats had to watch them smash more than 120 hogsheads of rum and pour the liquor into the creek—a sight to draw tears from wooden Indians.

The last formally organized British forces were now concentrated in Charleston. Cornwallis had achieved his wish of invading Virginia from Wilmington—and on October 17, 1781, had been forced to surrender at Yorktown. The end was in sight; but in South Carolina's back country, bitter civil war still raged as Whigs and Tories continued to raid and burn.

Greene, who had returned to camp in the High Hills of Santee after Eutaw Springs, could muster hardly more than 1,000 able-bodied soldiers. But in November, with reinforcements sent by Washington, he marched down to the Low Country to hold the British in Charleston and to keep them from sending out parties in search of food. Some minor fighting took place. While trying to intercept a British foraging party, Lieutenant John Laurens, the able son of Henry Laurens, was killed at Combahee Ferry on August 27, 1782.

The British finally determined to evacuate Charleston, and a fleet arrived on September 6, 1782, for that purpose. By December 14, the troops, some 3,800 Tories, and more than 5,000 slaves embarked and sailed away. South Carolina at last was independent in fact as well as in name.

Although South Carolina in 1776 had been less than unanimous in its desire for independence, before the war was over, it

had made major contributions to its achievement. The battles of Kings Mountain and Cowpens and General Nathanael Green's Fabian retreats so hampered Cornwallis's strategy that Yorktown and its aftermath were inevitable.

Memories of Tory atrocities in the back country resulted in summary vengeance meted out to many when the war was over. In the Saluda River region of Ninety Six District, one of the cruelest Tories had been William (''Bloody Bill'') Cunningham. He was charged with committing scores of wanton murders, including women and children. The first elected House of Representatives after the war recommended that the governor offer a reward of 300 guineas for Cunningham, dead or alive, but he apparently escaped to British Florida. Rewards of 100 guineas were offered for lesser Tories. Self-appointed groups frequently warned Tories trying to return to their homes to leave—and soon. In April 1784, a dozen Tories came back to Fishing Creek in Chester County and tried to reclaim their homes. They were given twenty days to move. At the expiration of this period of grace, eight were killed, and the remaining four were sent as emissaries to warn other Tories that they too could expect to swing. When a judge in a Ninety Six court released on a technicality one of ''Bloody Bill'' Cunningham's henchmen named Love, kinsmen of men whom Love had murdered waited until the judge was out of sight and then hanged Love from the limb of a nearby tree.

Yet, despite sporadic outbreaks of lynch law and a few riots, the country fairly soon settled into ways of peace. Men and women, sick of fighting and bloodshed, wanted to get on with their farming, cattle raising, and other vocations. Even though the back country had suffered most from civil strife, the farmers and traders quickly recovered. They had had little to begin with, and they were resilient. Their plight was less serious than that of many rice planters whose black slaves had been captured and taken away by the British: the planters were left without workers and lacked capital with which to renew their labor force.

The first postwar legislature met at Jacksonborough on the Edisto in January 1782. It voted the state's thanks to Generals Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, along ''with the brave militia,''

and presented Boone's Barony, a plantation south of the Edisto, to General Greene. This property, however, Greene was obliged to sell to pay off debts incurred when he had borrowed money to feed his soldiers. He finally settled on a plantation that Georgia gave him. The populace as a whole soon showed its resentment of any favors to the military, a characteristic of Americans after the need for protection by soldiers and sailors is past.

The legislature elected Christopher Gadsden governor, but he declined on account of ill health, and John Mathews was chosen in his place. Gadsden fought efforts to pass laws confiscating the estates of known Tories; eventually the punitive laws were moderated, and Tories were treated with mercy, if not always with complete leniency. The war, however, bequeathed social and economic problems that would bedevil the state for years to come. Freedom, South Carolina discovered, was not much easier for its citizens than life "under the British yoke"—to use the term beloved by the propagandists of liberty.

8

King Cotton and the Road to Ruin

IF a young Yale graduate had not gone to Georgia in the autumn of 1792 with the family of General Nathanael Greene, the social history of the South might have been different. The young man was Eli Whitney, who had been offered a job instructing the children of a South Carolinian. When the tutorship turned out to pay only half the amount promised, Whitney remained in the Greene household on the general's plantation a few miles from Savannah. There he heard much talk about cotton. Planters were interested in new crops to supplement rice production, and cotton was a possibility—if a way could be found to separate the lint from the seed. Picking it off by hand—the only way then known—was slow and prohibitively expensive. Someone suggested to Whitney, who had demonstrated his skill with tools, that he turn his hand to the invention of a device to clean cotton seed. He accepted the challenge.

Two varieties of cotton had been tried in the South: the so-called sea-island cotton, grown principally, as the name indicates, on the coastal islands off Carolina and Georgia. This was a long-staple, silky cotton with smooth black seeds. The lint came away from the seeds of this variety with relative ease. In India, where it had been grown for many centuries, a primitive ginning device had been long in use.

Carolina, and to pursue the Tories who had captured the gunpowder destined for the Cherokees. With some 2,500 men, Richardson moved on Ninety Six and then followed the Tories to a camp they had established on the Reedy River at the Great Cane Brake, six miles southwest of Fountain Inn in Greenville County. He killed five or six Tories and captured the rest; these the Council of Safety later paroled. This campaign in the back country led to an uneasy peace that prevailed in most areas until the British captured Charleston in 1780 and encouraged the Tories of the interior to seek vengeance on their Whig neighbors.

A second Provincial Congress of South Carolinians was called into session on November 1, 1775. This time they elected William Henry Drayton president in place of the more moderate Laurens. It has been suggested that this was an adroit move to try to make Drayton less obstreperous and vocal. If so, the plan did not work. He continued to call for resistance to "tyranny" and enlisted other young men in his cause. One was Arthur Middleton, like Drayton an aristocrat turned rabble-rouser. At a meeting of the Congress on March 26, 1776, South Carolina adopted a state constitution and elected John Rutledge president and Henry Laurens vice-president. William Henry Drayton was chosen as chief justice.

Although moderates still hoped for reconciliation with Great Britain, and few yet wanted to break away from the mother country, a declaration by the British Parliament that the colonies were in rebellion and that colonial ships and cargoes could be lawfully seized took the wind out of the sails of all who wanted to prevent separation from Great Britain. In the meantime, South Carolina sent four delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia which was soon debating independence. When, on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the four delegates—Arthur Middleton, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Jr., and Thomas Heyward, Jr.—signed on August 2. Henry Laurens declared that separation from Britain caused him to weep and brought him as much sorrow as the death of a son. But many South Carolinians who felt as Laurens did loyally stood by the state and fought its battles.

While the debate on independence went on in Philadelphia, the British were launching an attack on Charleston, the most important port in the South and the strategic key to the whole region. The British had first intended to establish a powerful base in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina where, they had been informed, Highland Scots would rally to the royal cause. Unfortunately for their plans, patriots on February 27, 1776, decisively defeated the Tories at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge and thus eliminated the possibility of substantial support for the British.

A powerful force had been destined for the Cape Fear. Sir Henry Clinton, in overall command, was to bring an army by sea from Boston. From Ireland, Admiral Sir Peter Parker was sailing with a fleet of warships and a further contingent of troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. But when the Cape Fear project went awry, the British forces in June 1776 converged on Charleston.

To defend the city, guns were mounted along East Bay and on the point of the peninsula. Fort Johnson, on James Island, guarding one side of the harbor, was already occupied by Patriots. A second fort, opposite Fort Johnson, was under construction on Sullivan's Island. The strength of the new fort lay in its double walls of bolted palmetto logs sixteen feet apart with sand piled between. This fort was still incomplete when the British fleet appeared.

To take charge of the defense of Charleston, General George Washington, whom the Continental Congress had appointed commander-in-chief, sent down General Charles Lee. He was a former British soldier of fortune with some reputation acquired on battlefields in Europe, but in Charleston he proved both arrogant and incompetent. He did not help morale when he characterized the palmetto-log fort on Sullivan's Island as a slaughter pen. If President Rutledge had not intervened, Lee would have ordered the commander, Colonel William Moultrie, to evacuate it.

At the eastern end of Sullivan's Island, Colonel William Thompson had some 500 men facing 2,000 or 3,000 British troops that Clinton had landed on Long Island (now the Isle of

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ers. As a preliminary to the exchange of officers I have insisted upon the exchange of Lieut.-Colonel Campbell and of the Hessian field-officers taken at Trenton, and I hope for the pleasure of reporting the success of this cartel to your lordship in my next dispatches.

Colonels O'Hara and Stephens and Captain Fitzpatrick of the detachment of the Foot Guards are the gentlemen I have nominated as commissioners on my part, in whose abilities and zeal for the honour of His Majesty's service and for the interest of those most immediately concerned I have the strongest reasons to place implicit confidence.

By the late promotions which His Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse has been pleased to make of colonels on this service to be major-generals there are two more here of that rank than is stipulated by treaty, and as those gentlemen may make their application for pay accordingly I humbly request the King's pleasure regarding them. *Signed.* [C.O.5/95, fo. 116]

XV

John Stuart to Lord George Germain (No. 22, Duplicate)

5 March, Pensacola

My Lord, since my letter to your lordship No. 21, dated the 23rd January last [above, No. V], I am honoured with your dispatches Nos. 5 and 6 [Vol. XIV, No. CVIII, Vol. XIII, No. 1145], the former containing extracts of letters [Vol. XIII, Nos 714, 851] from Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton of Detroit, as also copy of your lordship's letter to Governor Chester of the 11th October [Vol. XIII, No. 1090], the latter covering His Majesty's commission appointing me colonel of the several nations of Indians within the district.

His Majesty's most gracious and repeated approbation of my conduct in the management of the important department entrusted to me, as it does me the greatest honour, it also gives me inexpressible pleasure. I beg leave again to repeat to your lordship that to merit a continuation of the royal approbation will be the grand object of my life.

The Cherokee Indians, of whose arrival here I acquainted your lordship in my last letter, have just left me in order to return to their villages and I have the satisfaction of repeating to your lordship that they are most firmly attached to His Majesty. The scarcity of provisions and the other disasters at home induced them to stay here so long, which although it was attended with a very considerable expense will not I hope be deemed by your lordship unnecessary. I thought it incumbent upon me to be very attentive to them, as well in gratitude to their services and sufferings as for an example to the other Indian tribes. They will arrive at their villages in time to plant a little corn for the ensuing year, after which they will be ready to perform any services which may be required of them. I did not fail to communicate to them and shall to all the other tribes the attack upon the frontiers of Virginia by Lieut.-Governor Hamilton's Indians, which I dare say will animate them to exert their utmost for His Majesty's interest.

A party of the Cowetahs who had been out harrassing the frontiers of

Georgia attacked a party of the rebel rangers successfully and killed three of them, upon which they returned to their villages. This has afforded a plausible pretext to the rebels for not supplying the Indians with goods as they promised, which in fact has proceeded from inability. This failure on their part and my having stopped the trade to all parts of the nation have brought the Indians of the disaffected party to a sense of their error. Hycout, the deputy from the rebel towns who I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship in my last letter, is returned again from the nation, and with him all the chiefs of the lower towns attached to that interest (except the Cussitahs). They have in the most pressing manner solicited me to let Mr McIntosh, my commissary, return with them to their towns under the strongest assurances and engagements to protect him at the risk of their lives. Among their chiefs is the head warrior of the Appalachicolas, which is considered as the mother and governing town of the whole nation: he has been so earnest in his solicitations, and I am so thoroughly convinced of his power to protect Mr McIntosh, that he sets out in a few days accompanied by the traders for the lower towns.

The example of the lower towns has had such an effect upon the Upper Creeks that several of their chiefs who are now here insist upon conducting Mr Taitt, my deputy, back to his station. This they so earnestly solicited that upon the occasion they shed many tears. I have deferred giving them a final answer for some days although I believe we shall terminate this business to our mutual satisfaction.

This, my lord, is the present state of the Creek nation; and the arrival of all the ships with Indian goods from London at St Augustine as well as at this place, and the success of His Majesty's cruisers off Charleston bar, render it improbable that the rebels will have it in their power to send in a sufficient supply of goods to any of the Indian nations. Yet Mr Galphin, the rebel agent, still retains a party in the Oakfuskees and Cussitah towns where some of their commissaries and traders are protected, but I expect that will not long be the case.

Some of the principal great and small medal chiefs of the Choctaws have just left me. This nation is extremely well attached and much devoted to the King's interest. Whilst they were here Mr Bethune, my commissary, received the letter, a copy of which I have the honour to submit to your lordship [Vol. XIII, No. 1483i]. The intelligence contained in it I immediately communicated to Governor Chester. I am sorry to say that it did not prove entirely groundless, for on the 1st instant Mr Walters, a young gentleman concerned in trade, arrived here in five days from Manchac on the Mississippi, by whom we were informed that two rebel batteaux under the direction of a Mr Willing came down the Mississippi so rapidly that they reached the settlements without being discovered.

The Choctaws, as mentioned in Mr Perry's letter, had returned to their villages and were to be replaced by a fresh party consisting of about fifty. Messrs Perry and Welsh, their conductors, remained at their station at the house of a Mr Watkins about 30 leagues above Natchez, a man extremely well affected to government; and upon the night of the 18th ultimate they were unfortunately surprised and made

prisoners together with two others employed along with them. On the 19th in the morning the rest of the party arrived at Mr Watkins's house consisting in the whole of about one hundred men. At Natchez they seized several persons well affected to government; from thence they proceeded down the river, seizing and plundering in their way all those whom they understood to be friends of government. They arrived the 24th ultimate at Manchac in the morning; so rapid was their descent that they surprised the village and made the inhabitants prisoners before they had any information of their approach. My deputy, Mr Henry Stuart, was then there with a few Indians on their way to this place. The first object of the rebels was to seize a ship then lying at the bank (loading for London) with sixteen guns and a number of swivels, which they effected without the least opposition. Their next object was to apprehend Mr Stuart, of which they happily failed, for he found means of making his escape and is said to have taken refuge in the Spanish fort where he is protected. But of this I expect a very particular account from himself by the first opportunity.

The rebels fell down the river with their prize to New Orleans. Governor Chester will inform your lordship of the steps he has taken in consequence of this intelligence, and I have the honour of submitting to your lordship the orders which I sent to Mr Charles Stuart, my deputy, and Mr Bethune, my commissary, in the Choctaw nation [Vol. XIII, No. 1483ii-iii]. I do not doubt but every step will be taken by them to recover the settlements upon the Mississippi.

The party of rebels who are come down give out that they are to be followed by a body of two thousand in May next.

Captain Pearis of the Loyal Refugees, with twenty-five men which is as many of his company as are at present fit for service, is embarked to give what assistance he can to the settlers upon the Amit who have abandoned their plantations and are retired to the Nitalbani; and upon his arrival there I hope he will be joined by such a body of Choctaws as will enable him to recover Manchac. For further particulars with respect to this invasion I beg leave to refer your lordship to Governor Chester. Upon the whole I think it rather to be lamented that the inhabitants in the Mississippi district have not been formed into a militia under the direction of such persons as could be confided in.

In consequence of orders to me from his Excellency General Sir William Howe respecting the rum trade to the Indian nations, I applied to Governor Chester to assist me to put some check to it, who with the advice of His Majesty's Council issued the proclamation of which I have the honour of submitting a copy [Vol. XIII, No. 1483iv]. The inhabitants of this province have hitherto paid very little attention to it, but your lordship's letter to him of the 11th October last will enable him to invest me with such powers as will effectually remedy the evil. Many salutary provisions are wanting in this province which by calling an Assembly at this time may be obtained.

I beg leave to assure your lordship that no attention or exertion in my power shall be wanting totally to defeat the present invasion of the rebels upon the Mississippi, and to forward His Majesty's interest in every part of my department. *Signed.* [C.O.5/79, fo. 112]

XVI

Lord George Germain to Lords of Admiralty

8th March, Whitehall

Mr Lords, it being His Majesty's determination to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour the next campaign, should the colonies obstinately persist in their refusal to return to their allegiance and pay obedience to the constitutional authority of government, notwithstanding the generous terms held out to them by His Majesty and Parliament; and to that end that detachments of the troops should be employed in making attacks upon their seacoast in conjunction with the fleet and to seize or destroy every ship or vessel in the different creeks or harbours wherever it is found practicable to penetrate, as also to destroy all wharfs and stores and materials for ship-building, so as to incapacitate them from forming a marine or continuing their depredations upon the trade of this kingdom, which has already been so much annoyed by their ships of war and privateers: instructions have accordingly been sent to the commander-in-chief of the army in America to concert with the Admiral the best means of carrying on these operations by the united efforts of the naval and military forces. I am therefore to signify to your lordships His Majesty's pleasure that you do instruct the commander of His Majesty's ships in North America to cooperate with and give every assistance in his power to the troops in the execution of the plans which shall be concerted between them, and for carrying on such other operations as shall be judged most proper for effecting His Majesty's intentions. *Draft.* [C.O.5/128, fo. 83]

XVII

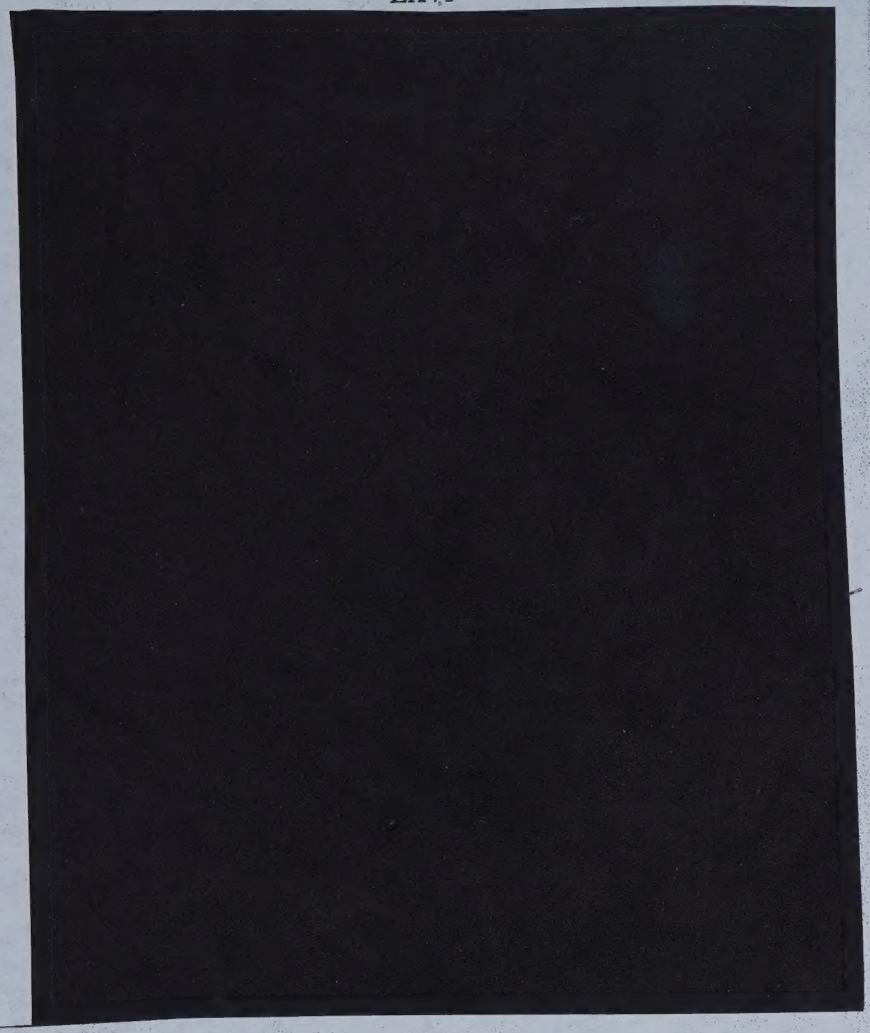
Lord George Germain to General Sir Henry Clinton (Most Secret)

8 March, Whitehall

Sir, in my letter to you of 4th February [Vol. XIII, No. 1402] I acquainted you that, Sir William Howe having requested His Majesty's permission to resign his command, His Majesty had been graciously pleased to acquiesce in his request, and that I had signified to him His Majesty's pleasure that he should deliver up the command to you and put into your possession all orders and instructions he has received from me or any other of the King's servants respecting the troops or the operations in which they have been or were to be employed. The devolution of so great a trust would upon any occasion carry with it the highest proof of the royal confidence, but in the present circumstances when the most essential interests of the British empire are so deeply engaged and the power, reputation, and future welfare of this nation depend in so great a degree upon the successful employment of the forces committed to your command, the importance of the trust increases with the immensity of the object and is the fullest manifestation of His Majesty's entire reliance upon your zeal and ability.

My circular letter of this day's date [Vol. XIII, No. 1503, of 11

LXVI



LXVII

Charles Stuart to John Stuart[1]

1 July, Mobile

Sir, I returned here two days ago from the Choctaws, where I arrived the 23rd May and was informed that Captain Baskett of Colonel McGillivray's corps was in the six towns endeavouring to get a party of

1 Enclosed in Stuart's letter of 10 August 1778 to Germain, below, No. LXXXVI.

Indians to join the colonel, but could with the assistance of Mr Pitchlynn only prevail on five fellows to go with him. I wrote to Captain Baskett to wait till next day as I had to write Colonel McGillivray, which he did, and I got about fifty fellows in all according to their own reports. As from their different situations and the short time Captain Baskett had to stay, I could not rendezvous them at where I was, they were therefore to meet him at a fixed place, which I afterwards understood they did and joined Colonel McGillivray while Mr Bethune was yet there.

As I had first gone to the six towns in consequence of your wish to counteract the Spanish governor, I proposed to remain there for some time and was visited by all the chiefs and principal headmen whom I could not prevail upon to fix a day for a public talk till the first of June, when they fixed the 5th, as several of their principal men were in the woods and could not be home sooner and many of them were drunk. In the interim I was constantly visited by the chiefs and some of the upper towns, and the two Coossa medal chiefs, Mingo Pouch Couch and Pak-hat-lako. The latter I gave a small medal to as he had your commission for it. Nothing extraordinary happened till the 5th when they came to the talk to the amount of upwards of five hundred, for whom victuals were provided such as could be had and are usual on these occasions. All the traders then at home were present, three of whom spoke the language, as also Mr Pitchlynn's son, but as I had engaged Mr Daniel McGillivray I pitched on him to give out the talk.

All the medal and gorget chiefs were present, and after the usual formalities of the smoking and dancing, which last was performed with showing every mark of honour and respect to the union jack I had flying and expressions of attachment to it, I began by explaining 'the cause of my being sent among them which was occasioned by the many bad talks you had heard were constantly flying about in their land; to inquire what those talks were and where they came from; to warn them of their danger in listening to any talks that were contradictory to yours, who had held them so long and so firmly by the hand and had supplied all their wants in such a manner as they never had been supplied before, they knew; to put them in mind of the many talks they had heard from you, their promises to you, and the bad consequence it would be of to their nation to throw away your talks and oblige the Great King by their imprudent behaviour to withdraw his friendship and protection from them.'

'I mentioned to them the different talks which I had heard had been brought into their land from Orleans and from Mr Willing, mentioned the names of those who brought such talks and the bad and weak policy in their giving ear to talks brought in by a few old and discontented people and which they must now see were all lies, for that the Spaniards had not yet taken Mobile as they were told they would (I dwelt much on this article), and where were the presents and trading goods Mr Willing (or the Virginians) was to give them and send among them? I advised them to be strenuous in supporting their present friends, that they would never get such again; for should the Spaniards, whom red men never liked or received good usage from

pended upon or brought to take an active part without being led on or joined with white men, that your lordship will approve of my raising these provincials who would soon be made good troops if continued for any length of time, which I hope may be at least during the continuance of the present rebellion. And should your lordship think proper to establish posts at Natches and Manchac, as the River Mississippi is the frontier of the province and the only way I think practicable for the rebels to penetrate into the colony, they would not only be a protection to the inhabitants of that country in case of a rupture with Spain, but also against any detachments the rebels will probably send against us; and should they come in great force, the provincials at Natches might make a retreat to the Indian country and those at Manchac through the River Iberville to any of His Majesty's vessels stationed in the Lakes Maurepas or Pontchartrain.

Enclosed I transmit to your lordship extracts of the minutes of the Council [Vol. XIII, No. 1639i] respecting the rebels, with our proceedings thereupon, mentioned in the postscript to my letter of the 25th March. Your lordship will see in the extract of the minute of the 3rd March last the orders which I gave to Mr Chrystie, a magistrate in the district of Manchac who is well acquainted with that country and had offered to accompany Captain Pearis with a detachment of Colonel Stuart's corps to obtain intelligence, and if practicable to dispossess the rebels at Manchack; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship that Mr Chrystie after his arrival on the River Amit proceeded with one subaltern officer, ten men of Colonel Stuart's corps, a young midshipman belonging to the armed sloop *Florida,* and one seaman, to Manchac where about daybreak he surprised the rebel guard-house at that place, killed three, wounded five, and took thirteen prisoners; and although the rebels were four times his force, they fled to the Spanish side of the River Iberville for protection and suffered him to bring off his party with the prisoners unmolested. These prisoners are now in gaol at this place and I applied to Captain Lloyd of His Majesty's sloop of war *Atalanta,* who convoys the merchant ships that sail at this time from hence to England, to carry them with him, who acquaints me that his ship is so much crowded with seamen taken from rebel privateers and vessels at sea that he cannot receive them. I must therefore defer sending them till another opportunity offers. *Signed.* [C.O.5/594, p. 365]

XXXV

Lord George Germain to Governor Frederick Haldimand (No. 4)

16 April, Whitehall

Sir, His Majesty's instructions which will be delivered to you herewith contain such directions as His Majesty has judged necessary to give you for your guidance in the administration of the government of the province of Quebec, and it is His Majesty's pleasure that as soon as may be after your arrival in your government you do give your

diligence to the carrying into execution the several orders therein contained. The security and defence of the province must, however, be the primary object of your attention and His Majesty relies upon your zeal and ability for employing the force put under your command and exerting every other means in your power so effectually for repelling any attack from without or checking any turbulent disposition within, that the very valuable and important possession committed to your care will be preserved entire to His Majesty, and his faithful subjects therein continued in the enjoyment of the blessings of security and tranquillity.

The troops already in Canada are stated to exceed 5000 and it is intended to send thither a corps of the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbzt's consisting of about 600, which with the recruits provided for the Brunswick and Hanau troops will make an addition of near twelve hundred men. This force it is supposed will be fully sufficient to defend the province in its present state against any attack that may be made upon it from the rebellious provinces; but as it is intended that you should be in a condition to make a diversion upon their frontiers if the war continues and to second the operations which may be judged necessary to be carried on from the coast of the Atlantic, it is His Majesty's pleasure that if upon a mature consideration of all circumstances you shall think it expedient you do grant commissions to such of the King's ancient or new subjects as you shall think proper to command a corps of Canadians not exceeding one thousand men, the private men of such a corps to be taken by draughts from the militia or by way of corvée to serve a limited time and to be relieved by other draughts in succession or in such a manner as you shall judge to be best for the service and most agreeable to the dispositions of the inhabitants. The officers so long as the corps subsists are to receive pay, and the private men during the time of service are respectively to receive pay, clothing, and all other advantages which are allowed to the battalion of Royal Emigrants serving in Canada or any other provincial corps. Some military works are also intended to be erected in the province for its greater security and the Board of Ordnance have received orders to prepare plans and estimates for that purpose; and as soon as I receive them I shall lay them before the King and lose no time in transmitting to you His Majesty's instructions for carrying such of them into execution as shall be approved.

I am further to acquaint you that it is His Majesty's pleasure you should be particularly attentive to what passes in the rebellious provinces on your frontiers and to discover any designs that may be entertained of making an attack upon Canada, and in such case you will immediately acquaint Sir Henry Clinton with the intelligence you receive in order that he may send you such reinforcement as may be necessary to enable you to repel such an attack, and it will be very proper that you take every opportunity of corresponding with Sir Henry Clinton and giving him such information as you may think of importance and useful for His Majesty's service. *Draft.* [C.O.42/38, fo. 15]

No event has since happened to make any alteration necessary in the orders contained in those instructions or in my letter; but I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the treaty made by the French Court with the agents of the rebellious colonies appears to have been done without the participation of Spain, as hitherto that Court has shown no hostile intentions towards Great Britain. And it is probable that France has been induced to take that precipitate step through the apprehension that the distresses of the rebels would oblige them to accommodate with Great Britain without trying the fortune of another campaign.

I trust, however, the people in general have not so entirely lost all affection for this country and regard for their own interest and future happiness as to prefer an alliance with France to a renewal of their connection with Great Britain upon terms so very advantageous for them as those the commissioners are authorized to offer, and that peace will be restored without the infliction of further severities. *Draft.* [C.O.5/95, fo. 110]

XXXII

John Stuart to Lord George Germain (No. 23)

13 April, Pensacola

Since my letter to your lordship of 5th March, No. 22 [above, No. XV], I have not been honoured with any of your lordship's commands. Your lordship's letter of 11th October to Governor Chester [Vol. XIII, No. 1090], of which you was pleased to send me a copy in your dispatch No. 5 [Vol. XIV, No. CVIII], was laid by the governor before his Council who were unanimously of opinion that it was incumbent upon him to call an Assembly in obedience to the King's command signified in your lordship's said letter. The governor then communicated to His Majesty's Council the intelligence which he had received from the Mississippi concerning the descent of the rebels, and desired to have their opinion whether or not calling an Assembly ought to be postponed until the troubles upon the Mississippi should be more settled, in which state that business remains.

In my last I had the honour of submitting to your lordship what intelligence I had then received of the operations of the rebels upon the Mississippi and of the steps which I had taken in consequence. Captain Pearis, accompanied by Mr Adam Christie, a planter upon the Amit, arrived at the Nitalbany River, from whence Mr Christie set out to obtain what intelligence he could of the situation of the enemy at Manshac. He found his own and most of the plantations upon the Amit plundered and ruined, all the buildings and a large quantity of corn reduced to ashes. With indefatigable pains he made himself acquainted with the situation of the rebels at Manshac and was of opinion that they might be surprised; upon which, after having consulted with Captain Pearis, it was determined that a part of his company should go upon that service under the command of Lieutenant Pearis conducted by Mr Christie. This small party, in all consisting of fifteen people, marched accordingly and after a march of eighteen

miles bad road entered Manshac a little before daylight, having surprised and seized the rebel centinel without noise. They proceeded immediately to force the guardhouse, which they effected without any other loss than one man wounded in the arm, after having killed and desperately wounded five and brought off thirteen prisoners. The rest of the rebels to the number of twenty-two escaped across the Iberville and took shelter in the Spanish fort. Mr Christie and Lieutenant Pearis, considering their party as too weak to maintain their ground, retreated with their prisoners and booty, and having joined Captain Pearis and the rest of his company they all embarked for and arrived safe at this place. The prisoners were delivered to the governor and are now in jail. I hope it will appear to your lordship that Mr Christie and Lieutenant Pearis had much merit in conducting this enterprise and that their small party of Loyal Refugees did their duty with courage and resolution.

Immediately after the rebel batteaux passed by the Natches the inhabitants of that district deputed two persons (Mr McIntosh and Mr Collins) to wait of Governor Chester and to petition for a detachment from this garrison for their protection. This was referred to Colonel Stiell who thought it improper to weaken his hand here, as many works for the defence of this place are wanted in case the enemy should come in force to attack it. Their petition was therefore not complied with. But as my deputy, Captain Cameron, was here with about twenty-three men, Cherokee traders of his company, the governor sent a deputation of Council to desire that he and his company might be sent to the Natches with the Choctaw Indians. But the party was so inconsiderable, only eighteen of them being fit for duty, and the distance so great that to provide them with stores and every necessary for such a march would have been in my opinion a fruitless expense, as neither Mr Cameron or his people are acquainted with the Choctaws or their customs, and as he and they may very soon be wanted in his proper district. Captain Cameron by my direction waited of the Governor in Council to acquaint him with my reasons for declining the proposal, but I offered to send him immediately if his number could be completed to fifty men by volunteers from the garrison; but this was not thought expedient.

As the inhabitants of Mobile petitioned also for a reinforcement to their garrison, and as Colonel Stiel's reasons equally militated against this as that measure, the governor again applied to me for Captain Cameron's company, which I immediately ordered to embark upon the armed sloop belonging to the department. They are now doing duty at Mobile in the fort, twenty-four men besides officers.

In my last I had the honour of acquainting your lordship that I had directed Mr Bethune, commissary in the Choctaw nation, to march with as many of his Indians and chiefs as he could prevail upon to follow him to the assistance of the inhabitants upon the Mississippi. I have a letter from him dated 31st March acquainting me that the Choctaws had with cheerfulness agreed with his proposal, which in a general meeting was opened by two chiefs who had lately been at New Orleans and acquainted the other chiefs that the Spanish governor and

rebel agent, Mr Pollock, had advised them to take no part in the quarrel between the white people, and they were convinced that it would be for the advantage of their nation to remain neuter. But the leading and principal chiefs and all the young warriors overruled their proposal with expressions of high resentment, and concluded upon setting out upon their march the 3rd instant. All the traders showed their loyalty by offering themselves and their servants as volunteers upon the occasion. Captain Jackson with his company of light horse had joined Mr Bethune and is gone upon the expedition. The two chiefs who opposed the measure made their submission and determined to join with all the men that they could collect.

Mr John McGillivray, a gentleman of fortune intimately acquainted with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, their language and customs, I considered as the fittest person to be employed in managing the Indians of said two nations; and being convinced that he would be a valuable acquisition I used all my influence to induce him to undertake the service, and in order to ensure success promised to apply to the governor to give him the command of a provincial corps, to be raised by him, in which he has been very successful, and with the instructions from me, of which I submit a copy [Vol. XIII, No. 1635i], he marched about a week ago for the Chickasaw nation, being supplied with presents and ammunition to a very considerable amount. He has above one hundred men with him and expects to be greatly reinforced in the Chickasaw nation and his way thither.

I have not received any letters from Mr Tait or Mr McIntosh since they returned to their respective stations in the Upper and Lower Creek nation, but I am this day informed by a trader thirteen days from the latter that Mr McIntosh was very well received and visited by the leading chiefs of the disaffected town, the Cussitahs, that he had called a meeting of the chiefs the result of which he was to communicate to me by express.

Several parties of our friendly Indians had been out harassing the rebel scouts on the frontiers of Georgia during the winter, a party of whom they engaged, and killed twelve without any loss on their part. They came here about fourteen days ago and brought all their old men, women and children with them. The young men who had been at war expected payment for the loss of their winter's hunting and brought with them an amazing crowd merely for the sake of getting a little provisions. I have endeavoured to send them away well satisfied, which I find very difficult without incurring an expense which I sincerely wish to avoid if practicable; but I think in the present situation of things they are at any expense to be gained from the rebels. As I have in my former letters had the honour of informing your lordship, the scarcity, next to absolute famine, which prevails in the Creek country occasions a constant succession of those Indians coming here in large parties who not only expect plenty while they remain but considerable quantities to carry away with them, which I hope will show the unavoidable necessity of the expense incurred by me and account for it.

I submit to your lordship copies of several letters which I have

received containing intelligence of the transactions upon the Mississippi and of Indian affairs [Vol. XIII, No. 1635ii-xi]. *Signed.* [C.O. 5/79, fo. 81]

XXXIII

Memorandum of Governor Frederick Haldimand

14 April, Curzon Street

As it can scarcely be doubted that Canada will be the principal object of the designs of the French as well as of the rebels, I must express my hopes that the army now in that country be reinforced to a number that shall enable me to provide against all events; and I submit it to His Majesty whether it would not be most advantageous to his service that the military powers of the commander-in-chief in Canada be entirely unlimited, that the general be left to judge from the force he shall have under him and other circumstances whether his operations must be confined to the defensive or may be extended to undertakings against any of the neighbouring colonies if no accommodation takes place, and if this should be approved whether such discretionary power should not be conveyed to him by the King's express orders.

It is likewise worthy to be considered whether he should not be instructed, if he finds himself able to penetrate the enemy's country, how to conduct himself towards and what terms to offer such part thereof as might eventually show a disposition to return under the King's government; and though the case is but barely possible, yet, to be prepared for it even if he is to remain in his government, it might be proper that he should be authorized to receive applications that may be made to him from any of the neighbouring provinces for support or assistance if the French alliance or any other cause should produce a disunion among them. As it is most probable in such circumstances the province of New Hampshire particularly, whence there is reported to be a great number of faithful subjects, would apply to Canada, many families of them having already retired there, I conceive it might be detrimental to the King's service if the governor should find himself unable to favour such a disposition for want of authority when all things else concurred.

If government should think proper that a citadel be erected at Quebec and the other necessary posts in the province and upon the lakes be fortified, His Majesty's orders I conceive should be signified thereupon to the commander-in-chief, leaving it to his discretion to judge of the expediency of such works as well as of the necessity of keeping up or augmenting the naval force upon the lakes after he shall be arrived in the province, furnishing him however immediately with the proper powers for defraying the expenses which will attend them.

As civil governor it will be difficult for him, I conceive, to carry on the service of the government unless the disposal of all places and the nomination to the Council be left to his recommendation.

It is doubted whether the post of Niagara be properly within the limits of Canada and therefore whether the authority of the commander-in-chief there extends to it. It would appear necessary that

that post, as well as all the others upon the lakes, be under his command and that the lieutenant-governors and other commanding officers at them should be entirely subordinated to the governor-general, as if these were allowed to correspond immediately with government at home it might be productive of uncertainty and some confusion in carrying on the King's service. The authority which the superintendent of the Indians pretends to might occasionally produce some inconveniency, it being necessary that the governor of Canada as circumstanced at present should have a controlling power over all the concerns of the King with the Indians; Mr Guy Johnson alleges that this power resides entirely in him.

It would be very proper for the commander-in-chief to be well informed before his departure whether the *habeas corpus* Act can have force in Canada; for under that idea the present chief justice, as I learn, takes upon [himself] to oppose the commitment of persons on suspicion of their being spies or rebel agents by the governor or military officers. It would seem that such power is necessary to be entrusted to the governor for many reasons in the present conjuncture, but if he exercises it he runs the risk of raising a dispute under the uncertainty whether the Act extends to Canada. Mr Livius contends that, the criminal law of England being introduced into Canada, the *habeas corpus* Act as part of it must necessarily obtain there. Many of the lawyers I understand, the attorney-general in particular, were of a different opinion; therefore, unless the point be ascertained, the governor may be subjected to great inconveniences in the execution of his duty in the present situation of the country from having his authority in so material a matter checked by an inferior officer of the Crown. *Signed*. [C.O. 42/38, fo. 9]

XXXIV

Governor Peter Chester to Lord George Germain (No. 51)

14 April, Pensacola

My Lord, since my last dispatch of the 25th of March [above, No. XXVIII], a duplicate whereof is enclosed, I have received very little farther intelligence of the proceedings of the rebels. The greatest body of them are still at New Orleans where they have been well received by the Spanish governor and have been suffered to sell most of the Negroes and other plunder taken from the inhabitants of this colony, notwithstanding their owners were present and claimed their properties. Such effects as were taken by the rebels upon the Spanish territories adjoining to this province, where many of the inhabitants fled for an asylum with their properties, I hear have been delivered up.

The rebels have been joined in this province by one Harrison of the Natches district, a Mr Francis of Baton Rouge, and by a Mr Elliot, a deputy surveyor of lands at Manchack. These it is said are commissioned by Mr Willing and style themselves captains in the rebel army, and are the only people of the least consequence that have joined. Their example has, however, been followed by several of the lower class who have enlisted and gone to New Orleans where they have

parties now recruiting. A detachment with two of their officers and about seventy men lately set out from New Orleans up the Mississippi either to take post at Manchac or the Natches, but I am in hopes they will soon be driven out of the colony.

Mr McGillivray of Mobile, whom I mentioned in my letter of the 25th of last month, has accepted of the command of a provincial corps of five companies and his officers are appointed. The establishment of this corps is as follows: one lieutenant-colonel commandant; four captains; five lieutenants; five ensigns; ten sergeants; and two hundred and fifty rank and file. The officers are to have British pay, the sergeants £3 sterling per month, corporals £2 10s., and privates £2, out of which they are to purchase their own clothing and to be allowed rations. Mr McGillivray has my orders to embody all the men that he can raise about Mobile and in that part of the country, and to proceed immediately through the Indian nation with every white man he can find there and such of the savages as he can prevail upon to accompany him and march to the Natches, where it is supposed the inhabitants will assist him as we hear they are determined to break their engagement of neutrality if they can be supported. I fear Mr McGillivray will not be able for some time to complete his regiment, but from his great influence with the Indian traders and savages I trust that he, with the assistance of Mr Stuart's commissaries and such Indians as I hear have already set out with them, will when joined be able to dispossess all the rebels in the Natchez district; and if he succeeds, he has orders after leaving a sufficient detachment at Natches to come down the Mississippi and take post at Manchac where I hope he will find one of His Majesty's sloops of war. Mr McGillivray has already set out for the Indian country, and I expect shortly to receive favourable accounts of his proceedings which I shall transmit to your lordship by the earliest opportunity.

I have also appointed Francis Miller Esquire, formerly recommended to me by the late Governor Hutchinson of the Massachusetts Bay, and during the late war an officer in His Majesty's army, captain of an independent company of provincials to be forthwith raised upon the same establishment with Lieutenant-Colonel McGillivray's corps, and he will endeavour to enlist men at this place and wherever they can be recruited in the colony.

These provincial troops are intended for the protection of the Mississippi and western parts of the province or for such duty as His Majesty's service may require. Their pay no doubt is high but their establishment is the same with that of Colonel Stuart's new-raised corps, and it will be impossible to raise the men on less encouragement at present. These troops will, however, be still cheaper to government than the expense of recruiting and sending us new levies. Besides, they are inured to the climate, well acquainted with the woods, and are better qualified for the service they will be employed in than any new troops sent out from England.

I hope in the present situation of the province, when the number of our garrison here will not admit of making any detachments to the Mississippi and when it is too plain that the savages cannot be de-

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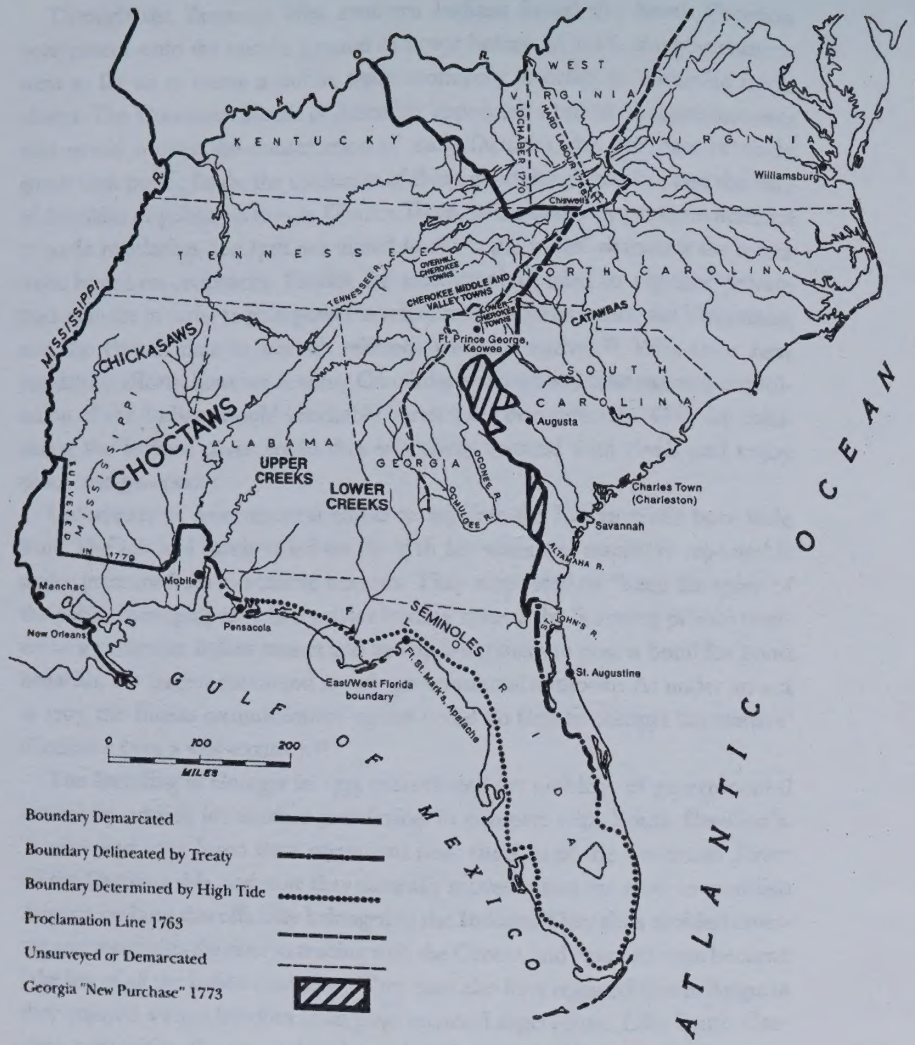

Map of the Southeast with current state boundaries, showing locations relevant to Stuart's superintendency.

Adapted from The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763–1775, *by Louis De Vorsey, Jr.*

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Introduction

My graduate school adviser's suggestion that I study the eighteenth-century southern frontier did not immediately appeal to me. I had not come east from Arkansas and Tennessee, I felt, to study obscure people in remote places. My mind began to change, however, when I read Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732*. To my surprise and delight, Crane demonstrated how even the fate of empires depended more on frontier developments than on celebrated battles or on decisions made in colonial or imperial capitals. In Crane's story, Britain prevailed over its imperial rivals in the Southeast primarily through the influence that many profit-minded individuals gained through trade with the native Indians between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi.

The next generation of historians analyzed the post-1732 southern frontier within the framework that Crane established. A half century ago, Crane's student John Richard Alden carried the story of the "struggle for empire in the southern wilderness" forward in time with the publication of *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems . . . 1754–1775*.[1] By the period Alden analyzed, Britain clearly had the upper hand in the Southeast with its commercial superiority and its rapidly growing colonial population, but ruthless trading practices and westward expansion also threatened to alienate the Indians, on whose cooperation peace, prosperity, and empire still

1. John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754–1775* (1944; rpr. New York, 1966), vii.

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Through the Yamassee War, southern Indians forced the South Carolina government onto the middle ground as never before. In 1716, the government went so far as to create a public trade monopoly in order to eliminate trade abuses. The Commons House of Assembly appointed a board of commissioners who would oversee the construction of trade factories, the purchase of trade goods with public funds, the exchange of these goods for deerskins, and the sale of deerskins at public auction in Charles Town. More than any previous attempt at trade regulation, the 1716 act aimed to meet the tribes' demands for a fair trade based on reciprocity. Earlier, the assembly had tried to regulate private traders more in order to gain power in relation to the proprietors, the Virginians, and the French than to smooth relations with the natives.[25] With their new regulatory efforts, however, leading Carolinians recognized that extreme exploitation of the Indians would inevitably harm their own interests. Only by cultivating the Indians' favor could they effectively contend with rivals and enjoy peace and prosperity.

Unfortunately, governmental efforts to regulate the Indian trade bore little fruit. The ink had barely dried on the 1716 act when the assembly repealed it under pressure from mercantile interests. They attempted to "keep the spirit of the public monopoly alive in a private trading system" by licensing private traders to a particular Indian nation and by requiring them to post a bond for good behavior, but traders continued to defy governmental authority. As under an act of 1707, the Indian commissioners' agents could do little to compel the traders' obedience over a vast territory.[26]

The founding of Georgia in 1733 exacerbated the problem of governmental control by adding yet another jurisdiction to compete with South Carolina's. Traders had long based their operations near the falls of the Savannah River on the Carolina side, and now they naturally moved across the river to establish Augusta on land that officially belonged to the Indians. They thus avoided crossing and recrossing the river in trading with the Creeks, and Augusta soon became "the key of all the Indian countrey." They may also have rejoiced that in Augusta they enjoyed virtual freedom from governmental supervision. Like South Carolina authorities, the new colony's provincial secretary, William Stephens, regarded the Augusta traders as dangerously autonomous: "Augusta consists of a lawless number of Indian Traders, all runaways from Carolina for debt, all

25. Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 81, 52; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 141, 149–51.
26. Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 81–82, 66.

rogues to each other and at continual variance, and stand in great need of a proper Magistrate there."[27]

At first, it seemed that competition among Augusta traders would lead to chaos. Instead of settling the town compactly according to prevailing European designs, newer merchants built stores "on five hundred acre Lots some Miles distant from each other up the Path towards the Creeks." In this way, they often tempted traders to part with their deerskins before their creditors in town could receive them. The Augusta storekeepers and the traders who purchased goods from them had, according to Stephens, "a Propensity pretty equal on both Sides, to over-reach one another, and scramble which of them should gain most." Since traders could shape Indian relations more directly than government, both Georgia and South Carolina officials feared that cutthroat competition would provoke yet another major Indian war. It also rankled them that traders spoke "with Contempt . . . of the Magistrates, and all in any Authority." Stephens feared that "such Insolence" would lead to "Action, and open Defiance of all Power whatever."[28]

Like government, however, some traders realized after the Yamassee War that their own interest lay not in promoting chaos but in cultivating stable relations with the Indians. In fact, a new generation of traders operated on the middle ground much more effectively than government. By living peacefully among the Indians, taking Indian wives, and learning Indian languages, Augusta-based traders fostered mutual understanding and gained their clients' confidence and cooperation.

They also increased their influence by consolidating their economic ventures. By 1741, the Charles Town merchant Archibald McGillivray directed a firm that included several partners, 28 packhorsemen, and 183 horses. One of McGillivray's partners, Patrick Brown, soon moved to Augusta and by midcentury had joined with six other merchants to form Brown, Rae, and Company. These men "had Licenses to Trade in the Indian Countries long before Georgia was settled," and some, including the Irishmen John Rae and George Galphin and the Scotsman Lachlan McGillivray, had lived among the Creeks. "We were formerly three Seperate Houses" in Augusta, they explained to the Georgia trustees in 1750, but "for the more effectual carrying on the Trade and Supplying

27. James Oglethorpe to Georgia trustees, Savannah, March 8, 1739, in *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* ed. Allen D. Candler *et al.* (Atlanta, 1904–16, 1979–82), Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 108–109 (hereafter cited as *CRG*); Proceedings of Georgia trustees, in *CRG*, V, 558–59.
28. William Stephens' journal, September 19, 1738, July 7, August 16, 1740, in *CRG*, IV, 203, 611, 641–42, respectively.

and they saw land ownership as essential to personal independence. With profits from the Indian trade and from selling food, livestock, and hardware items to settlers, they gained wealth and respect. In this young society, further land grants and public office soon followed.[46] Their knowledge of the area, mercantile connections, and power to persuade their countrymen overseas, furthermore, enabled them to enhance the value of their land by promoting immigration to the Georgia backcountry in the 1760s.[47]

Those involved in the Cherokee trade, which was especially weak economically, seem to have realized first, in the 1760s, that they could use the Indians' indebtedness to induce them to cede tracts of land. For example, Edward Wilkinson may have continued to trade privately with the Cherokees after South Carolina's public monopoly ended, not because he anticipated large profits from the trade but because he hoped to continue his already powerful influence over the Indians. In a petition to Lord Dartmouth in 1772, Wilkinson explained how, after the Proclamation of 1763 effectively ended his appointment as "Commissioner and Storekeeper of the public Trade in the Cherokee Nation," he continued to trade "with the Cherokees to a very considerable Extent, supplying by himself & Factors the Upper & Lower Cherokees from sundry Stores Viz. in Elevan or Twelve of their Towns; This Nation was at first regular in their payments but hath latterly by means of their Wars with other Tribes been unable to make any payments for sometime past. That the Account of debts owing to him from the Cherokees has been laid before His Majesty's Superintendant, & the balance verified on Oath before the proper Officer . . . appears to amount to the Sum of £8436.9.9 Sterling."[48] It seems unlikely that in 1764, after the public monopoly ended, Wilkinson would have miscalculated so badly as to think

46. Friedrich Peter Hamer, "Indian Traders, Land, and Power: A Comparative Study of George Galphin on the Southern Frontier and Three Northern Traders" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1982), 6, 62–64, 92; Berry Fleming, comp., *Autobiography of a Colony: The First Half-Century of Augusta, Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1957), 96, 102; Minutes of the Georgia Council, June 1, 1751, in *CRG*, I, 561. Lachlan McGillivray and John Rae even acquired land in the low country near Savannah and engaged in mercantile activities in that town; furthermore, they joined with some local leaders to establish a Presbyterian meeting house in Savannah in the 1760s. See *Georgia Gazette*, May 24, 1769, January 5, 1774, and May 10, 1769; Cashin, *McGillivray*, 262.

47. E.R.R. Green, "Queensborough Township: Scotch-Irish Emigration and the Expansion of Georgia, 1763–1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., XVII (1960), 183–99. My view of the Augusta merchants differs somewhat from Cashin's analysis in *McGillivray;* Cashin emphasizes a fundamental distinction between traders' and settlers' roles throughout the Revolutionary era. I argue, however, that by the 1760s the two groups were similarly involved in backcountry expansion and development, even though their perspective remained significantly different.

48. Petition of Edward Wilkinson to Dartmouth, March 18, 1772, in CO 5/228/111–12.

that the future Cherokee trade promised considerable profits. He had already had several years of trading experience, which revealed its unprofitability at low public monopoly prices. Furthermore, he probably realized that the Cherokees would not tolerate an increase in the price of trade goods. Wilkinson's attempts only six years later to obtain confirmation of a Cherokee land cession to him as compensation for high trade debts also suggest that he was at least somewhat disingenuous in implying that his private trade had once been profitable.

A much clearer example of how some entered the Cherokee trade during the 1760s primarily in order to acquire Indian land is the successful attempt of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite, agents of a group of Virginia speculators called the "Land Jobbers," to obtain a private cession. From the time Pearis left Virginia, he tried to ingratiate himself with his clients by every possible means, including burning his account books in their presence to signify cancellation of all their trade debts. At one point, he reportedly traded his entire stock of guns directly for a tract of land. Pearis ultimately triumphed when he and Hite convinced the Cherokees to sign a document that the Indians thought was a trade agreement with the colony of Virginia. Actually, it granted Pearis and Hite 150,000 acres of Cherokee land. By 1769, John Stuart reported that "Pearis & Hite have not only taken possession [of this land] themselves but have sold great Tracts to Emigrants from the Northern Colonies, & have lately been treating for & marking out more Land which sets a bad precedent & causes great Confusion."[49] Clearly, direct benefits from the deerskin trade were less enticing than illicit opportunities created by the frontier's socioeconomic transformation.

Virtually everyone who entered the Cherokee trade in the 1760s, it seems, hoped to take advantage of the Indians' needs in order to acquire land from them. In countless instances, small-scale, shiftless individuals broke down the traditional economy by their ruthlessly competitive practices and, at the same time, encouraged others to believe that they also could easily obtain private land cessions. One such newcomer to the Cherokee trade was a particularly desperate and unstable individual named Carter who, according to Stuart's agent among the Cherokees,

> is a Person who Carryed on a Trade with [the Cherokees] for three Years. He has I believe ruined himself by his Lavishness in giving and under selling every other

49. Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763–1783* (New York, 1967), 18; Ronald E. Bridwell, "Acquisition and Conflict: A History of South Carolina's Western Lands" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1968), 78–79, 84, 93; Alden, *Stuart*, 299; Stuart to Dartmouth, Charles Town, January 8, 1773, in CO 5/228/109–10.

and he insisted that no rum intended for the Indian trade should be imported into the province. Only by enforcing these measures, the general argued, could Stuart manage the Indians and "make use of them against the Enemy." Similarly, Howe ordered Lieutenant Colonel William Stiell to follow directions from either Stuart or Governor Chester to imprison anyone bringing rum into the Indian nations. Howe also required Brigadier General Augustine Prevost, the highest ranking military commander in the region, to allow Stuart full rein in the overall direction of Indian affairs. In July, 1777, the commander in chief wrote that Prevost should "leave to the Superintendant's Experience the entire Management of the Indians as to the Military disposition of them, as well as for other concerns: He is already directed to pay due regard to such Requisitions as you may make of him in support of your Military Operations, or for such other purposes as you may recommend, without laying him under an absolute Injunction to receive Commands which may interfere with more material Objects in the Conduct of his extensive department."[4]

Since he had long argued that control over all aspects of frontier life should center in his department, Stuart regarded such orders as the fulfillment of his hopes for support in imposing order on the southern frontier. For years, the superintendent had stressed the political consequences of dividing authority over frontier affairs among various, often competing jurisdictions, and the military commander's orders seemed to vindicate his claims

[redacted]

4. *Ibid.*, 225–26; Howe to Lt. Col. Stiell, New York, July 13, 1777, in PRO 30/55/6/606; Howe to Prevost, New York, July 14, 1777, in PRO 30/55/6/608.

[redacted]

To make the southern frontier a preserve for Loyalists—who by definition were orderly, law-abiding men—and their Indian allies, Stuart and his supporters and successors not only sought to control or exclude those who acted against British interests but also continued to patronize persons with close connections to the British establishment who hoped to profit from economic enterprises in the Floridas and the Indian nations. By doing so, they believed they were helping to create the high-toned society Stuart had always advocated.

The most striking example of such favoritism was shown toward William

5. Stuart to Howe, Pensacola, February 3, 1778, in PRO 30/55/8/912.

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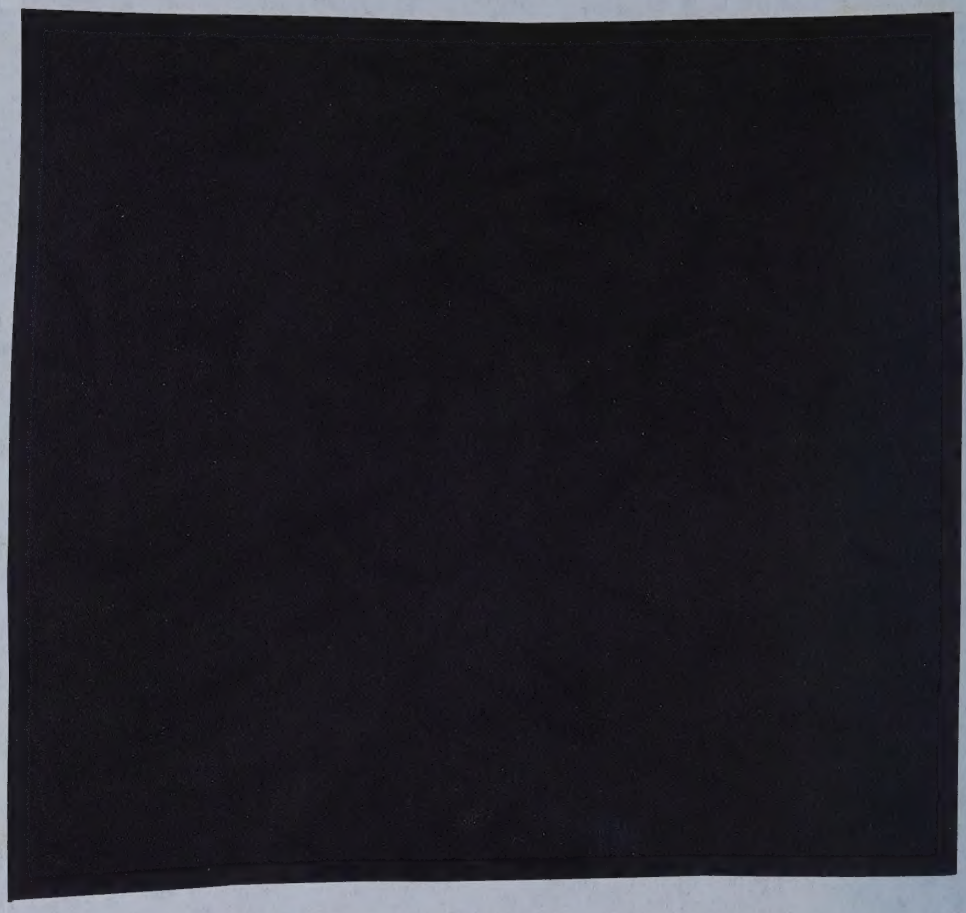

After arranging his daughters- doweries, Captain Pearis set off to the Carolina border to meet Cherokees arriving (mostly from the Lower Towns, to assist Washington). But they followed the main path leading from their towns to Virginia--the old Occaneeche Path leading to the Dan River where it joins the Roanoke. Mindful of Randolph and Byrd's old promises, they expected a lavish welcome and many gifts as soon as they got there, even though they had arrived in the wrong place, too far to the east. ppointed outraged Indians misbehaved badly. In so doing, they placed Richard in a quandry.

To put it mildly, had he reproved them, they would have turned on their heels and been lost as the Allies Virginia wanted so desperately. On the other hand, he understood why they were unhappy whether or not he agreed with the rationale. His job was to keep them happy; and in trying to defend the Cherokees, Richard has, in many histories, been called a "mercenary scamp who attempted to rake in shekels." The opposite is true, for he stood to lose all his military back pay, not to mention the mostly unrecouped loss when he"burned his books," canceling the debts due him a couple of years before. *

CHAPTER FIVE - RICHARD PEARIS, CHEROKEE TRADER

Richard Pearis, second son and our ancestor, is reported to have been born about 1725 in Ireland, though that seems a trifle late considering all the evidence. The earliest written documentation of him I have found so far was his signature as one of four witnesses in a land transaction between Grub family members (see page 1) on 11 February 1747/8. (age 23?) This constitutes evidence that the Pearis family was in Frederick County by then or before.

Taking this a step further, we have seen that his father, George Pearis, Sr., purchased land from Richard Morgan and Peter Helton, devised in his will to Grandson George III and our Richard. If those purchases had occurred after the beginning of 1743 they would be reflected in Frederick County deed books, for they were not original patents. This constitutes secondary evidence, albeit negative, that the family was there before 1743.

On a previous page we have seen that one day in 1736 Lord Fairfax showed up at Jost Hite's home where he addressed a large group, announcing that he was proprietor of Northern Neck, but would honor patents already granted. In his long-continuing lawsuit with Virginia Colony and Jost Hite, both sides submitted large plat maps to the Privy Council in England. For purposes of clarity, Fairfax insisted that all waterways not previously named, should be named for the family then owning the most land on the course of the stream. That is how Pearis Run got its name. (If the same surname would apply to too many non-adjacent streams, creativity was encouraged--for instance, several streams along which different members of the Parkins family lived received the first instead of last name of the occupant. That is how "Isaac's Creek" in that same neighborhood got its name, from Isaac Parkins.) I confess I don't know when the maps were submitted, but it couldn't have been terribly late--maybe about 1740 give or take?

So it seems to me George Pearis must have been in that area pretty early and may have bought and sold land, before the Frederick County deeds were recorded--perhaps lost Orange County records. There is a discrepancy in the wording of his will which I cannot account for. Though the will was written 19 Nov 1749, and thus predates his 12 Nov 1750 purchase of William Hoge's estate, he willed it to his son Robert with the proviso that the widow Sarah stay with him. Very strange, and I cannot help thinking he must have lived there or very close previously--why else would Pearis Run have been named for him?

I hope all the above review is not too tedious, for we really do need to find out when Richard got there, so that we can tell whether we truly do have Cherokee ancestry; but it really does seem that our adventurous young ancestor got there by 1743 or before, and wandered down the long Indian trail to start trading with the friendly Cherokees who, in 1743 before the arrival of the white man, must have hunted as far north as Pearis Mountain on the Forks of the Roanoke. Did HE tell George about the place??

PEARIS FAMILY

chap

As a young Scotch-Irishman with a bent for adventure, he had come to America to make his fortune. He was obviously from a very good background, prosperous but not wealthy enough to speculate in land or other such expensive venture, though he had the advantage a better education than most in those parts. There was much money to be made in the fur-trading business if one could only get in on the ground floor, and he was young. Perhaps Jacob Hite encouraged him, for they were partners later on, though Richard went through several such alliances in the beginning.

As you read this, please be on your guard against your author's wishful thinking! Very likely my desire to have Cherokee ancestry is affecting my objectivity. It is altogether quite as possible Richard had a teenaged bride who died when she was only about twenty, leaving two tiny daughters, Sarah and Margaret. Sarah, the oldest, born about 1744-or-5, was our ancestor. That is pretty early--was she or was she not half Cherokee? We don't know.

Whether or not he was in someone else's employ during his late teens or early twenties, Richard was on the Forks of the Holston in 1751 as a partner of Thomas Price* trading on Long Island with the Overhill Cherokees and speaking their language fluently, with much influence. And, if he hadn't done so long before, he fell in love with a lovely Indian maiden.

And now we need to describe the Cherokees as a people, for there is much misconception. All tribes were not alike, and these were among the very most advanced,"even before the coming of the white man they were to begin with an agricultural people** growing much corn, squash, and many vegetables. They had known better homes, food, and clothing than many of their contemporaries in Europe in certain areas. Indeed, they were better fed than some of the hill people who now occupy some of their old homes. Before 1750 they had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some tribesmen now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used his tools and weapons and often wore his clothing. Some top leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and there were many half-breeds."

As to their women, "Many of the Indian women dressed in the manner of white women, but no sunbonnets or housecaps, and usually bare feet or moccasins (in their own country). Wives and mistresses of the traders would have been resplendent in silks and satins of the latest fashion; beautiful, for according to most who saw them, all of the Cherokee women had features formed with perfect symmetry

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*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel Cole Williams (1937) page 149

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As a young Scotch-Irishman with a bent for adventure, he had come to America to make his fortune. He was obviously from a very good background, prosperous but not wealthy enough to speculate in land or other such expensive venture, though he had the advantage a better education than most in those parts. There was much money to be made in the fur-trading business if one could only get in on the ground floor, and he was young. Perhaps Jacob Hite encouraged him, for they were partners later on, though Richard went through several such alliances in the beginning.

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Whether or not he was in someone else's employ during his late teens or early twenties, Richard was on the Forks of the Holston in 1751 as a partner of Thomas Price* trading on Long Island with the Overhill Cherokees and speaking their language fluently, with much influence. And, if he hadn't done so long before, he fell in love with a lovely Indian maiden.

And now we need to describe the Cherokees as a people, for there is much misconception. All tribes were not alike, and these were among the very most advanced,"even before the coming of the white man they were to begin with an agricultural people** growing much corn, squash, and many vegetables. They had known better homes, food, and clothing than many of their contemporaries in Europe in certain areas. Indeed, they were better fed than some of the hill people who now occupy some of their old homes. Before 1750 they had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some tribesmen now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used his tools and weapons and often wore his clothing. Some top leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and there were many half-breeds."

As to their women, "Many of the Indian women dressed in the manner of white women, but no sunbonnets or housecaps, and usually bare feet or moccasins (in their own country). Wives and mistresses of the traders would have been resplendent in silks and satins of the latest fashion; beautiful, for according to most who saw them, all of the Cherokee women had features formed with perfect symmetry

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CHAPTER FIVE - RICHARD PEARIS, CHEROKEE TRADER

Richard Pearis, second son and our ancestor, is reported to have been born about 1725 in Ireland, though that seems a trifle late considering all the evidence. The earliest written documentation of him I have found so far was his signature as one of four witnesses in a land transaction between Grub family members (see page 1) on 11 February 1747/8. (age 23?) This constitutes evidence that the Pearis family was in Frederick County by then or before.

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One could not operate a business like that alone. One man had to be in charge of the post taking in furs and leather, and paying for them in Indian goods, hunting supplies perhaps including the repair of firearms (as those were by no means standardized so long ago), ammunition supplies, and by then kettles and sophisticated tools and trappings such as the white men used. Unfortunately there was also a great demand for rum which did the Indian no good but had to be supplied to obtain trade. To do this the man in charge had to be able to converse with the Cherokees, whose language Richard spoke by then, and recognize different individuals on sight, especially those asking for hunting equipment and promising to pay for it with furs. The debtor made his mark promising to pay, and the seller had to use common sense about whom to trust.

While all this was going on, the other partner, with the help of drovers, etc., must take the furs to market, seeing that a good return was made on the investment--perhaps to places like Will's Creek (later site of Fort Cumberland where George Washington's group were part investors) or eventually to Winchester when that became a market town. Here the trader would load up on the most desirable Indian trading goods, return through the Valley of Virginia, and start the cycle all over again. The business was hazardous and arduous, but quite profitable.

PEARIS FAMILY

Fur traders, of course, had to go where the product was to be had. That meant isolated areas, for animals fled or became depleted with even a little white settlement. Account books were maintained, but no enduring records of where individuals were--often they moved with the trade--nor whom all associates or competitors were. To supply the missing information, most histories of very early Kentucky and Southwest Virginia include details from the Journal of the renouned Dr. Thomas Walker, agent for the Loyal Land Company and his 1750 exploratory trip into Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap.*

Reading between the lines, one can perceive that for a long time before 1750 there must have been long hunters and other whites in Kentucky and far upper Tennessee, for how else would he have heard all those rumors of the fertile bluegrass, which he determined to check out for possible acquisition for his company? From the Journal writers have deduced that no Cherokees had actual homesites or towns north of what is now Tennessee, but that they did still hunt in the lower Valley of Virginia.

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This petition followed the report of the unsuccessful expedition against the Shawnees. The letter of Major Andrew Lewis, dated at Roanoke March 28th, inclosing a copy of the minutes of a council of war held at Sandy Creek on the 15th of March, reached the Governor soon after the news of the return and was presented to the house on April 6th. A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men.—Journals 1756-58, Page 356.

April 15, 1756. The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men employed in the late expedition against the Shawnees reported that they had examined several witnesses and agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that the ill success thereof was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers, and of the Volunteers. Whereupon it was ordered that an address be made to the Governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith and Montgomery, and that the officers may never more be employed as officers in his Majesty's service.—Journals 1756-58, 369.

September 23, 1758. In reference to the action of the House in regard to the conduct of Captain Smith, Captain Woodson and Captain Montgomery while on the Shawnee Expedition, Captain Smith represents that he had no opportunity of clearing up his conduct at the time of the censure, being at a

great distance on the Frontiers, but when he heard it, he waited on the Governor and so far satisfied him of his innocence that he was pleased to continue him in the service. He now has witnesses in town that would fully clear him of any misbehavior on that Expedition.

Upon hearing these witnesses the committee reported that the said Smith never shewed any backwardness to proceed in the Expedition or encouraged any mutiny or Desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed on with ten men, provided the Cherokee Indians would go with him.

It was resolved that the said John Smith did not misbehave himself in the said Expedition against the Shawnee Indians, and that he ought to receive his pay.

Ordered that the committee appointed to settle the militia accounts make an allowance to the said John Smith for his pay during his service in the said Expedition.—Journals 1758–61, Pages 20 and 26.

In the case of Obediah Woodson against the House for censuring his conduct on the Shawnee Expedition, the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. October 9, 1758.—Journal 1758-61, Page 37.

An item of expense for provisions for the troops on this expedition is shown in a receipt of John Smith to John Bingeman on New River for beef.—"Received of John Bingeman 861 weight of beef for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians at 10/ per C., £4/6/3¼, and more to cash upon the same account, 18/, per me. John Smith."—Chalkley I, 486.

April 21, 1756. Richard Pearis represented that he was ordered by the Governor last September to go to the Cherokee Nation in order to bring a number of them to the assistance of this Colony; That he was there much impeded in his solicitations by the North Carolina traders, who endeavored to persuade the Indians that he only wanted them to hunt till they got deer-skins enough to pay him a debt they owed him of 2586 lbs. deer-leather; upon which, to remove all doubt, the petitioner told them he would forgive them the debt and burn his books, which he accordingly did; and thereupon 82 of their warriors marched with him and joined Major Lewis in the expedition against the Shawnees.

Upon consideration of this petition the committee which had it in charge reported that the said Richard Pearis should be allowed the sum of £100 towards reimbursing his loss.—Journals, Pages 379, 381.

John Allen represented that he accompanied Mr. Pearis to the Cherokee Nation and that he lost his horse worth eight Pistoles and that he also lately lost in the service a pair of Pistols.

Samuel Overton and James Gunn said that they were sent out upon the late intended expedition against the Shawnees and that before their return, they each of them had lost their guns and several other things of considerable value.

On information of Major Lewis there were not arms enough provided for the people that went on the expedition. Mr. Overton carried two guns that he

(Colonial Records these pages from Kegley's Virginia Frontier)

borrowed, one of which was lost by a canoe's oversetting in crossing a river and the other was, by the direction of Major Lewis, given to an Indian Warrior.

Mr. Gunn carried with him a valuable gun which was lost.

Mr. Overton left his horse, bridle and saddle with a sick man who has not been heard of since. John Allen left his horse at Fort Frederick when he went on the Expedition and could not find him on his return.

Samuel Overton ought to be allowed £8/1/3 for his two guns and the sum of £13 for his horse, saddle and bridle.

James Gunn, the sum of £5/7/6 for his gun, and £8 for horse.

John Allen, nothing for his horse.

Alexander Mackie furnished Captain Woodson, Smith and Pearis with sundry necessaries for the expedition. He should be paid £103/14/2 for goods furnished and the hire of two wagons from John Thompson for the use of the expedition.

The Great Sandy Expedition, which had looked so good on paper, and sounded so promising, using Indians against Indians, had turned out to be a big fiasco, with a heavy toll in the suffering of the men who took part in it. Not a shot was fired on either side, but the gleeful Shawnees were as a result even more daring in their depredations after that.

And Washington was right, as usual. The expedition did backfire. He had said that the Indians "were very humorsome, and should be handled with great delicacy." Incidents happened in the back woods which could have cost them the friendship of the entire Cherokee Nation.* Having lost their own horses in the Expedition, the Overhill Indians started to return home on foot. Finding some horses running loose in the woods of Southwest Virginia (as they supposed roaming free on the range), they took them for own use seeing nothing wrong with it--after all, their own had been lost in a white man's war.

The rough frontiersmen saw it just the opposite. One thing they hated most of all was horse thieves and gave chase, killing several of the warriors, some of them braves of note. "The natural antagonism between the raw whites and the redmen flamed into conflict. Thus at a fateful moment the allegiance of the Cherokees was put to strain. It was with difficulty that the chiefs in the Indian towns held the young braves in leash."

Up to this point all of this warfare had been going on without being official! War was formally declared by Great Britain against France 7 May 1756, though the declaration was not known in America until late July--and even later than that on the frontier.

This meant that Richard Pearis, who had been commissioned a Captain for purposes of the Big Sandy Expedition, was now Captain Richard Pearis of his Majesty's Armed Forces, Virginia Regiment.

*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel C.Williams page 146

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I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do

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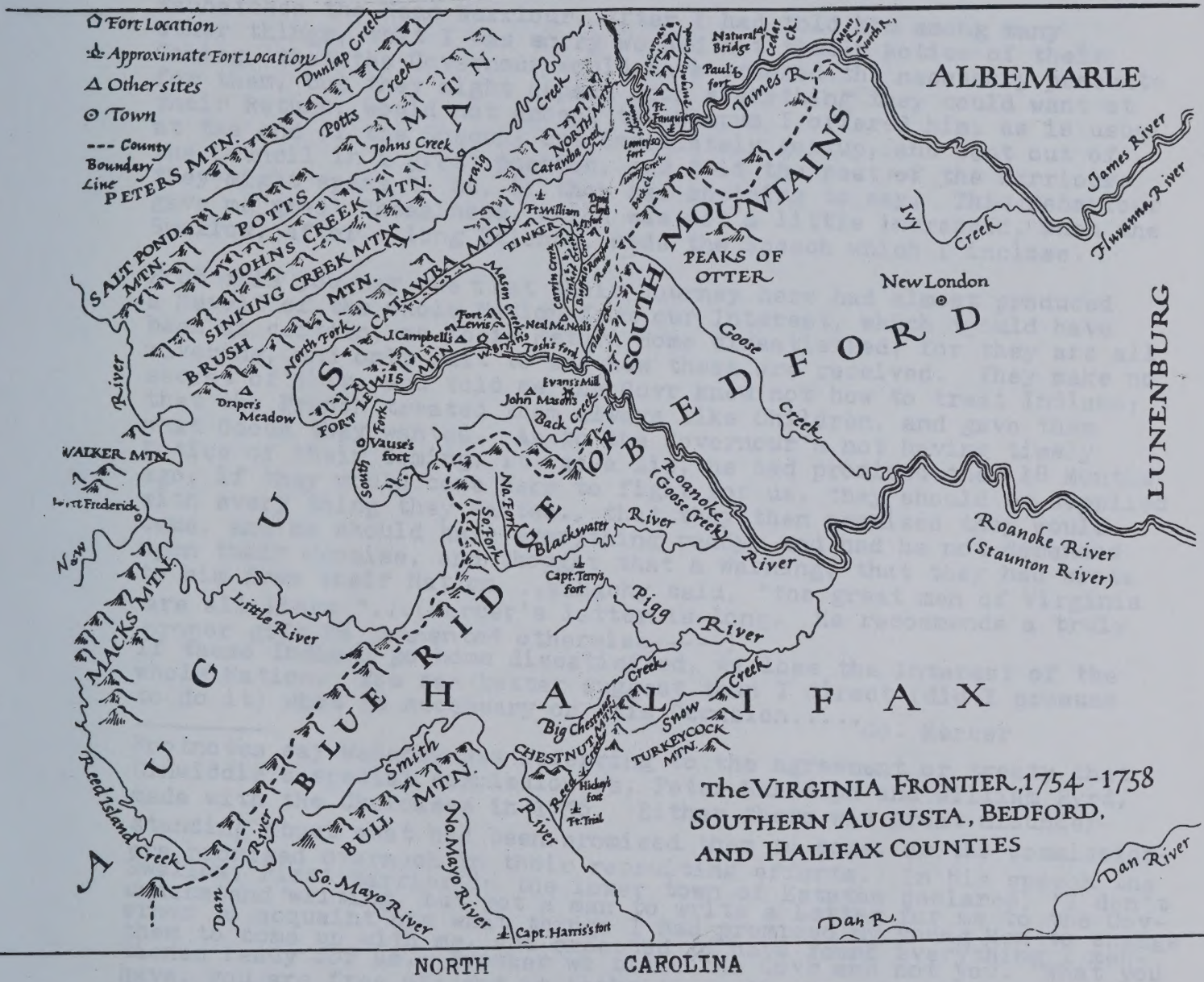

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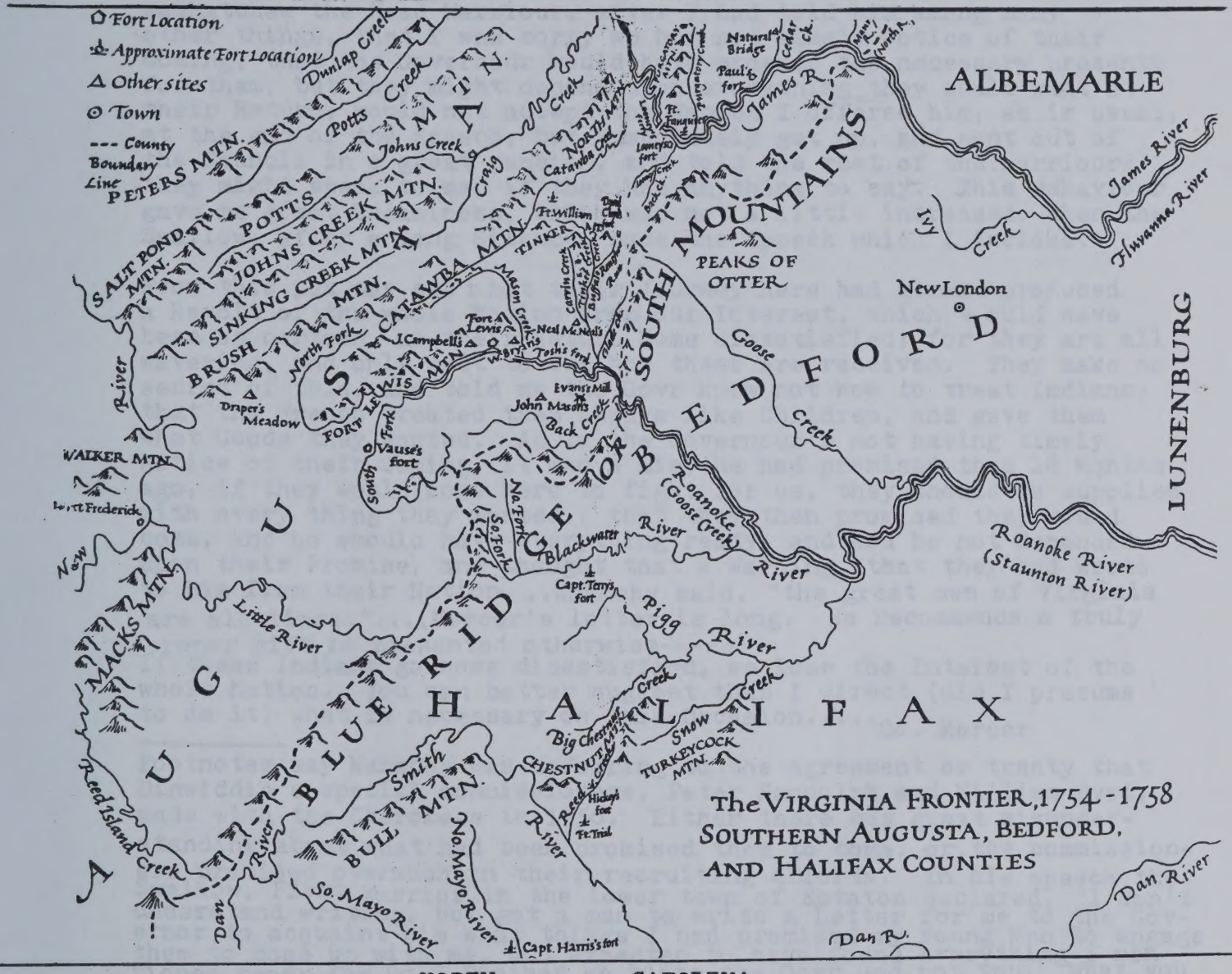

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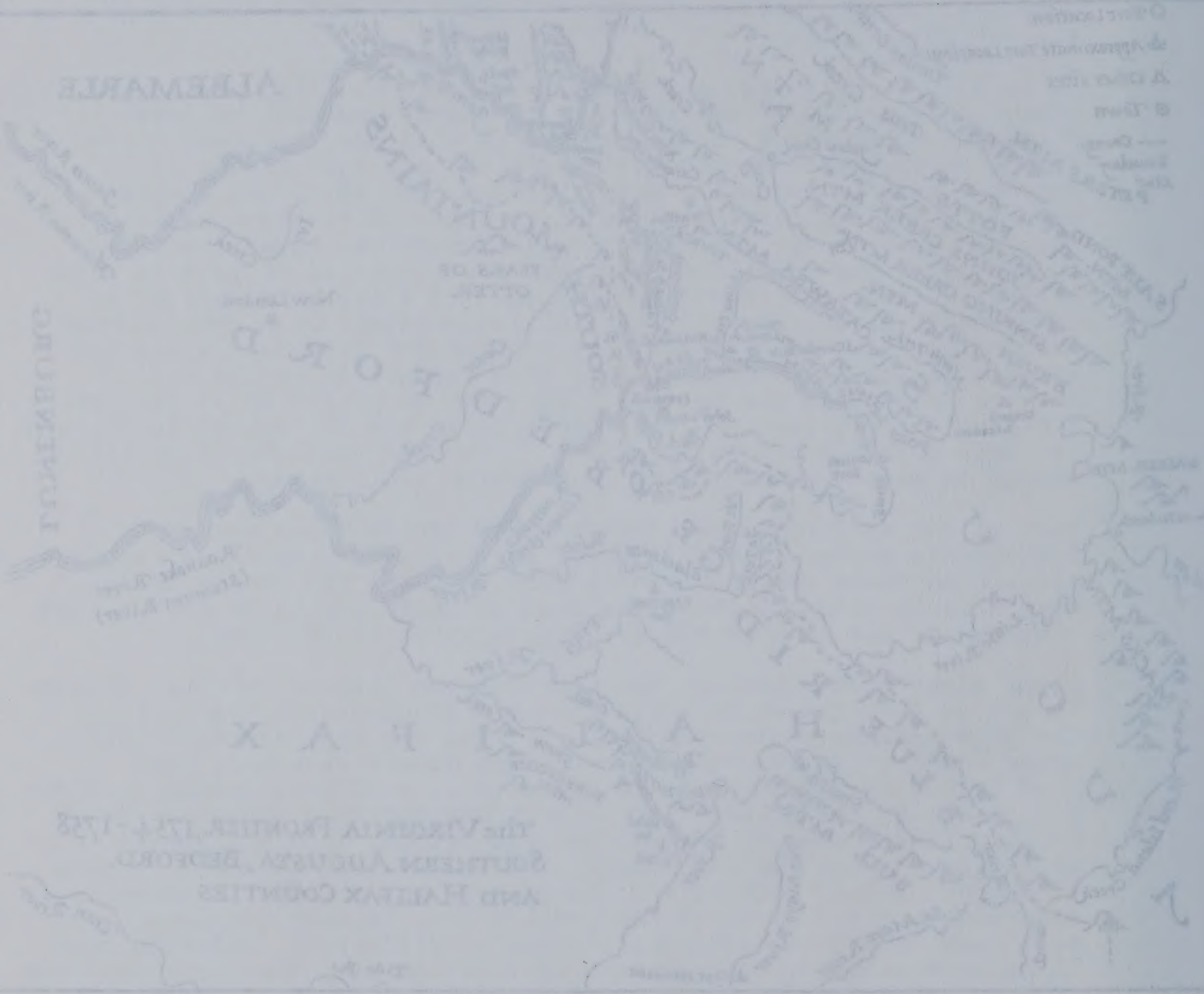
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When Captain Peter Hogg reported in 1770 that the presents had been delivered (possibly much before then) at the Pearis family's request, they were already living in upper South Carolina--that is, Richard, Rhoda, three sons, and two younger daughters. We have not learned whom Margaret married nor exactly when. My guess is that she was married in Virginia, and I wonder if she lived in later years near our Sarah and we do not recognize it because we do not know her married name.

The Teter Family story tells what we have learned about the life of Sarah and her husband, Sgt. George Teter, and that will not be repeated here in detail. Briefly, they were married about March 1762 and lived at first in Southwest Virginia. In 1768 they bought a nice small farm on Crab Creek where it empties into New River near present Radford, but sold it about three years later and moved to a plantation near the Middle Fork of the Holston some miles northeast of present Abingdon while that was still part of the frontier, and George became an ensign in the local militia company. But soon, though there was a perilous war going on in the Kentucky bluegrass area, they were entitled to a military land grant from his service in the French and Indian War and decided to take advantage of it before the best land was all taken. Despite the fact that Sarah was very pregnant with their 5th and last child,they left during what turned out to be one of the most frigid winters in history--1779/80. They were fired upon by Shawnees just past the Cumberland Gap and George was wounded, but they made it safe to a fort of General George Rogers Clark, on Clark's Run just east of present Danville. The Kentucky River was solid ice, and starving people had the influenza, but once settled did well in Kentucky. We descend from their only girl, Sarah ("Sally") Teter, who married Samuel Griffith, believed to have been son of Jonas Griffith, a Carolinian, mentioned in the Pepper Family sketch in the chapter about brother George Pearis Jr.

After doing what he could to ensure the safety of his family, Captain Richard Pearis made a trip to Maryland to meet with their Governor Horatio Sharpe, and to receive from him a Captain's commission in the Maryland Provincial Army. And his instincts were right--this action made him extremely unpopular in Virginia, but it was what he thought was right. In trying to defend his Cherokees he was dubbed a "mercenary scamp," but that cannot be true, for he stood to loose all his military back pay--though two years later the Assembly finally gave Ł81/18/0 "To Richard Pearis, Frederick, captain of the Cherokees."*

*Kellogg's Virginia Frontier, Joseph B. Kegley, page 255.

CHAPTER EIGHT - RICHARD GETS INTO TROUBLE DEFENDING THE CHEROKEES

What happened next makes more sense when one remembers that the American colonies were then in fierce competition with each other for trade and territory. They had been established at different times by leaders with very different political and religious agendas. Richard was considered a traitor for having "taken a commission in a foreign government," as Edmund Atkin, whose letters you will see on upcoming pages, put it. His action in joining up with the Maryland provincials shows how upset he must have been over Virginia's parsimony toward the Cherokees at the same time the French were offering the tribes rich rewards to change sides, all the while frittering away enormous sums on egotists who did nothing to win the war. He must have realized such a situation would backfire, though he probably did not expect it would explode in his own face.

It is hard to tell what our ancestor was thinking 250 years ago, except that he had a rare capacity to understand both cultures. White rulers expected obedience, but he knew the Cherokees themselves were guided by economic necessity, and that groups of warriors were in actuality more like European mercenary armies paid by a foreign government to fight other "Christian" natives. That had gone on for the last thousand years and always resulted in looting. Why so-called "savages" were expected to be more noble in that regard is difficult to fathom. If a few more "gifts" had been freely given, even if not really warranted, it is very likely the Cherokees would not have gone over to the French--a whole lot cheaper in the long run. At least that appears to be the way Richard felt about the matter. There was no profit in it for him; though one historian, at least, has accused him of "raking in shekels," his true motive seems to have been for the warriors to be paid enough to keep them satisfied in fighting the Shawnees.

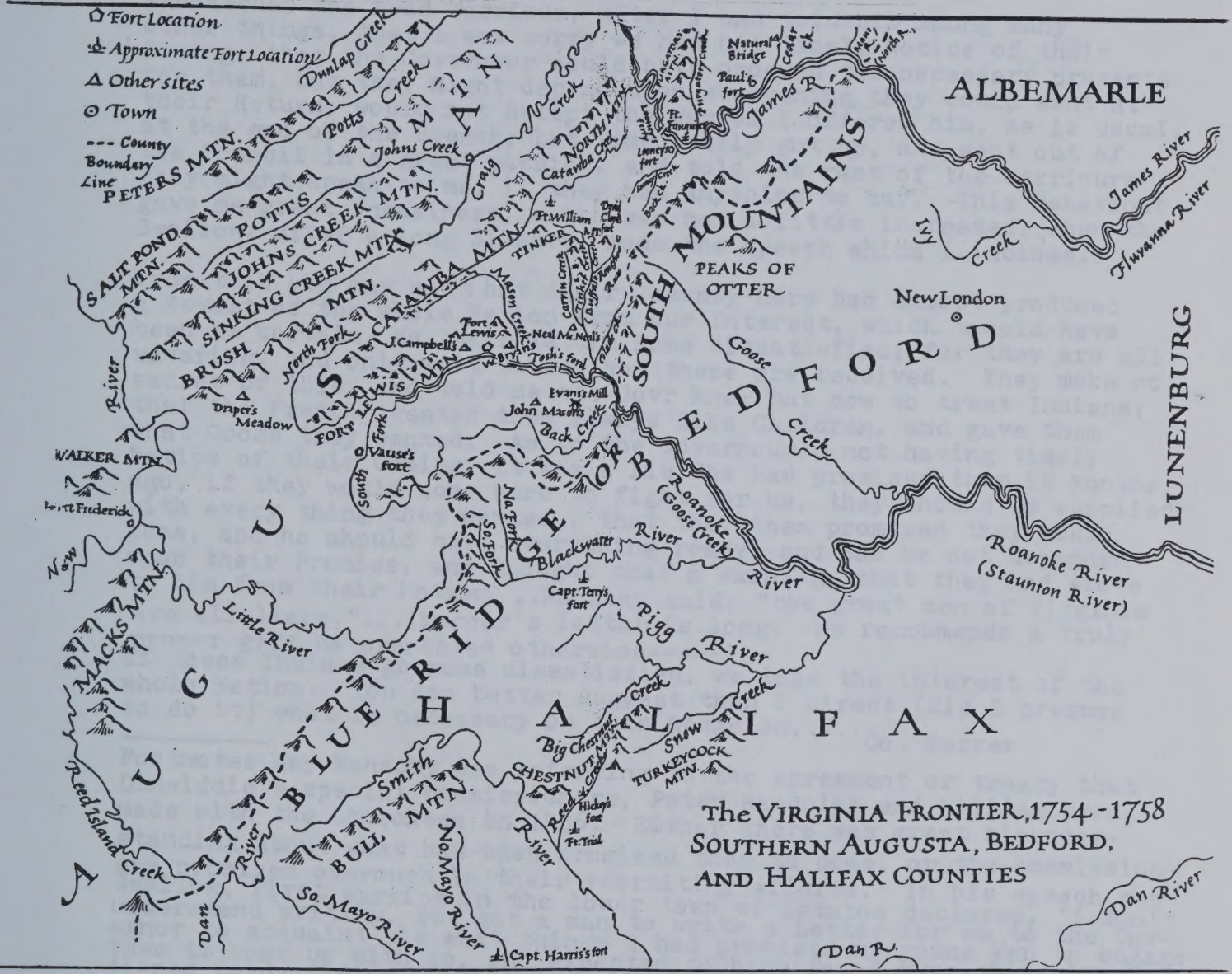
Part of the difficulty in reporting the events which occurred during this period is that the few scattered records are so sensational and dates conflict, but I will try, and the reader should keep this in mind. Perhaps the most accurate way is to present the contents of old letters and records, written at the time.

When, after much pleading, the Cherokee and Catawba warriors started to arrive they did so in large groups without proper escorts. The most popular route, particularly from the contingents of the Lower Towns (like Wahatchy's group from Keowee--see map, near Fort Prince George on route to Ninety-Six) took when coming to fight for their English allies, lay through the Moravian towns of North Carolina and thence on through Halifax County, Virginia, where Col. Clement Read was stationed. The culture of the small farmers of Halifax and of Bedford and their moral values were in sharp contrast to the beliefs of the Indians and, to make it worse, both were very afraid of each other, being so different. Unfortunately there were no white interpreters at first to stop the confrontations. Richard seems to have caught up to Wahatchy after much unhappy commotion had gone on first. After that he took them across the Potomac to see Governor Sharpe, which made Atkin furious.

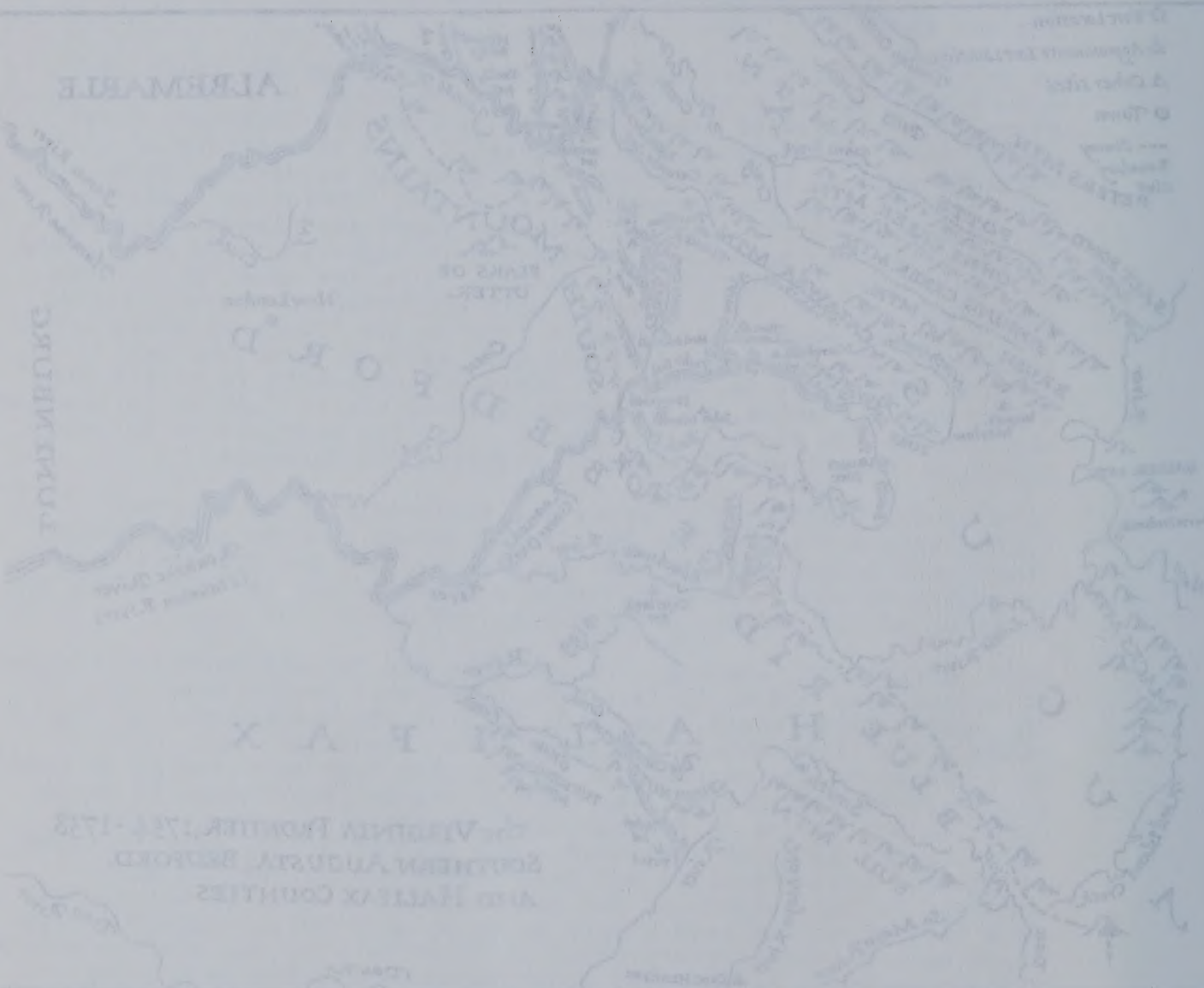
CHAPTER EIGHT - RICHARD GETS INTO TROUBLE DEFENDING THE CHEROKEES

Map showing the area where Indian encounters described in this Chapter occurred. This does not show all of Augusta County, which then extended from the Blue Ridge on the east, Frederick County on the north, North Carolina on the south--though including parts of present Tennessee containing Long Island believed because not yet surveyed to be in Virginia--and theoretically to the Mississippi River on the west.

Blackwater and Staunton Rivers separated Bedford and Halifax Counties. It was beside Staunton River that the group of frontiersmen led by "Old Mr. Verdiman aged about 60," armed with only an elder stick, encountered a group of renegade Cherokees posing as Shawnees. The Carolina Road, not shown, crossed Roanoke Gap and south across Snow Creek and near Fort Trial, etc.



Map from inside front cover of George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)



The headstrong Wahachy, the First Warrior of the Cherokee lower towns, had arrived in Halifax County in early April with a large party of Indians. Enraged because there were no presents, he and his braves went on a rampage. Clement Read, leading man of the county, finally prevailed on the Cherokee to go "to Winchester to Colonel Washington" where "they Should have presents. They should be provided for according to the Treaty. Should be well used."

Letter, George Mercer to Col. George Washington

Dear Sir Fort Loudoun (VA) April 24th 1757

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see that their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.....Go. Mercer

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Footnotes say Wahachy was referring to the agreement or treaty that Dinwiddie's special commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, made with the Cherokees in 1756. Either there was great misunderstanding about what had been promised them to come. or the commissioners promised overmuch in their recruiting efforts. In his speech the Swallow, First Warrior in the lower town of Estatoe declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother we blame the Govr and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements."

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant Richd Smith

When Sharpe finally replied to Atkin, he offered unwanted advice and supported Richard, though his own Maryland Assembly was in no mood to support the war effort adequately.

Sharpe to Atkin

Sir 29 July 1757

I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30th of Iune & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to

encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Govern[ts] by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether M[r] Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made

& interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Govern[t] of Virg[a] had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virg[a] was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Gover[r] Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper* Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

A footnote, above page 46 says "Warhatchie, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtchew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern towns." (Actually, he was head of all the Lower Towns but you'd think those Virginians, thru Atkin, would have had sense enough not to alienate such a powerful chief, regardless of their opinions as to his character!)

*John David Woelpper was a Sgt. in Capt. Peter Hogg's Co.

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

In the southern colonies, the Cherokees, who lived on the borders of Virginia, were disposed to enlist in King George's service, but after the success of Montcalm at Oswego they, too, were wavering.

Early in the spring of 1757, however, a body of them came to Fort Frederick to offer their services to Governor Sharpe. The following letter from their chief, Wahachy, is a curious specimen of Indian diplomacy. The English answer is given in the picturesque account written by John Ridout and Daniel Wolstenholme, who had been sent as ambassadors to Fort Frederick to meet the savage warriors:

'FORT FREDERICK, 29*th April* 1757.

'To the Governor of Maryland:

'Brother of Maryland. This day I came into your Province, with a company of our nation, on our way to war against the French, Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had killed some of our brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real love for our nation, and that he had provided clothes for our nation, though unacquainted with us, I have just now held a council with my young warriors, and have concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our brother, our design of coming into this country, was, hearing from our good brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the desire of our father, King George, that we would join the English in war against the French and their Indians. On hearing this news we immediately took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few days. We intend to set out immediately from this fort, and immediately on our return expect to meet you, our brother, here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you cannot come yourself, you will send one of your beloved men with your talk, which we will look upon as from your own mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know that I am come this length to war, and if they are in need of our assistance, I have men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our brothers. I set off from home with 150 men, part of which are gone to Fort Cumberland; forty more by this are come to Winchester. Our people will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our hearts ache to see our brothers' bones scattered about the country, but you will hear in a short time we have got satisfaction for our brothers, and in confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white beads to confirm my regard to this Province. Likewise I have sent you these black beads, to convince you that I have taken up the hatchet against all the English enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our brothers as there is use for us. I have sent you a list of what is useful for us, and have got our good friend Mr. Ross to carry this letter to you, whom we shall always acknowledge as a particular friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain your loving brother,

His

'WAHACHY X OF KEEWAY.'

Mark.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two

Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell]

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track, but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'Danl. Wolstenholme.

'J. Ridout.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

PEARIS FAMILY (Excerpts - Spelling Original)

Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pages 175-189

Letter 8 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Dept., to Mr. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern District of Indian Affairs. says that

A large body of Catawbas and Cherokees, in going against the Shawnees, had gone through Virginia, and he had found that Colony "just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entered into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where.

"There had then gone up, and were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland, 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians. 128, part of the Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promises, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickawaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country. And though they received a considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with insolent speeches the Commanding Officer at Fort Loudon.....

"Wawhatchee,Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are leaders except 13 over Hillpeople, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; these lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly with the most avarice...Hints are given that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.....
Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

"In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin protested very insistently that that he was commissioned by the King of England to deal with all Southern Indians for all of the colonies. He said that the Indians were succeeding in playing one government against the next, demanding presents in each vicinity for services already rendered someplace else, and making threats if they did not get them. The only way to stop that was by letting him, Atkin, make one present for each service on behalf of the combined governments. He complained that so far he was receiving poor cooperation.

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Government, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that Message until the Business transacting between them and this Government should be finished.'

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these Cherokees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with disdain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed indifferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted them. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and set off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off unaccompanied to Fort Loudown VA to get presents.

He goes on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as Virginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to see here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumberland, and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company.....9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into my power..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

"Permit me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Department....Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government...

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...There are many strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you...He sent you even a list of what he wanted (as he had done here to Govr. Dinwiddie.) He slighted the present of 100 pounds, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of 50 pounds each on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

(This very long letter, a larger part of it omitted, rambles on...)

This letter to Governor Sharpe had no affect on the commission as a Captain in the Maryland Provincials which he had just recently given to Richard Pearis. His feeling on the subject was probably about the same as that of the Pennsylvanians, like Colonel Armstrong's, below. With some reservations, they decided to cooperate with Atkin--who did not realize it, but his penuriousnesses with His Majesty King George's funds was teaching the Colonies how to unite 19 short years later, but this time against King George.

Letter 19 June 1757, Carlisle, Colonel John Armstrong to Honorable William Denny, Governor of Pennsylvania

"May it Please your Honr, On the seventh Inst, per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ...Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which I readily agreed, thinking it the best Opportunity of Vindicating the Governmt so far as it had been concern'd. ...The Indians before mention'd having return'd to Winchester, and their Chief Wahatchy being dispos'd to go home, Mr. Atkins

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

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"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & (Shawnee) Indians whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their Chief, was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of Cherokees under the Swallow, he tells of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambush, and of other Indians with French officers preying on the population as well as other soldiers "This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence from Capta. Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

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* Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent; and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

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Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant Richd Smith

When Sharpe finally replied to Atkin, he offered unwanted advice and supported Richard, though his own Maryland Assembly was in no mood to support the war effort adequately.

Sharpe to Atkin

Sir 29 July 1757

I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30th of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to

encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Governts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made

& interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Govern[r] of Virg[a] had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virg[a] was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Gover[r] Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

Backtracking a little bit - all those southern Indians would not have come to Virginia, had not South Carolina governor Lyttleton, Glen's successor, supported Dinwiddie's effort to procure them. By mid-May 1757, the number amounted to 400, including Saponys, Nottaways, Catawbas and Cherokees, and then 200 more Cherokees between June and September. Not all stayed to fight the Shawnees, but a considerable number did. The presence of all those Indians passing through Virginia caused many problems with the white frontiersmen whose areas they crossed, as well as for Washington. One unruly band raped a white girl and also killed a friendly Chickasaw so that they could collect the bounty money for his scalp. By April 1757 those concerns were taking so much of his energy he wrote, "The Indians are all around teasing and perplexing me for one thing or another so that I scarce know what I write." A month later, about another party he wrote, "They are the most insolent, avaricious, most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with." He must have breathed a sigh of relief when he learned about Atkin.

Had Captain Pearis only realized it, others were as disgusted as he with inefficient conduct of war on the frontier. On Washington's completion of inspection of the western forts in November 1756, he wrote Gov. Dinwiddie of deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of the forts. All were terrified of Indians, but they kept no guard at the forts unless Indians were already known to be present, and wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations, in securing harvests or gathering the corn," and officers (often absent on personal business though demanding full pay) refused to assist other forts in time of emergency.

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

But it turned out that, even with Atkin in Winchester, many headaches remained for Washington, like seeing that Wahatchy's entourage returned home with no more disruption---

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

A footnote, above page 46 says "Warhatchie, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtchew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern towns." (Actually, he was head of all the Lower Towns but you'd think those Virginians, thru Atkin, would have had sense enough not to alienate such a powerful chief, regardless of their opinions as to his character!)

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

In the southern colonies, the Cherokees, who lived on the borders of Virginia, were disposed to enlist in King George's service, but after the success of Montcalm at Oswego they, too, were wavering.

Early in the spring of 1757, however, a body of them came to Fort Frederick to offer their services to Governor Sharpe. The following letter from their chief, Wahachy, is a curious specimen of Indian diplomacy. The English answer is given in the picturesque account written by John Ridout and Daniel Wolstenholme, who had been sent as ambassadors to Fort Frederick to meet the savage warriors:

'FORT FREDERICK, 29*th April* 1757.

'To the Governor of Maryland:

'Brother of Maryland. This day I came into your Province, with a company of our nation, on our way to war against the French, Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had killed some of our brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real love for our nation, and that he had provided clothes for our nation, though unacquainted with us, I have just now held a council with my young warriors, and have concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our brother, our design of coming into this country, was, hearing from our good brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the desire of our father, King George, that we would join the English in war against the French and their Indians. On hearing this news we immediately took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few days. We intend to set out immediately from this fort, and immediately on our return expect to meet you, our brother, here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you cannot come yourself, you will send one of your beloved men with your talk, which we will look upon as from your own mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know that I am come this length to war, and if they are in need of our assistance, I have men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our brothers. I set off from home with 150 men, part of which are gone to Fort Cumberland; forty more by this are come to Winchester. Our people will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our hearts ache to see our brothers' bones scattered about the country, but you will hear in a short time we have got satisfaction for our brothers, and in confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white beads to confirm my regard to this Province. Likewise I have sent you these black beads, to convince you that I have taken up the hatchet against all the English enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our brothers as there is use for us. I have sent you a list of what is useful for us, and have got our good friend Mr. Ross to carry this letter to you, whom we shall always acknowledge as a particular friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain your loving brother, His

'WAHACHY X OF KEEWAY.'
Mark.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two

Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People; and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell]

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track, but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'Danl. Wolstenholme.

'J. Ridout.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

CHARITY PRACTICE

PEARIS FAMILY (Excerpts - Spelling Original)

Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pages 175-189

Letter 8 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Dept., to Mr. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern District of Indian Affairs. says that

A large body of Catawbas and Cherokees, in going against the Shawnees, had gone through Virginia, and he had found that Colony "just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entered into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where.

"There had then gone up, and were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland, 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians. 128, part of the Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promises, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickawaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country. And though they received a considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with insolent speeches the Commanding Officer at Fort Loudon.....

"Wawhatchee,Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are leaders except 13 over Hillpeople, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; these lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly with the most avarice...Hints are given that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.....
Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

"In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin protested very insistently that that he was commissioned by the King of England to deal with all Southern Indians for all of the colonies. He said that the Indians were succeeding in playing one government against the next, demanding presents in each vicinity for services already rendered someplace else, and making threats if they did not get them. The only way to stop that was by letting him, Atkin, make one present for each service on behalf of the combined governments. He complained that so far he was receiving poor cooperation.

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Government, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that Message until the Business transacting between them and this Government should be finished.'

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these Cherokees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with disdain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed indifferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted them. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and set off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off unaccompanied to Fort Loudown VA to get presents.

He goes on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as Virginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to see here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumberland, and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company.....9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into my power..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

"Permit me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Department....Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government...

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...There are many strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you...He sent you even a list of what he wanted (as he had done here to Govr. Dinwiddie.) He slighted the present of 100 pounds, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of 50 pounds each on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

(This very long letter, a larger part of it omitted, rambles on...)

This letter to Governor Sharpe had no affect on the commission as a Captain in the Maryland Provincials which he had just recently given to Richard Pearis. His feeling on the subject was probably about the same as that of the Pennsylvanians, like Colonel Armstrong's, below. With some reservations, they decided to cooperate with Atkin--who did not realize it, but his penuriousnesses with His Majesty King George's funds was teaching the Colonies how to unite 19 short years later, but this time against King George.

Letter 19 June 1757, Carlisle, Colonel John Armstrong to Honorable William Denny, Governor of Pennsylvania

"May it Please your Honr, On the seventh Inst, per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ...Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which I readily agreed, thinking it the best Opportunity of Vindicating the Governmt so far as it had been concern'd. ...The Indians before mention'd having return'd to Winchester, and their Chief Wahatchy being dispos'd to go home, Mr. Atkins

"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & (Shawnee) Indians whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their Chief, was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of . Cherokees under the Swallow, he tells of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambush, and of other Indians with French officers preying on the population as well as other soldiers "This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence from Capta. Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place . . . . where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

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* Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

* (Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Alden-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir

Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant

Richd Smith

When Sharpe finally replied to Atkin, he offered unwanted advice and supported Richard, though his own Maryland Assembly was in no mood to support the war effort adequately.

Sharpe to Atkin

Sir

29 July 1757

I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30th of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to

encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Governts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made

& interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Govern[t] of Virg[a] had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virg[a] was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Gover[r] Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

Backtracking a little bit - all those southern Indians would not have come to Virginia, had not South Carolina governor Lyttleton, Glen's successor, supported Dinwiddie's effort to procure them. By mid-May 1757, the number amounted to 400, including Saponys, Nottaways, Catawbas and Cherokees, and then 200 more Cherokees between June and September. Not all stayed to fight the Shawnees, but a considerable number did. The presence of all those Indians passing through Virginia caused many problems with the white frontiersmen whose areas they crossed, as well as for Washington. One unruly band raped a white girl and also killed a friendly Chickasaw so that they could collect the bounty money for his scalp. By April 1757 those concerns were taking so much of his energy he wrote, "The Indians are all around teasing and perplexing me for one thing or another so that I scarce know what I write." A month later, about another party he wrote, "They are the most insolent, avaricious, most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with." He must have breathed a sigh of relief when he learned about Atkin.

Had Captain Pearis only realized it, others were as disgusted as he with inefficient conduct of war on the frontier. On Washington's completion of inspection of the western forts in November 1756, he wrote Gov. Dinwiddie of deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of the forts. All were terrified of Indians, but they kept no guard at the forts unless Indians were already known to be present, and wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations, in securing harvests or gathering the corn," and officers (often absent on personal business though demanding full pay) refused to assist other forts in time of emergency.

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

But it turned out that, even with Atkin in Winchester, many headaches remained for Washington, like seeing that Wahatchy's entourage returned home with no more disruption---

PEARIS FAMILY

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

A footnote, above page 46 says "Warhatchie, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtchew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern towns." (Actually, he was head of all the Lower Towns but you'd think those Virginians, thru Atkin, would have had sense enough not to alienate such a powerful chief, regardless of their opinions as to his character!)

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

In the southern colonies, the Cherokees, who lived on the borders of Virginia, were disposed to enlist in King George's service, but after the success of Montcalm at Oswego they, too, were wavering.

Early in the spring of 1757, however, a body of them came to Fort Frederick to offer their services to Governor Sharpe. The following letter from their chief, Wahachy, is a curious specimen of Indian diplomacy. The English answer is given in the picturesque account written by John Ridout and Daniel Wolstenholme, who had been sent as ambassadors to Fort Frederick to meet the savage warriors:

'FORT FREDERICK, 29*th April* 1757.

'To the Governor of Maryland:

'Brother of Maryland. This day I came into your Province, with a company of our nation, on our way to war against the French, Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had killed some of our brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real love for our nation, and that he had provided clothes for our nation, though unacquainted with us, I have just now held a council with my young warriors, and have concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our brother, our design of coming into this country, was, hearing from our good brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the desire of our father, King George, that we would join the English in war against the French and their Indians. On hearing this news we immediately took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few days. We intend to set out immediately from this fort, and immediately on our return expect to meet you, our brother, here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you cannot come yourself, you will send one of your beloved men with your talk, which we will look upon as from your own mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know that I am come this length to war, and if they are in need of our assistance, I have men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our brothers. I set off from home with 150 men, part of which are gone to Fort Cumberland; forty more by this are come to Winchester. Our people will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our hearts ache to see our brothers' bones scattered about the country, but you will hear in a short time we have got satisfaction for our brothers, and in confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white beads to confirm my regard to this Province. Likewise I have sent you these black beads, to convince you that I have taken up the hatchet against all the English enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our brothers as there is use for us. I have sent you a list of what is useful for us, and have got our good friend Mr. Ross to carry this letter to you, whom we shall always acknowledge as a particular friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain your loving brother, His

'WAHACHY X OF KEEWAY.'
Mark.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two

Pages from a Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 130 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with warmth and his warriors.

Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell]

for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

'"Brethren you have heard your Brother the Governor's answer to your Message, you have also seen the present which he sent you as a mark of his Friendship and to welcome you to this Province, we are now to Congratulate you in his name on the Success which you have lately had against his and your Ennemies. He was exceedingly pleased with the news, and for the Service you have already done he has ordered us to give you these Goods [pointing to the large parcell]; Brethren now you have found where the Ennemy is to be met with, We hope you will not suffer them to escape but on the Contrary that you will pursue and overtake them and destroy till none of them remain. To inspire you with such a Resolution your Brother the Governor sends you this String [gave a String of black Wampum]."

'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track, but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'DANL. WOLSTENHOLME.

'J. RIDOUT.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

CHARITY FACILITY

PEARIS FAMILY (Excerpts - Spelling Original)

Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pages 175-189

Letter 8 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Dept., to Mr. George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern District of Indian Affairs. says that

A large body of Catawbas and Cherokees, in going against the Shawnees, had gone through Virginia, and he had found that Colony "just on the Brink of Confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expence to its assistance. For no person pretended to much knowledge or acquaintance with them and their affairs, the Persons employed as Conductors or Interpreters (there being no regulation entered into) carried them chiefly through the Heart of the Settlements, disorders were committed, and the Inhabitants terrified every where.

"There had then gone up, and were going to this Place and Fort Cumberland, 124 Catawbas, 148 Cherokees, 57 Tusks and other Tributary Indians. 128, part of the Cherokees, then on their way thro' Lunenberg County, not finding what Presents they expected there at the Court House, & extorting promises, committed the most flagrant outrages and violence, frightening, plundering, and even ravishing one poor Girl & killing a Chickawaw in their Company for reproving them. In a word, as Col Read wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, they behaved like Free Booters in an Enemys Country. And though they received a considerable Present at Bedford Court House, yet they bullied with insolent speeches the Commanding Officer at Fort Loudon.....

"Wawhatchee,Chief of all the Southern Cherokee Towns, and another Captain, commonly called the Swallow, are leaders except 13 over Hillpeople, called the Young Warrior of Tellasee; these lower Cherokees are from five Towns, the worst behaved in the Nation, and Wawhatchee, perhaps himself the greatest rogue among them, most certainly with the most avarice...Hints are given that on failure of the Governor sending what they expected, they should turn back, pay themselves, and perhaps Scalp some people.....
Igot to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Captn Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

"In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin protested very insistently that that he was commissioned by the King of England to deal with all Southern Indians for all of the colonies. He said that the Indians were succeeding in playing one government against the next, demanding presents in each vicinity for services already rendered someplace else, and making threats if they did not get them. The only way to stop that was by letting him, Atkin, make one present for each service on behalf of the combined governments. He complained that so far he was receiving poor cooperation.

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present provided by that Government, which had been before mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, and to tell them the Mohawks had sent one of their Chief men along with you to brighten the chain of Friendship between them and the Cherokee Nation, but not to deliver that Message until the Business transacting between them and this Government should be finished.'

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes." When it came time to receive their presents between these Cherokees (and others still at war under the Swallow) they looked on them with disdain. Wawhatchee said they were not worth dividing, and Yahtanow seemed indifferent. They would leave them for the Swallow and his 93 men if he wanted them. Though they promised to talk again the next day, Yahtanow got drunk and set off homeward with 13 Overhills. All but 7 Or 8 of Wawhatchee's men took off unaccompanied to Fort Loudown VA to get presents.

He goes on at length to instruct Croghan that Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as Virginia are not to bargain with the southern Indians, adding, "I expect to see here daily Richard Smith (an Excellent Interpreter he says) with at least the Chiefs of the Cherokees now out at War between Fort Pleasand and Fort Cumberland, and that will be a good Opportunity for you to be here, with the Mohawk in your Company.....9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...it put it into my power..to send you some proper Remarks which may be useful Hints for your own hereafter.

"Permit me to rectify an error which you seem to be under, by saying you heard I was expected here in a few Days to hold a Treaty with the Indians that came to Virginia by Govr. Dinwiddie's Invitation; and to make them a Present. My Business is to make a new Treaty in his Majesty's Name, in Behalf of all his Subjects without Distinction in North America, with every Nation of Indians in my Department....Now his Majesty hath put a Stop to the Exercise of such a Power by the several Colonies, each for themselves, which could not but clash frequently with each other's Good... There is in your answer to that part of the Message you received from the Cherokees before mentioned, taking Notice, that upon coming to Fort Frederick, they found themselves no longer in Virginia but in another Government...

"Nothing is more easy than to make Indians sensible, that they ought not to expect to be paid by different Colonies for the same Service; But they have Sense enough not to refuse it.....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance...There are many strokes in Wawhatchee's Message to you...He sent you even a list of what he wanted (as he had done here to Govr. Dinwiddie.) He slighted the present of 100 pounds, tho' he would not have left a less one behind him. He refused to give up the Scalps for the large Reward of 50 pounds each on pretence of a point of Honor, but in Truth, that he might receive the Virginia Reward also. This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

(This very long letter, a larger part of it omitted, rambles on...)

This letter to Governor Sharpe had no affect on the commission as a Captain in the Maryland Provincials which he had just recently given to Richard Pearis. His feeling on the subject was probably about the same as that of the Pennsylvanians, like Colonel Armstrong's, below. With some reservations, they decided to cooperate with Atkin--who did not realize it, but his penuriousnesses with His Majesty King George's funds was teaching the Colonies how to unite 19 short years later, but this time against King George.

Letter 19 June 1757, Carlisle, Colonel John Armstrong to Honorable William Denny, Governor of Pennsylvania

"May it Please your Honr, On the seventh Inst, per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ..Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne, and were to go within Twenty five Miles of Winchester on their return to see Mr. Atkins.

"Fourteen of those, under the immediate conduct of the Swallow, a few Miles from Fort Du Quisne, fell in with three or four French Subaltern Officers, and a few private men, who had been at the Head of a Party of Soldiers & (Shawnee) Indians whome, when return'd near the fort, they sent a Hunting. The Swallow fir'd first, knock'd down an Officer (French) and, on springing up to Scalp him, was unfortunately shot thro' the head. The party, loosing their Chief, was some what confounded, but kill'd and scalp'd two or three of the Officers, and has brought in an Ensign prisoner....

(After relating the heroic deeds of . Cherokees under the Swallow, he tells of a group of men under Lt. Holliday killed in a Shawnee ambush, and of other Indians with French officers preying on the population as well as other soldiers "This Day Colonel Stanwix is to write your Honour of his preparation to March immediately from this place, having receiv'd intelligence from Capta. Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland, that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place . . . . where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

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* Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

* (Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Alden-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant Richd Smith

When Sharpe finally replied to Atkin, he offered unwanted advice and supported Richard, though his own Maryland Assembly was in no mood to support the war effort adequately.

Sharpe to Atkin

Sir 29 July 1757

I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30th of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to

encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Governts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld up to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice neither can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought to approve of such a plan as you shall fit to recommend. I would have You insist on the great Expence that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us, You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopt Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply any of our Indian Friends that may come to or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose, Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made

& interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr Croghan to purchase & in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him that I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal. When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend any New Duty. I understood that the Govern^{t} of Virg^{a} had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virg^{a} was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met with Yours nor Gover^{r} Dinwiddie's Approbation however as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the Rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt Pearis thither. I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him if this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province, I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the præmium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am &c.

This letter photocopied from Maryland Archives 9:59-61, Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was on pp 44-5.

Backtracking a little bit - all those southern Indians would not have come to Virginia, had not South Carolina governor Lyttleton, Glen's successor, supported Dinwiddie's effort to procure them. By mid-May 1757, the number amounted to 400, including Saponys, Nottaways, Catawbas and Cherokees, and then 200 more Cherokees between June and September. Not all stayed to fight the Shawnees, but a considerable number did. The presence of all those Indians passing through Virginia caused many problems with the white frontiersmen whose areas they crossed, as well as for Washington. One unruly band raped a white girl and also killed a friendly Chickasaw so that they could collect the bounty money for his scalp. By April 1757 those concerns were taking so much of his energy he wrote, "The Indians are all around teasing and perplexing me for one thing or another so that I scarce know what I write." A month later, about another party he wrote, "They are the most insolent, avaricious, most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with." He must have breathed a sigh of relief when he learned about Atkin.

Had Captain Pearis only realized it, others were as disgusted as he with inefficient conduct of war on the frontier. On Washington's completion of inspection of the western forts in November 1756, he wrote Gov. Dinwiddie of deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of the forts. All were terrified of Indians, but they kept no guard at the forts unless Indians were already known to be present, and wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations, in securing harvests or gathering the corn," and officers (often absent on personal business though demanding full pay) refused to assist other forts in time of emergency.

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

But it turned out that, even with Atkin in Winchester, many headaches remained for Washington, like seeing that Wahatchy's entourage returned home with no more disruption---

PEARIS FAMILY

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

A footnote, above page 46 says "Warhatchie, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtchew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern towns." (Actually, he was head of all the Lower Towns but you'd think those Virginians, thru Atkin, would have had sense enough not to alienate such a powerful chief, regardless of their opinions as to his character!)

This is in error.
Alice Gooch, b ca 1584, dau of John & Margaret (Raw) Gooch was not old enough to be mother of our John Tuttle, bapt June 1596. She could not have been the second wife because Ichabod Wells, b ca 1565 came to New England in 1635, age 70, in the "Plaster" with the rest, but in the group with the younger brothers. Besides, John brought his mother-in-law! So who is Alice?

last 2 sets XXXXX

No. 1 on this chart is the same as no. _____ on chart no. _____

AFN=Ancestral File Number

1 Simon TUTTLE
AFN: 9JXH-TN
BORN: 1560
Ringstead,N, England
MAR.: 1606
_,_, England
DIED: Abt 1630
Ringstead,N, England

SPOUSE
Alice GOOCH
AFN: 3GLT-VT
BORN: ABT. 1584
Of Tharston,N, England
DIED:

2 Richard TUTTLE (TOOTHILL)
AFN: 2VDR-NP
BORN: Abt 1530
O,, England
MAR.:

DIED: W.P. 11 Mar 1589/90
W,, England

3 Elizabeth
AFN: 8TSK-XM
BORN: 1526 OR 1534
Of, Woodford,N, England
DIED:

4 Thomas TOTEHYLL
AFN: 8TSL-14
BORN: ABOUT 1506

MAR.:

DIED:

5
AFN:
BORN:

DIED:

6
AFN:
BORN:

MAR.:

DIED:

7
AFN:
BORN:

DIED:

8
AFN:
BORN:

MAR.:

DIED:

9
AFN:
BORN:

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MAR.:

DIED:

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DIED:

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BORN:

MAR.:

DIED:

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BORN:

31
AFN:
BORN:

* (wrong wife)

* Evidently second wife, our descent through Isabel Weller.

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HUSBAND: Simon TUTTLE (AFN:9JXH-TN)

BORN: 1560 PLACE: Ringstead, Northampton, England
CHR.: PLACE:
DIED: Abt 1630 PLACE: Ringstead, Northampton, England
BUR.: 26 Mar 1618 PLACE: Tharston, Norfolk, England
MAR.: 1606 PLACE: , , , England
FATHER: Richard TUTTLE (TOOTHILL) (AFN:2VDR-NP)
MOTHER: Elizabeth (AFN:8TSK-XM)
OTHER WIVES: Isabel WELLS (AFN:FLRT-2T) and 1 Others

LDS ORDINANCE DATA
B: 9 Sep 1961
E: 14 Sep 1961 AZ
SP:
SS: 1 Apr 1943 AZ

WIFE: Alice GOOCH (AFN:3GLT-VT)

BORN: ABT. 1584 PLACE: Of Tharston, Norfolk, England
CHR.: PLACE:
DIED: PLACE:
BUR.: PLACE:
FATHER: John GOOCH (AFN:8WJV-SH)
MOTHER: Margaret RAU (AFN:8WJV-TN)
OTHER HUSBANDS:

B: 15 Sep 1934
E: 21 Feb 1935
SP: 23 Mar 1950 AZ

Sex	CHILDREN		
	1. NAME: Richard TUTTLE (AFN:HNZB-7G)		
M	BORN: 1593	PLACE: , Devonshire, England	B:
	CHR.:	PLACE:	E:
	DIED:	PLACE:	SP:
	BUR.:	PLACE:	
	SPOUSE:		
	MAR.:	PLACE:	SS:
	2. NAME: John TUTTLE (AFN:HNZB-8M)		
M	BORN: Abt 1595	PLACE: , Devonshire, England	B: 9 May 1985 PV
	CHR.:	PLACE:	E: 26 Jul 1985 PV
	DIED: 30 Dec 1656	PLACE: Carrick Fergus, , Ireland	SP: 7 Dec 1985 PV
	BUR.:	PLACE:	
	SPOUSE:		
	MAR.:	PLACE:	SS:
	3. NAME: John TUTHILL (AFN:3GLV-NX)		
M	BORN:	PLACE: Tharston, Nflk, Eng.	B: 15 Apr 1889
	CHR.: 25 Oct 1607	PLACE: , Tharston, Norfolk, Eng	E: 14 Dec 1892
	DIED:	PLACE:	SP: 25 Jun 1943 AZ
	BUR.:	PLACE:	
	SPOUSE:		
	MAR.:	PLACE:	SS:
	4. NAME: William TUTTLE (TUTHILL) (AFN:1LTR-Z1)		
M	BORN: 1609	PLACE: Of, Ringstead, Northamptonshire, England	B: 29 May 1877
	CHR.: 29 Oct 1609	PLACE: Ringstead, Northampton, England	E: 23 May 1884
	DIED: 16 June 1673	PLACE: New Haven, New Haven, CT	SP: 25 May 1985 PV
	BUR.:	PLACE: New Haven, New Haven, CT	
	SPOUSE: Elizabeth MATHEWS (AFN:8TSK-QL)		
	MAR.: 1630	PLACE: , , , England	SS: 19 Feb 1943 AZ

Codes: AFN=Ancestral File Number B=Baptized E=Endowed SS=Sealed to Spouse SP=Sealed to Parents

HUSBAND: Simon TUTTLE (AFN:9JXH-TN) BORN: 1560
WIFE: Alice GOOCH (AFN:3GLT-VT) BORN: ABT. 1584

Sex CHILDREN (Continued) LDS ORDINANCE DATA

5. NAME: William TUTHILL (AFN:FLGB-FQ)
---- BORN: PLACE: B: 29 May 1877
M CHR.: 29 Oct 1609 PLACE: Tharston, Norfolk, England E: 23 May 1884
DIED: Jun 1673 PLACE: SP: 25 Jun 1943 AZ
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE:
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

6. NAME: Henry TUTHILL (AFN:3GLT-PQ)
---- BORN: 28 Jun 1612 PLACE: Tharston, Nflk, Eng. B: 15 Apr 1889
M CHR.: 28 Jun 1612 PLACE: Tharston, Norfolk England E: 21 Jul 1892
DIED: BEFORE 1650 PLACE: Southold, New York SP: 25 Jun 1943 AZ
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE: Bridget (TUTHILL) (AFN:98CG-9G) and 2 Others
MAR.: Abt. 1634 PLACE: England SS: 23 Mar 1950 AZ

7. NAME: Alice TUTHILL (AFN:3GLV-Q9)
---- BORN: 24 Sep 1614 PLACE: Tharston, Nflk, Eng. B: 20 Apr 1935
F CHR.: 24 Sep 1614 PLACE: , Tharston, Norfolk, Eng E: 8 Apr 1936
DIED: PLACE: SP: 25 Jun 1943 AZ
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE:
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

8. NAME: Elizabeth TUTHILL (AFN:3GLV-RG)
---- BORN: 9 Mar 1616 PLACE: Tharston, Nflk, Eng. B: 20 Apr 1935
F CHR.: 9 Mar 1616 PLACE: , Tharston, Norfolk, Eng E: 13 May 1936
DIED: PLACE: SP: 25 Jun 1943 AZ
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE:
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

9. NAME:
---- BORN: PLACE: B:
CHR.: PLACE: E:
DIED: PLACE: SP:
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE:
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

10. NAME:
---- BORN: PLACE: B:
CHR.: PLACE: E:
DIED: PLACE: SP:
BUR.: PLACE:
SPOUSE:
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

HUSBAND: Simon TUTTLE (AFN:9JXH-TN) BORN: 1560
WIFE: Alice GOOCH (AFN:3GLT-VT) BORN: ABT. 1584

OTHER MARRIAGES LDS ORDINANCE DATA

HUSBAND: Simon TUTTLE (AFN:9JXH-TN)

SPOUSE: Isabel WELLS (AFN:FLRT-2T)
MAR.: PLACE: SS: 9 Dec 1960 IF

SPOUSE: Isobel WELLS (AFN:9JXH-VT)
MAR.: PLACE: SS:

CHILD 6: Henry TUTHILL (AFN:3GLT-PQ)

SPOUSE: Bridget ... (AFN:8WJT-2K)
MAR.: Abt 1634 PLACE: SS:

SPOUSE: Bridget (AFN:9M8H-FQ)
MAR.: Abt 1634 PLACE: SS:

Codes: AFN=Ancestral File Number B=Baptized E=Endowed SS=Sealed to Spouse SP=Sealed to Parents

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First he must see to it that his family was secure should anything bad happen to him. They must have been staying at the time in some some section of the then immense Augusta County considered to be relatively safe. It appears he consulted with his friend, Peter Hogg* who was an attorney besides being a military captain. Under colonial law, his little son, toddler Richard Pearis, Jr., would inherit the plantation near Winchester, with a widow's dower going to Rhoda. The boy's Uncle Robert could be counted on to help with the management of the plantation until he was older. But the young daughters were growing like meadow flowers--he wanted to see to it that they had nice doweries so that they could attract suitable young men when the time came, though he sure wanted to be around to see to that if he could!

He sat the little girls down and gently explained it all to them. Can't you just see this? He may have been sitting there with his arms around them. Nice little ladies should not be satisfied with just any husbands, but fine young men their Papa would approve of! Reading that list of presents, it seems as though the girls got to pick some of their own choices, and that Sarah was already a good rider who lived horses and was fond of the negro servant named for her. Margaret was smaller, but very suitable presents were also chosen for her. The records show**

Augusta County Deed Book 7, page 450;; 16 April 1757 (Abstract)

Captain Richard Pearis of Augusta County - money, a deed of gift, for love and goodwill and affection to my daughters, Sarah Pearis and Margaret Pearis.

To Sarah forever in case said Sarah marrys with my consent or according to my will,
1 negro wench called Sarah
1 sorrel mare and year old colt, "natural pacers"
1 bay horse, natural pacer
1 roan mare and colt, both trotters
1 roan colt three years old
other horses also

To Margaret on same conditions,
Hannah, Craig, Pratchey
3 or 4 horses
Of these presents I have given my inventory signed by my own hand to my daughters.....etc.

Recorded 16 June 1757

Recorded delivered: Captain Peter Hog, December 1770.

---

*Annals of Augusta County, Waddell, pg.102 says Hogg was born in Scotland in 1703 & settled in Augusta ca. 1745 with bros. James & Thomas. He married Elizabeth Taylor, & became a noted lawyer.

**Chronicles of Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from Original Court Records of Augusta County, Virginia, Lyman Chalkey, (1980) GPC

The Augusta deed book entry, by adding a pound sign (Ł), signifies that money was given in addition to the horses and slaves, but no amount was specified. The most amazing extra notation was that Pratchey, given to little Margaret, was an Indian wench! Pratchey could not have been Cherokee. Was she a captured member of an enemy tribe, or the daughter of one such? My own instinct (which may be wrong) is that she might have been part that and part negro. In those days many of the more wealthy Cherokees had many slaves, and I imagine Pratchey wasfrom that source.

When Captain Peter Hogg reported in 1770 that the presents had been delivered (possibly much before then) at the Pearis family's request, they were already living in upper South Carolina--that is, Richard, Rhoda, three sons, and two younger daughters. We have not learned whom Margaret married nor exactly when. My guess is that she was married in Virginia, and I wonder if she lived in later years near our Sarah and we do not recognize it because we do not know her married name.

The Teter Family story tells what we have learned about the life of Sarah and her husband, Sgt. George Teter, and that will not be repeated here in detail. Briefly, they were married about March 1762 and lived at first in Southwest Virginia. In 1768 they bought a nice small farm on Crab Creek where it empties into New River near present Radford, but sold it about three years later and moved to a plantation near the Middle Fork of the Holston some miles northeast of present Abingdon while that was still part of the frontier, and George became an ensign in the local militia company. But soon, though there was a perilous war going on in the Kentucky bluegrass area, they were entitled to a military land grant from his service in the French and Indian War and decided to take advantage of it before the best land was all taken. Despite the fact that Sarah was very pregnant with their 5th and last child,they left during what turned out to be one of the most frigid winters in history--1779/80. They were fired upon by Shawnees just past the Cumberland Gap and George was wounded, but they made it safe to a fort of General George Rogers Clark, on Clark's Run just east of present Danville. The Kentucky River was solid ice, and starving people had the influenza, but once settled did well in Kentucky. We descend from their only girl, Sarah ("Sally") Teter, who married Samuel Griffith, believed to have been son of Jonas Griffith, a Carolinian, mentioned in the Pepper Family sketch in the chapter about brother George Pearis Jr.

After doing what he could to ensure the safety of his family, Captain Richard Pearis made a trip to Maryland to meet with their Governor Horatio Sharpe, and to receive from him a Captain's commission in the Maryland Provincial Army. And his instincts were right--this action made him extremely unpopular in Virginia, but it was what he thought was right. In trying to defend his Cherokees he was dubbed a "mercenary scamp," but that cannot be true, for he stood to loose all his military back pay--though two years later the Assembly finally gave Ł81/18/0 "To Richard Pearis, Frederick, captain of the Cherokees."*

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*Kellogg's Virginia Frontier, Joseph B. Kegley, page 255.

CHAPTER EIGHT - RICHARD GETS INTO TROUBLE DEFENDING THE CHEROKEES

What happened next makes more sense when one remembers that the American colonies were then in fierce competition with each other for trade and territory. They had been established at different times by leaders with very different political and religious agendas. Richard was considered a traitor for having "taken a commission in a foreign government," as Edmund Atkin, whose letters you will see on upcoming pages, put it. His action in joining up with the Maryland provincials shows how upset he must have been over Virginia's parsimony toward the Cherokees at the same time the French were offering the tribes rich rewards to change sides, all the while frittering away enormous sums on egotists who did nothing to win the war. He must have realized such a situation would backfire, though he probably did not expect it would explode in his own face.

It is hard to tell what our ancestor was thinking 250 years ago, except that he had a rare capacity to understand both cultures. White rulers expected obedience, but he knew the Cherokees themselves were guided by economic necessity, and that groups of warriors were in actuality more like European mercenary armies paid by a foreign government to fight other "Christian" natives. That had gone on for the last thousand years and always resulted in looting. Why so-called "savages" were expected to be more noble in that regard is difficult to fathom. If a few more "gifts" had been freely given, even if not really warranted, it is very likely the Cherokees would not have gone over to the French--a whole lot cheaper in the long run. At least that appears to be the way Richard felt about the matter. There was no profit in it for him; though one historian, at least, has accused him of "raking in shekels," his true motive seems to have been for the warriors to be paid enough to keep them satisfied in fighting the Shawnees.

Part of the difficulty in reporting the events which occurred during this period is that the few scattered records are so sensational and dates conflict, but I will try, and the reader should keep this in mind. Perhaps the most accurate way is to present the contents of old letters and records, written at the time.

When, after much pleading, the Cherokee and Catawba warriors started to arrive they did so in large groups without proper escorts. The most popular route, particularly from the contingents of the Lower Towns (like Wahatchy's group from Keowee--see map, near Fort Prince George on route to Ninety-Six) took when coming to fight for their English allies, lay through the Moravian towns of North Carolina and thence on through Halifax County, Virginia, where Col. Clement Read was stationed. The culture of the small farmers of Halifax and of Bedford and their moral values were in sharp contrast to the beliefs of the Indians and, to make it worse, both were very afraid of each other, being so different. Unfortunately there were no white interpreters at first to stop the confrontations. Richard seems to have caught up to Wahatchy after much unhappy commotion had gone on first. After that he took them across the Potomac to see Governor Sharpe, which made Atkin furious.

The headstrong Wahachy, the First Warrior of the Cherokee lower towns, had arrived in Halifax County in early April with a large party of Indians. Enraged because there were no presents, he and his braves went on a rampage. Clement Read, leading man of the county, finally prevailed on the Cherokee to go "to Winchester to Colonel Washington" where "they Should have presents. They should be provided for according to the Treaty. Should be well used."

Letter, George Mercer to Col. George Washington

Dear Sir Fort Loudoun (VA) April 24th 1757

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see that their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.....Go. Mercer

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Footnotes say Wahachy was referring to the agreement or treaty that Dinwiddie's special commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, made with the Cherokees in 1756. Either there was great misunderstanding about what had been promised them to come. or the commissioners promised overmuch in their recruiting efforts. In his speech the Swallow, First Warrior in the lower town of Estatoe declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother we blame the Govr and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements."

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

In the southern colonies, the Cherokees, who lived on the borders of Virginia, were disposed to enlist in King George's service, but after the success of Montcalm at Oswego they, too, were wavering.

Early in the spring of 1757, however, a body of them came to Fort Frederick to offer their services to Governor Sharpe. The following letter from their chief, Wahachy, is a curious specimen of Indian diplomacy. The English answer is given in the picturesque account written by John Ridout and Daniel Wolstenholme, who had been sent as ambassadors to Fort Frederick to meet the savage warriors:

'FORT FREDERICK, 29*th April* 1757.

'To the Governor of Maryland:

'Brother of Maryland. This day I came into your Province, with a company of our nation, on our way to war against the French, Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had killed some of our brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real love for our nation, and that he had provided clothes for our nation, though unacquainted with us, I have just now held a council with my young warriors, and have concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our brother, our design of coming into this country, was, hearing from our good brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the desire of our father, King George, that we would join the English in war against the French and their Indians. On hearing this news we immediately took up the hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few days. We intend to set out immediately from this fort, and immediately on our return expect to meet you, our brother, here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you cannot come yourself, you will send one of your beloved men with your talk, which we will look upon as from your own mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know that I am come this length to war, and if they are in need of our assistance, I have men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our brothers. I set off from home with 150 men, part of which are gone to Fort Cumberland; forty more by this are come to Winchester. Our people will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our hearts ache to see our brothers' bones scattered about the country, but you will hear in a short time we have got satisfaction for our brothers, and in confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white beads to confirm my regard to this Province. Likewise I have sent you these black beads, to convince you that I have taken up the hatchet against all the English enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our brothers as there is use for us. I have sent you a list of what is useful for us, and have got our good friend Mr. Ross to carry this letter to you, whom we shall always acknowledge as a particular friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain your loving brother,

His
'WAHACHY X OF KEEWAY.'
Mark.

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'SIR,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two

Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell]

It really appears that Gov. Horatio Sharpe was pleased to have Wahatchy's services at first, but that after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to affend the Virginians by not cooperating. And if Wahatchy had not been insulted by what he considered the pittance being offered, he might have turned into a good ally against the Shawnees.

From Archives of Maryland

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.'

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757. Hor. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.'

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother,

the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

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Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.
Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

L. H. J. Liber No. 48 May 5

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⊣ of Keeway.
Mark.

p. 431 Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.